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THE SECOND VOLVME

OF THE PRINCIPAL

NAVIGATIONS, VOYAGES, TRAFFIQVES,

AND

DISCOVERIES

OF THE

ENGLISH NATION,

MADE BY SEA OR OVER-LAND,

TO THE

SOUTH AND SOUTH-EAST PARTS OF THE WORLD,

AT ANY TIME WITHIN THE COMPASSE OF THESE 1600. YERES:

DIVIDED INTO TWO SEVERALL PARTS:

42640

WHEREOF THE FIRST CONTAINETH

THE PERSONALL TRAVELS, &c. OF THE ENGLISH,

THROUGH AND WITHIN THE STREIGHT OF GIBRALTAR,

TO

ALGER, TUNIS, AND TRIPOLIS IN BARBARY, TO ALEXANDRIA AND CAIRO IN AEGYPT, TO THE ISLES OF SICILIA, ZANTE, CANDIA, RHODUS, CYPRUS, AND CHIO, TO THE CITIE OF CONSTANTINOPLE, TO DIVERS PARTS OF ASIA MINOR, TO SYRIA AND ARMENIA, TO IERUSALEM, AND OTHER PLACES IN IUDÆA;

AS ALSO TO

ARABIA, DOWNE THE RIVER OF EUPHRATES; TO BABYLON AND BALSARA, AND SO THROUGH THE PERSIAN GULPH TO ORMUTZ, CHAUL, GOA, AND TO MANY ISLANDS ADIOYNING VPON THE SOUTH PARTS OF ASIA;

AND LIEVVISE FROM

GOA TO CAMBAIA, AND TO ALL THE DOMINIONS OF ZELABDIM ECHERAR THE GREAT MOGOR, TO THE MIGHTY RIVER OF GANGES, TO BENGALA, ARACAN, BACOLA, AND CHONDERI, TO PEGV, TO IAMAHAI IN THE KINGDOME OF SIAM, AND ALMOST TO THE VERY FRONTIERS OF CHINA.

THE SECOND COMPREHENDETH

THE VOYAGES, TRAFFICKS, &c. OF THE ENGLISH NATION,

MADE WITHOUT THE STREIGHT OF GIBRALTAR,

TO THE

ISLANDS OF THE AZORES, OF PORTO SANTO, MADERA, AND THE CANARIES,
TO THE KINGDOMES OF BARBARY, TO THE ISLES OF CAPO VERDE,
TO THE RIVERS OF SENEGA, GAMBRA, MADRABUMBA, AND SIERRA LEONA, TO THE COAST OF GUINEA AND BENIN,
TO THE ISLES OF S. THOME AND SANTA HELENA, TO THE PARTS ABOUT THE CAPE OF BUONA ESPERANZA,
TO QUITANGONE NEERE MOZAMBIQUE, TO THE ISLES OF COMORO AND ZANZIBAR,
TO THE CITIE OF GOA, BEYOND CAPE COMORI, TO THE ISLES OF NICUBAR, GOMES POLO, AND PULO PINAOM,
TO THE MAINE LAND OF MALACCA, AND TO THE KINGDOME OF IUNSALAON.

BY RICHARD HAKLVYT PREACHER,
AND SOMETIME STUDENT OF CHRIST-CHVRCH IN OXFORD.

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AND ROBERT BARKER.
ANNO 1599.

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DEDICATION TO THE FIRST EDITION.

TO THE

RIGHT HONORABLE

SIR ROBERT CECIL KNIGHT,

PRINCIPALL SECRETARIE TO HER MAIESTIE, MASTER OF THE COURT OF WARDES AND LIUERIES, AND ONE OF HER MAIESTIES MOST HONOURABLE PRIUIE COUNSELL.

RIGHT Honorable, hauing newly finished a Treatise of the long Voyages of our Nation made into the Leuant within the Streight of Gibraltar, & from thence ouer-land to the South and Southeast parts of the world, all circumstances considered, I found none to whom I thought it fitter to bee presented then to your selfe: wherein hauing begun at the highest Antiquities of this realme vnder the gouernment of the Romans; next vnder the Saxons; and thirdly since the conquest vnder the Normans, I haue continued the histories vnto these our dayes. The time of the Romans affoordeth small matter. But after that they were called hence by forren inuasions of their Empire, and the Saxons by degrees became lords in this Iland, and shortly after receiued the Christian faith, they did not onely trauell to Rome, but passed further vnto Ierusalem, and therewith not contented, Sigelmus bishop of Shireburne in Dorcetshire caried the almes of king Alfred euen to the Sepulcher of S. Thomas in India, (which place at this day is called Maliapor) and brought from thence most fragrant spices, and rich iewels into England: which iewels, as William of Malmesburie in two sundry treatises writeth, were remaining in the aforesayd Cathedrall Church to be seene euen in his time. And this most memorable voyage into India is not onely mentioned by the aforesayd Malmesburie, but also by Florentius Wigorniensis, a graue and worthy Author which liued before him, and by many others since, and euen by M. Foxe in his first volume of his Acts and Monuments in the life of king Alfred. To omit diuers other of the Saxon nation, the trauels of Alured bishop of Worcester through Hungarie to Constantinople, and so by Asia the lesse into Phœnicia and Syria, and the like course of Inguiphus, not long afterward Abbot of Croiland, set downe particularly by himselfe, are things in mine opinion right worthy of memorie. After the comming in of the Normans, in the yeere 1096, in the reigne of William Rufus, and so downward for the space of aboue 300 yeeres, such was the ardent desire of our nation to visite the Holy land, and to expell the Saracens and Mahumetans, that not only great numbers of Erles, Bishops, Barons, and Knights, but euen Kings, Princes, and Peeres of the blood Roiall, with incredible deuotion, courage and alacritie intruded themselues into this glorious expedition. A sufficient proofe hereof are the voiages of prince Edgar the nephew of Edmund Ironside, of Robert Curtois brother of William Rufus, the great beneuolence of king Henry the 2. and his vowe to haue gone in person to the succour of Ierusalem, the personall going into Palestina of his sonne king Richard the first, with the chiualrie, wealth, and shipping of this realme; the large contribution of king Iohn, and the trauels of Oliuer Fitz-Roy his sonne, as is supposed, with Ranulph Glanuile Erle of Chester to the siege of Damiata in Ægypt: the prosperous voyage of Richard Erle of Cornwall, elected afterward king of the Romans, and brother to Henry the 3. the famous expedition of prince Edward, the first king of the Norman race of that

name; the iourney of Henry Erle of Derbie, duke of Hereford, and afterward king of this realme, by the name of Henry the 4 against the citie of Tunis in Africa, and his preparation of ships and gallies to go himselfe into the Holy land, if he had not on the sudden bene preuented by death; the trauel of Iohn of Holland brother by the mothers side to king Richard the 2 into those parts. All these, either Kings, Kings sonnes, or Kings brothers, exposed themselues with inuincible courages to the manifest hazard of their persons, liues, and liuings, leauing their ease, their countries, wiues and children, induced with a Zelous deuotion and ardent desire to protect and dilate the Christian faith. These memorable enterprises in part concealed, in part scattered, and for the most part vnlooked after, I haue brought together in the best Method and breuitie that I could deuise. Whereunto I haue annexed the losse of Rhodes, which although it were originally written in French, yet maketh it as honourable and often mention of the English natiō, as of any other Christians that serued in that most violent siege. After which ensueth the princely promise of the bountifull aide of king Henry the 8 to Ferdinando newly elected king of Hungarie, against Solyman the mortall enemie of Christendome. These and the like Heroicall intents and attempts of our Princes, our Nobilitie, our Clergie, & our Chiualry, I haue in the *first* place exposed and set foorth to the view of this age, with the same intention that the old Romans set vp in wax in their palaces the Statuas or images of their worthy ancestors; whereof Salust in his treatise of the warre of Iugurtha, writeth in this maner: Sæpe audiui ego Quintum maximum, Publium Scipionem, præterea ciuitatis nostræ præclaros viros solitos ita dicere, cum maiorum imagines intuerentur, vehementissimè animum sibi ad virtutem accendi. Scilicet non ceram illam, neq; figuram, tantam vim in sese habere, sed memoria rerum gestarum flammam eam egregijs viris in pectore crescere, neq; prius sedari, quàm virtus eorum famam & gloriam adæquauerit. I haue often heard (quoth he) how Quintus maximus, Publius Scipio, and many other worthy men of our citie were woont to say, when they beheld the images and portraitures of their ancestors, that they were most vehemently inflamed vnto vertue. Not that the sayd wax or portraiture had any such force at all in it selfe, but that by the remembring of their woorthy actes, that flame was kindled in their noble breasts, and could neuer be quenched, vntill such time as their owne valure had equalled the fame and glory of their progenitors. So, though not in wax, yet in record of writing haue I presented to the noble courages of this English Monarchie, the like images of their famous predecessors, with hope of like effect in their posteritie. And here by the way if any man *shall think*, that an vniuersall peace with our Christian neighbours will cut off the emploiment of the couragious increasing youth of this realme, he is much deceiued. For there are other most conuenient emploiments for all the superfluitie of euery profession in this realme. For, not to meddle with the state of Ireland, nor that of Guiana, there is vnder our noses the great & ample countrey of Virginia; the In-land whereof is found of late to bee so sweete and holesome a climate, so rich and abundant in siluer mines, so apt and capable of all commodities, which Italy, Spaine, and France can affoord, that the Spaniards themselues in their owne writings printed in Madrid 1586, and within few moneths afterward reprinted by me in Paris, and in a secret mappe of those partes made in Mexico the yeere before for the king of Spaine, (which originall with many others is in the custodie of the excellent Mathematician M. Thomas Hariot) as also in their intercepted letters come vnto my hand, bearing date 1595. they acknowledge the In-land to be a better and richer countrey then Mexico and Nueua Spania it selfe. And on the other side their chiefest writers, as Peter Martyr ab Angleria, and Francis Lopez de Gomara, the most learned Venetian Iohn Baptista Ramusius, and the French Geographers, as namely, Popiliniere and the rest, acknowledge with one consent, that all that mightie tract of land from 67. degrees Northward to the latitude almost of Florida was first discouered out of England, by the commaundement of king Henry the seuenth, and the South part thereof before any other Christian people of late hath bene planted with diuers English Colonies by the royal consent of her sacred Maiestie vnder the broad seale of England, wherof one as yet remaineth, for ought we know, aliue in the countrey. Which action, if vpon a good & godly peace obtained,

tained, it shal please the Almighty to stirre vp her Maiesties heart to continue with her fauourable countenance (as vpon the ceasing of the warres of Granada, hee stirred vp the spirite of Isabella Queene of Castile, to aduance the enterprise of Columbus) with transporting of one or two thousand of her people, and such others as vpon mine owne knowledge will most willingly at their owne charges become Aduenturers in good numbers with their bodies and goods; she shall by Gods assistance, in short space, worke many great and vnlooked for effects, increase her dominions, enrich her cofers, and reduce many Pagans to the faith of Christ. The neglecting hitherto of which last point our aduersaries daily in many of their bookes full bitterly lay vnto the charge of the professors of the Gospell. No sooner should we set footing in that pleasant and good land, and erect one or two conuenient Fortes in the Continent, or in some Iland neere the maine, but euery step we tread would yeeld vs new occasion of action, which I wish the Gentrie of our nation rather to regard, then to follow those soft vnprofitable pleasures wherein they now too much consume their time and patrimonie, and hereafter will doe much more, when as our neighbour warres being appeased, they are like to haue lesse employment then nowe they haue, vnlesse they hee occupied in this or some other the like expedition. And to this ende and purpose giue me leaue (I beseech you) to impart this occurrent to your honourable and prouident consideration: that in the yere one thousand fiue hundred eighty and seuen, when I had caused the foure voyages of Ribault, Laudonniere, and Gourges to Florida, at mine owne charges to bee printed in Paris, which by the malice of some too much affectioned to the Spanish faction, had bene aboue twentie yeeres suppressed, assoone as that booke came to the view of that reuerend and prudent Counseller Monsieur Harlac the lord chiefe Iustice of France, and certaine other of the wisest Iudges, in great choler they asked who had done such intollerable wrong to their whole kingdome, as to haue concealed that woorthie worke so long? Protesting further, that if their Kings and the Estate had throughly followed that action, France had bene freed of their long ciuill warres, and the variable humours of all sortes of people might haue had very ample and manifold occasions of good and honest employment abroad in that large and fruitfull Continent of the West Indies. The application of which sentence vnto our selues I here omit, hastening vnto the summarie recapitulation of other matters contained in this worke. It may please your Honour therefore to vnderstand, that the second part of this first Treatise containeth our auncient trade and traffique with English shipping to the Ilands of Sicilie, Candie, and Sio, which, by good warrant herein alleaged, I find to haue bene begun in the yeere 1511. and to haue continued vntill the yeere 1552. and somewhat longer. But shortly after (as it seemeth) it was intermitted, or rather giuen ouer (as is noted in master Gaspar Compions discreet letters to master Michael Lock and master William Winter inserted in this booke) first by occasiō of the Turkes expelling of the foure and twentie Mauneses or gouernours of the Genouois out of the Ile of Sio, and by taking of the sayd Iland wholie into his owne hand in Aprill, 1566. sending thither Piali Basha with fourescore gallies for that purpose; and afterward by his growing ouer mightie and troublesome in those Seas, by the cruell inuasion of Nicosia and Famagusta, and the whole Ile of Cyprus by his lieutenant Generall Mustapha Basha. Which lamentable Tragedie I haue here againe reuiued, that the posteritie may neuer forget what trust may bee giuen to the oath of a Mahumetan, when hee hath aduauntage and is in his choler.

Lastly, I haue here put downe at large the happie renuing and much increasing of our interrupted trade in all the Leuant, accomplished by the great charges and speciall industrie of the worshipfull and worthy Citizens, Sir Edward Osborne Knight, M. Richard Staper, and M. William Hareborne, together with the league for traffike onely betweene her Maiestie and the Grand Signior, with the great priuileges, immunities, and fauours obteyned of his imperiall Highnesse in that behalfe, the admissions and residencies of our Ambassadours in his stately Porch, and the great good and Christian offices which her Sacred Maiestie by her extraordinary fauour in that Court hath done for the king and kingdome of Poland, and other Christian Princes: the traffike of our Nation in all the chiefe Hauens of Africa and Egypt; the searching and haunting the very bottome of the Mediterran Sea to the ports of

Tripoli and Alexandretta, of the Archipelagus, by the Turkes now called The white sea, euen to the walles of Constantinople: the voyages ouer land and by riuer through Aleppo, Birrha, Babylon and Balsara, and downe the Persian gulfe to Ormuz, and thence by the Ocean sea to Goa, and againe ouer-land to Bisnagar, Cambaia, Orixa, Bengala, Aracan, Pegu, Malacca, Siam, the Iangomes, Quicheu, and euen to the Frontiers of the Empire of China: the former performed diuerse times by sundry of our nation, and the last great voyage by M. Ralph Fitch, who with M. Iohn Newbery and two other consorts departed from London with her Maiesties letters written effectually in their fauour to the kings of Cambaia and China in the yere 1583, who in the yeere 1591. like another Paulus Venetus returned home to the place of his departure, with ample relation of his wonderfull trauailes, which he presented in writing to my Lord your father of honourable memorie.

Now here if any man shall take exception against this our new trade with Turkes and misbeleeuers, he shall shew himselfe a man of small experience in old and new Histories, or wilfully lead with partialitie, or some worse humour. * For who knoweth not, that king Salomon of old, entred into league vpon necessitie with Hiram the king of Tyrus, a gentile? Or who is ignorant that the French, the Genouois, Florentines, Ragusians, Venetians, and Polonians are at this day in league with the Grand Signior, and haue beene these many yeeres, and haue vsed trade and traffike in his dominions? Who can deny that the Emperor of Christendome hath had league with the Turke, and payd him a long while a pension for a part of Hungarie? And who doth not acknowledge, that either hath traueiled the remote parts of the world, or read the Histories of this latter age, that the Spaniards and Portugales in Barbarie, in the Indies, and elsewhere, haue ordinarie confederacie and traffike with the Moores, and many kindes of Gentiles and Pagans, and that which is more, doe pay them pensions, and vse them in their seruice and warres? Why then should that be blamed in vs, which is vsuall and common to the most part of other Christian nations? Therefore let our neighbours, which haue found most fault with this new league and traffike, thanke themselues and their owne foolish pride, whereby we were vrged to seeke further to prouide vent for our naturall commodities. And herein the old Greeke prouerbe was most truely verified, That euill counsaile procueth worst to the author and deuiser of the same.

1. King. cap. 5. 2. Chron. cap. 2.

Hauing thus farre intreated of the chiefe contents of the first part of this second Volume, it remayneth that I briefly acquaint your Honor with the chiefe contents of the second part. It may therefore please you to vnderstand, that herein I haue likewise preserued, disposed, and set in order such Voyages, Nauigations, Traffikes, and Discoueries, as our Nation, and especially the worthy inhabitants of this citie of London, haue painefully performed to the South and Southeast parts of the world, without the Streight of Gibraltar, vpon the coasts of Africa, about the Cape of Buona Speranza, to and beyonde the East India. To come more neere vnto particulars, I haue here set downe the very originals and infancie of our trades to the Canarian Ilands, to the kingdomes of Barbarie, to the mightie riuers of Senega and Gambra, to those of Madrabumba, and Sierra Leona, and the Isles of Cape Verde, with twelue sundry voyages to the sultry kingdomes of Guinea and Benin, to the Isle of San Thomé, with a late and true report of the weake estate of the Portugales in Angola, as also the whole course of the Portugale Caracks from Lisbon to the barre of Goa in India, with the disposition and qualitie of the climate neere and vnder the Equinoctiall line, the sundry infallible markes and tokens of approching vnto, and doubling of The Cape of good Hope, the great variation of the compasse for three or foure pointes towards the East betweene the Meridian of S. Michael one of the Islands of the Azores, and the aforesaid Cape, with the returne of the needle againe due North at the Cape Das Agulias, and that place being passed outward bound, the swarting backe againe thereof towards the West, proportionally as it did before, the two wayes, the one within and the other without the Isle of S. Laurence, the dangers of priuie rockes and quicksands, the running seas, and the perils thereof, with the certaine and vndoubted signes of land. All these and other particularities are plainly and truely here deliuered by one Thomas Steuens a learned Englishman, who in the yeere 1579 going as a passenger in the Portugale Fleete from Lisbon into India, wrote the same from Goa to his father in England: Whereunto I haue added the memorable voyage of M. James Lancaster, who doth not onely

recount

recount and confirme most of the things aboue mentioned, but also doth acquaint vs with the state of the voyage beyond Cape Comori, and the Isle of Ceilon, with the Isles of Nicubar and Gomes Polo lying within two leagues of the rich Island Sumatra, and those of Pulo Pinaom, with the maine land of Iunçalaon and the streight of Malacca. I haue likewise added a late intercepted letter of a Portugall reuealing the secret and most gainefull trade of Pegu, which is also confirmed by Cesar Fredericke a Venetian, and M. Ralph Fitch now liuing here in London.

And because our chiefe desire is to find-out ample vent of our wollen cloth, the naturall cõmoditie of this our Realme, the fittest places, which in al my readings and obseruations I find for that purpose, are the manifold Islands of Iapan, & the Northern parts of China, & the regions of the Tartars next adioyning (whereof I read, that the countrey in winter is Assi fria como Flandes, that is to say, as cold as Flanders, & that the riuers be strongly ouerfrozen) and therefore I haue here inserted two speciall Treatises of the sayd Countries, the one beginning pag. 546, the other pag. 569: which last discourse I hold to be the most exact of those parts that is yet come to light, which was printed in Latine in Macao a citie of China, in China-paper, in the yeere a thousand fiue hundred and ninetie, and was intercepted in the great Carack called Madre de Dios two yeeres after, inclosed in a case of sweete Cedar wood, and lapped vp almost an hundred fold in fine calicut-cloth, as though it had bene some incomparable iewel.

But leauing abruptly this discourse, I thinke it not impertinent, before I make an end, to deliuer some of the reasons, that moued me to present this part of my trauailes vnto your Honour. The reuerend antiquitie in the dedication of their workes made choyse of such patrons, as eyther with their reputation and credite were able to countenance the same, or by their wisedome and vnderstanding were able to censure and approoue them, or with their abilitie were likely to stand them or theirs in steade in the ordinarie necessities and accidents of their life. Touching the first, your descent from a father, that was accounted Pater patriæ, your owne place and credite in execution of her Maiesties inward counsailes and publike seruices, added to your well discharging your forren imployment, (when the greatest cause in Christendome was handled) haue not onely drawen mens eyes vpon you, but also forcibly haue moued many, and my selfe among the rest to haue our labours protected by your authoritie. For the second point, when it pleased your Honour in sommer was two yeeres to haue some conference with me, and to demaund mine opinion touching the state of the Country of Guiana, and whether it were fit to be planted by the English: I then (to my no small ioy) did admire the exact knowledge which you had gotten of those matters of Indian Nauigations: and how carefull you were, not to be ouertaken with any partiall affection to the Action, appeared also, by the sound arguments which you made pro & contra, of the likelihood and reason of good or ill successe of the same, before the State and common wealth (wherein you haue an extraordinarie voyce) should be farther engaged. In consideration whereof I thinke myselfe thrise happie to haue these my trauailes censured by your Honours so well approued iudgement. Touching the third and last motiue I cannot but acknowledge my selfe much indebted for your fauourable letters heretofore written in my behalfe in mine honest causes. Whereunto I may adde, that when this worke was to passe vnto the presse, your Honour did not onely intreate a worthy knight, a person of speciall experience, as in many others so in marine causes, to ouersee and peruse the same, but also vpon his good report with your most fauourable letters did warrant, and with extraordinarie commendation did approue and allow my labours, and desire to publish the same. Wherefore to conclude, seeing they take their life and light from the most cheerefull and benigne aspect of your fauour, I thinke it my bounden dutie in all humilitie and with much bashfulnesse to recommend my selfe and them vnto your right Honorable and fauourable protection, and your Honour to the mercifull tuition of the most High. From London this 24. of October. 1599.

Your Honours most humble
to be commanded,
Richard Hakluyt preacher.

A CATALOGUE

OF THE

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THE SECOND VOLUME

OF THE PRINCIPALL

NAUIGATIONS, VOYAGES, TRAFFIQUES, AND DISCOUERIES,

OF THE

ENGLISH NATION,

MADE TO THE SOUTH AND SOUTHEAST QUARTERS OF THE WORLD,

WITHIN THE STRAIGHT OF GIBRALTAR,

WITH THE

DIRECTIONS, LETTERS, PRIUILEDGES, DISCOURSES, AND OBSERUATIONS

INCIDENT TO THE SAME.

PRECEDED BY THE MEMORABLE DEFEAT,

OF

THE SPANISH HUGE ARMADA,

AND THE

HONOURABLE VOYAGE TO CADIZ.

The miraculous victory atchieued by the English Fleete, vnder the discreet and happy conduct of the right honourable, right prudent, and valiant lord, the L. Charles Howard, L. high Admirall of England, &c. Vpon the Spanish huge Armada sent in the yeere 1588. for the inuasion of England, together with the wofull and miserable successe of the said Armada afterward, vpon the coasts of Norway, of the Scottish Westerne Isles, of Ireland, of Spaine, of France, and of England, &c. Recorded in Latine by Emanuel van Meteran, in the 15. Booke of his history of the low Countreys.

HAuing in part declared the strange and wonderfull euents of the yeere eightie eight, which hath bene so long time foretold by ancient prophesies; we will now make relation of the most notable and great enterprise of all others which were in the foresaid yeere atchieued, in order as it was done. Which exploit (although in very deed it was not performed in any part of the low Countreys) was intended for their ruine and destruction. And it was the expedition which the Spanish king, hauing a long time determined the same in his minde, and hauing consulted thereabout with the Pope, set foorth and vndertooke against England, and the low Countreys. To the end that he might subdue the Realme of England, and reduce it vnto his catholique Religion, and by that meanes might be sufficiently reuenged for the disgrace, contempt and dishonour, which hee (hauing 34. yeeres before enforced them to the Popes obedience) had endured of the English nation, and for

diuers other iniuries which had taken deepe impression in his thoughts. And also for that hee deemed this to bee the most readie and direct course, whereby hee might recouer his heredetarie possession of the lowe Countreys, hauing restrained the inhabitants from sayling vpon the coast of England. Which verily, vpon most weighty arguments and euident reasons, was thought would vndoubtedly haue come to passe, considering the great aboundance and store of all things necessary wherewith those men were furnished, which had the managing of that action committed vnto them. But now let vs describe the matter more particularly.

The preparation of the Spanish King to subdue England and the lowe Countreys.

The Spanish King hauing with small fruite and commoditie, for aboue twentie yeeres together, waged warre against the Netherlanders, after deliberation with his counsellers thereabout, thought it most conuenient to assault them once againe by Sea, which had bene attempted sundry times heretofore, but not with forces sufficient. Vnto the which expedition it stoode him nowe in hand to ioyne great puissance, as hauing the English people his professed enemies; whose Island is so situate, that it may either greatly helpe or hinder all such as saile into those parts. For which cause hee thought good first of all to inuade England, being perswaded by his Secretary Escouedo, and by diuers other well experienced Spaniards and Dutchmen, and by many English fugitiues, that the conquest of that Island was lesse difficult then the conquest of Holland and Zeland. Moreouer the Spaniards were of opinion, that it would bee farre more behouefull for their King to conquere England and the lowe Countreys all at once, then to be constrained continually to maintaine a warlike Nauie to defend his East and West Indie Fleetes, from the English Drake, and from such like valiant enemies.

And for the same purpose the king Catholique had giuen commandement long before in Italy and Spaine, that a great quantitie of timber should be felled for the building of shippes; and had besides made great preparation of things and furniture requisite for such an expedition; as namely in founding of brasen Ordinance, in storing vp of corne and victuals, in trayning of men to vse warlike weapons, in leauying and mustering of souldiers: insomuch that about the beginning of the yeere 1588. he had finished such a mightie Nauie, and brought it into Lisbon hauen, as neuer the like had before that time sailed vpon the Ocean sea.

A very large and particular description of this Nauie was put in print and published by the Spaniards; wherein were set downe the number, names, and burthens of the shippes, the number of Mariners and souldiers throughout the whole Fleete; likewise the quantitie of their Ordinance, of their armour, of bullets, of match, of gun-poulder, of victuals, and of all their Nauall furniture was in the saide description particularized. Vnto all these were added the names of the Gouernours, Captaines, Noblemen and gentlemen voluntaries, of whom there was so great a multitude, that scarce was there any family of accompt, or any one principall man throughout all Spaine, that had not a brother, sonne or kinseman in that Fleete: who all of them were in good hope to purchase vnto themselues in that Nauie (as they termed it) inuincible endlesse glory and renowne, and to possesse themselues of great Seigniories and riches in England, and in the lowe Countreys. But because the said description was translated and published out of Spanish into diuers other languages, we will here onely make an abridgement or briefe rehearsall theereof.

The number and quantitie of the ships in the Spanish Fleete, with the souldiers Mariners, and pieces of Ordinance.

Portugal furnished and set foorth vnder the conduct of the duke of Medina Sidonia generall of the Fleete, ten Galeons, two Zabraes, 1300. Mariners, 3300. souldiers, 300. great pieces, with all requisite furniture.

Biscay, vnder the conduct of Iohn Martines de Ricalde Admiral of the whole Fleete, set forth tenne Galeons, 4. Pataches, 700. mariners, 2000. souldiers, 250. great pieces, &c.

Guipusco, vnder the conduct of Michael de Oquendo, tenne Galeons, 4 Pataches, 700. mariners, 2000. souldiers, 310. great pieces.

Italy with the Leuant Islands, vnder Martine de Vertendona, 10. Galeons, 800. mariners. 2000. souldiers, 310. great pieces, &c.

Castile,

Castile, vnder Diego Flores de Valdez, 14. Galeons, two Pataches, 1700. mariners, 2400. souldiers, and 380. great pieces, &c.

Andaluzia, vnder the conduct of Petro de Valdez, 10. Galeons, one Patache, 800. mariners, 2400. souldiers, 280. great pieces, &c.

Item, vnder the conduct of Iohn Lopez de Medina, 23. great Flemish hulkes, with 700. mariners, 3200. souldiers, and 400. great pieces.

Item, vnder Hugo de Moncada, foure Gallasses containing 1200. gally-slaues, 460. mariners, 870. souldiers, 200. great pieces, &c.

Item, vnder Diego de Mandrana, foure Gallies of Portugall, with 888. gally-slaues, 360 mariners, 20. great pieces, and other requisite furniture.

Item, vnder Anthonie de Mendoza, 22. Pataches and Zabraes, with 574. mariners, 488. souldiers, and 198. great pieces.

Besides the ships aforementioned there were 20. caruels rowed with oares, being appointed to performe necessary seruices vnto the greater ships: insomuch that all the ships appertayning to this Nauie amounted vnto the summe of 150. eche one being sufficiently prouided of furniture and victuals.

The number of Mariners in the saide Fleete were aboue 8000. of slaues 2088. of souldiers 20000. (besides noblemen and gentlemen voluntaries) of great cast pieces 2650. The foresaid ships were of an huge and incredible capacitie and receipt. For the whole Fleete was large ynough to containe the burthen of 60. thousand tunnes.

A description of the Galeons.

The Galeons were 64. in number, being of an huge bignesse, and very stately built, being of marueilous force also, and so high that they resembled great castles, most fit to defend themselues and to withstand any assault, but in giuing any other ships the encounter farre inferiour vnto the English and Dutch ships, which can with great dexteritie wield and turne themselues at all assayes. The vpperworke of the said Galeons was of thicknesse and strength sufficient to beare off musket-shot. The lower worke and the timbers thereof were out of measure strong, being framed of plankes and ribs foure or fiue foote in thicknesse, insomuch that no bullets could pierce them, but such as were discharged hard at hand: which afterward prooued true, for a great number of bullets were founde to sticke fast within the massie substance of those thicke plankes. Great and well pitched Cables were twined about the masts of their shippes, to strengthen them against the battery of shot.

A description of the Gallasses.

The Gallasses were of such bignesse, that they contained within them chambers, chapels, turrets, pulpits, and other commodities of great houses. The Gallasses were rowed with great oares, there being in eche one of them 300. slaues for the same purpose, and were able to do great seruice with the force of their Ordinance. All these together with the residue aforenamed were furnished and beautified with trumpets, streamers, banners, warlike ensignes, and other such like ornaments.

The great Ordinance, bullets, gun-poulder, and other furniture

Their pieces of brasen ordinance were 1600. and of yron a 1000.

The bullets thereto belonging were 120. thousand.

Item of gun-poulder 5600. quintals. Of matche 1200. quintals.

Of muskets and kaleiuers 7000. Of haleberts and partisans 10000.

Moreouer they had great store of canons, double-canons, culuerings and field-pieces for land seruices.

Their prouision of victuals and other things necessary.

Likewise they were prouided of all instruments necessary on land to conueigh and transport their furniture from place to place; as namely of carts, wheeles, wagons, &c. Also they had spades, mattocks and baskets to set pioners on worke. They had in like sort great store of mules and horses, and whatsoeuer else was requisite for a land-armie. They were so well stored of biscuit, that for the space of halfe a yeere, they might allow eche person in the whole Fleete halfe a quintall euery moneth; whereof the whole summe amounteth vnto an hundred thousand quintals.

Likewise of wine they had 147. thousand pipes, sufficient also for halfe a yeees expedition. Of bacon 6500. quintals. Of cheese three thousand quintals. Besides fish, rise, beanes, pease, oile, vineger, &c.

Moreouer they had 12000. pipes of fresh-water, and all other necessary prouision, as namely candles, lanternes, lampes, sailes, hempe, oxe-hides and lead to stop holes that should be made with the battery of gunshot. To be short, they brought all things expedient either for a Fleete by sea, or for an armie by land.

This Nauie (as Diego Pimentelli afterward confessed) was esteemed by the King himselfe to containe 32000. persons, and to cost him euery day 30. thousand ducates.

A Spanish tercs consisteth of 3300. souldiers.

There were in the said Nauie fiue terzaes of Spaniards, (which terzaes the Frenchmen call Regiments) vnder the commaund of fiue gouernours termed by the Spaniards, Masters of the field, and amongst the rest there were many olde and expert souldiers chosen out of the garisons of Sicilie, Naples, and Terçera. Their Captaines or Colonels were Diego Pimentelli, Don Francisco de Toledo, Don Alonço de Luçon, Don Nicolas de Isla, Don Augustin de Mexia; who had eche of them 32. companies vnder their conduct. Besides the which companies there were many bands also of Castilians and Portugals, euery one of which had their peculiar gouernours, captaines, officers, colours and weapons.

It was not lawfull for any man, vnder grieuous penaltie, to cary any women or harlots in the Fleete: for which cause the women hired certaine shippes, wherein they sailed after the Nauie: some of the which being driuen by tempest arriued vpon the coast of France.

The generall of this mightie Nauie, was Don Alonso Perez de Guzman duke of Medina Sidonia, Lord of S. Lucar, and knight of the golden Fleece: by reason that the Marques of santa Cruz appointed for the same dignitie, deceased before the time.

Iohn Martines de Ricalde was Admirall of the Fleete.

Francis Bouadilla was chiefe Marshall: who all of them had their officers fit and requisite for the guiding and managing of such a multitude. Likewise Martin Alorcon was appointed Vicar generall of the Inquisition, being accompanied with more then a hundreth Monkes, to wit, Iesuites, Capuchines, and friers mendicant. Besides whom also there were Phisitians, Chirurgians, Apothecaries, and whatsoeuer else perteined vnto the hospitall.

Ouer and besides the forenamed gouernours and officers being men of chiefe note, there were 124. very noble and worthy Gentlemen, which went voluntarily of their owne costs and charges, to the ende they might see fashions, learne experience, and attaine vnto glory. Amongst whom was the prince of Ascoli, Alonzo de Leiua, the marques de Pennafiel, the marques de Ganes, the marques de Barlango, count de Paredes, count de Yeluas, and diuers other marqueses and earles of the honourable families of Mendoza, of Toledo, of Pachieco, of Cordoua, of Guzman, of Manricques, and a great number of others.

The preparation of the duke of Parma to aide the Spaniards.

While the Spaniards were furnishing this their Nauie, the duke of Parma, at the direction of king Philip, made great preparation in the low Countreys, to giue ayd & assistance vnto the Spaniards; building ships for the same purpose, and sending for Pilots and shipwrights out of Italy.

In Flanders hee caused certaine deepe chanels to be made, and among the rest the chanell of Yper commonly called Yper-lee, employing some thousands of workemen about that seruice: to the end that by the said chanel he might transport ships from Antwerp and Ghendt to Bruges, where hee had assembled aboue a hundreth small ships called hoyes being well stored with victuals, which hoyes hee was determined to haue brought into the sea by the way of Sluys, or else to haue conueyed them by the saide Yper-lee being now of greater depth, into any port of Flanders whatsoeuer.

In the riuer of Waten he caused 70. ships with flat bottomes to be built, euery one of which should serue to cary 30. horses, hauing eche of them bridges likewise for the horses to come on boord, or to goe foorth on land. Of the same fashion he had prouided 200. other vessels at Neiuport, but not so great. And at Dunkerk hee procured 28. ships of warre, such as were there to be had, and caused a sufficient number of Mariners to be leuied at Hamburgh, Breme, Emden, and at other places. Hee put in the ballast of the said ships, great store of beames of thicke plankes, being hollow and beset with yron pikes beneath, but on eche side full of claspes and hookes, to ioyne them together.

Hee had likewise at Greueling prouided 20. thousand of caske, which in a short space might be

be compact and ioyned together with nailes and cords, and reduced into the forme of a bridge. To be short, whatsoeuer things were requisite for the making of bridges, and for the barring and stopping vp of hauens mouthes with stakes, posts, and other meanes, he commanded to be made ready. Moreouer not farre from Neuport hauen, he had caused a great pile of wooden fagots to be layd, and other furniture to be brought for the rearing vp of a mount. The most part of his ships conteined two ouens a piece to bake bread in, with a great number of sadles, bridles, and such other like apparell for horses. They had horses likewise, which after their landing should serue to conuey, and draw engines, field-pieces, and other warlike prouisions.

Neere vnto Neiuport he had assembled an armie, ouer the which he had ordained Camillo de Monte to be Camp-master. This army consisted of 30. bands or ensignes of Italians, of tenne bands of Wallons, eight of Scots, and eight of Burgundians, all which together amount vnto 56. bands, euery band containing a hundreth persons. Neare vnto Dixmud there were mustered 80. bands of Dutch men, sixtie of Spaniards, sixe of high Germans, and seuen bands of English fugitiues, vnder the conduct of sir William Stanlie an English knight.

In the suburbes of Cortreight there were 4000. horsemen together with their horses in a readinesse: and at Waten 900. horses, with the troupe of the Marques Del Gwasto Captaine generall of the horsemen.

Vnto this famous expedition and presupposed victorie, many potentates, princes, and honourable personages hied themselues: out of Spaine the prince of Melito called the duke of Pastrana and taken to be the sonne of one Ruygomes de Silua, but in very deed accompted among the number of king Philips base sonnes. Also the Marques of Burgraue, one of the sonnes of Archiduke Ferdinand and Philippa Welsera. Vespasian Gonsaga of the family of Mantua, being for chiualry a man of great renowne, and heretofore Vice-roy in Spaine. Item Iohn Medices base sonne vnto the duke of Florence. And Amadas of Sauoy, the duke of Sauoy his base sonne, with many others of inferiour degrees.

Likewise Pope Sixtus quintus for the setting forth of the foresaid expedition, as they vse to do against Turkes & infidels, published a Cruzado, with most ample indulgences which were printed in great numbers. These vaine buls the English and Dutchmen deriding, sayd that the deuill at all passages lay in ambush like a thiefe, no whit regarding such letters of safe conduct. Some there be which affirme that the Pope had bestowed the realme of England with the title of Defensor fidei, vpon the king of Spaine, giuing him charge to inuade it vpon this condition, that hee should enioy the conquered realm, as a vassal and tributarie, in that regard, vnto the sea of Rome. To this purpose the said Pope proffered a million of gold, the one halfe thereof to be paied in readie money, and the other halfe when the realme of England or any famous port thereof were subdued. And for the greater furtherance of the whole businesse, he dispatched one D. Allen an English man (whom he had made Cardinall for the same ende and purpose) into the Low countries, vnto whom he committed the administration of all matters ecclesiasticall throughout England. This Allen being enraged against his owne natiue countrey, caused the Popes bull to be translated into English, meaning vpon the arriual of the Spanish fleete to haue it so published in England. By which Bull the excommunications of the two former Popes were confirmed, and the Queenes most sacred Maiestie was by them most vniustly depriued of all princely titles and dignities, her subiects being enioined to performe obedience vnto the duke of Parma, and vnto the Popes Legate.

The Popes furtherance to the conquest of England, and of the low Countries.

But that all matters might be performed with greater secrecie, and that the whole expedition might seeme rather to be intended against the Low countries, then against England; and that the English people might be perswaded that all was but bare words & threatnings, and that nought would come to effect, there was a solemne meeting appointed at Borborch in Flanders for a treatie of peace betweene her maiestie and the Spanish king.

Against which treatie the vnited prouinces making open protestation, vsed all meanes possible to hinder it, alleaging that it was more requisite to consult how the enemie now pressing vpon them might be repelled from off their frontiers. Howbeit some there were in

England

A treatie of peace, to the end that England and the vnited prouinces might be secure of inuasion.

England that greatly vrged and prosecuted this league, saying, that it would be very commodious vnto the state of the realme, as well in regard of traffique and nauigation, as for the auoiding of great expenses to maintaine the warres, affirming also, that at the same time peace might easily and vpon reasonable conditions be obtained of the Spaniard. Others thought by this meanes to diuert some other way, or to keepe backe the nauy now comming vpon them, and so to escape the danger of that tempest. Howsoeuer it was, the duke of Parma by these wiles enchanted and dazeled the eyes of many English & Dutch men that were desirous of peace: whereupon it came to passe, that England and the vnited prouinces prepared in deed some defence to withstand that dreadfull expedition and huge Armada, but nothing in comparison of the great danger which was to be feared, albeit the constant report of the whole expedition had continued rife among them for a long time before. Howbeit they gaue eare vnto the relation of certaine that sayd, that this nauie was prouided to conduct and waft ouer the Indian Fleets: which seemed the more probable because the Spaniards were deemed not to be men of so small discretion as to aduenture those huge and monstrous ships vpon the shallow and dangerous chanel of England.

Her maiesties warlike preparation by sea.

At length when as the French king about the end of May signified vnto her Maiestie in plaine termes that she should stand vpon her guard, because he was now most certainly enformed, that there was so dangerous an inuasion imminent vpon her realme, that he feared much least all her land and sea-forces would be sufficient to withstand it, &c. then began the Queens Maiestie more carefully to gather her forces together, & to furnish her own ships of warre, & the principall ships of her subiects with souldiers, weapons, and other necessary prouision. The greatest and strongest ships of the whole nauy she sent vnto Plimmouth vnder the conduct of the right honorable Lord Charles Howard, lord high Admirall of England, &c. Vnder whom the renoumed Knight Sir Francis Drake was appointed Vice-admiral. The number of these ships was about an hundreth. The lesser ships being 30. or 40. in number, and vnder the conduct of the lord Henry Seimer were commanded to lie between Douer and Caleis.

Her Maiestles land-forces.

On land likewise throughout the whole realme, souldiers were mustered and trained in all places, and were committed vnto the most resolute and faithfull captaines. And whereas it was commonly giuen out that the Spaniard hauing once vnited himselfe vnto the duke of Parma, ment to inuade by the riuer of Thames, there was at Tilburie in Essex ouer-against Grauesend, a mightie army encamped, and on both sides of the riuer fortifications were erected, according to the prescription of Frederike Genebelli an Italian enginier. Likewise there were certaine ships brought to make a bridge, though it were very late first. Vnto the sayd army came in proper person the Queens most roiall Maiestie, representing Tomyris that Scythian warlike princesse, or rather diuine Pallas her selfe. Also there were other such armies leuied in England.

The principall catholique Recusants (least they should stirre vp any tumult in the time of the Spanish inuasion) were sent to remaine at certaine conuenient places, as namely in the Isle of Ely and at Wisbich. And some of them were sent vnto other places, to wit, vnto sundry bishops and noblemen, where they were kept from endangering the state of the common wealth, and of her sacred Maiestie, who of her most gracious clemencie gaue expresse commandement, that they should be intreated with all humanitie and friendship.

The preparation of the vnited prouinces.

The prouinces of Holland and Zeland, &c. giuing credite vnto their intelligence out of Spain, made preparation to defend themselues: but because the Spanish ships were described vnto them to be so huge, they relied partly vpon the shallow and dangerous seas all along their costs. Wherfore they stood most in doubt of the duke of Parma his small and flat-bottomed ships. Howbeit they had all their ships of warre to the number of 90. and aboue, in a readinesse for all assayes: the greater part whereof were of a small burthen, as being more meete to saile vpon their riuers and shallow seas: and with these ships they besieged all the hauens in Flanders, beginning at the mouth of Scheld, or from the towne of Lillo, and holding on to Greueling and almost vnto Caleis, & fortified all their sea-townes with strong garrisons.

Against

Against the Spanish fleets arriuall, they had prouided 25. or 30. good ships, committing the gouernment of them vnto Admirall Louck, whom they commanded to ioine himselfe vnto the lord Henry Seymer, lying betweene Douer and Cales. And when as the foresaid ships (whereof the greater part besieged the hauen of Dunkerke) were driuen by tempest into Zeland, Iustin of Nassau the Admiral of Zeland supplied that squadron with 35. ships being of no great burthen, but excellently furnished with gunnes, mariners and souldiers in great abundance, and especially with 1200. Abraue Musquetiers, hauing bene accustomed vnto sea-fights, and being chosen out of all their companies for the same purpose: and so the said Iustin of Nassau kept such diligent ward in that Station that the duke of Parma could not issue foorth with his nauy into the sea out of any part of Flanders.

In the meane while the Spanish Armada set saile out of the hauen of Lisbon vpon the 19. of May, An. Dom. 1588. vnder the conduct of the duke of Medina Sidonia, directing their course for the Baie of Corunna, alias the Groine in Gallicia, where they tooke in souldiers and warlike prouision, this port being in Spaine the neerest vnto England. As they were sailing along, there arose such a mightie tempest, that the whole Fleete was dispersed, so that when the duke was returned vnto his company, he could not escry aboue 80. ships in all, whereunto the residue by litle and litle ioyned themselues, except eight which had their mastes blowen ouer-boord. One of the foure gallies of Portingal escaped very hardly, retiring her selfe into the hauen. The other three were vpon the coast of Baion in France, by the assistance and courage of one Dauid Gwin an English captiue (whom the French and Turkish slaues aided in the same enterprise) vtterly disabled and vanquished: one of the three being first ouercome, which conquered the two other, with the slaughter of their gouernours and souldiers, and among the rest of Don Diego de Mandrana with sundry others: and so those slaues arriuing in France with the three Gallies, set themselues at libertie. The Spanish fleete set saile vpon the 19. of May.

The nauy hauing refreshed themselues at the Groine, & receiuing daily commandement from the king to hasten their iourney, hoised vp sailes the 11. day of July, and so holding on their course till the 19. of the same moneth, they came then vnto the mouth of the narrow seas or English chanel. From whence (striking their sailes in the meane season) they dispatched certaine of their smal ships vnto the duke of Parma. At the same time the Spanish Fleete was escried by an English pinasse, captaine whereof was M. Thomas Fleming, after they had bene aduertised of the Spaniards expedition by their scoutes and espials, which hauing ranged along the coast of Spaine, were lately returned home into Plimmouth for a new supply of victuals and other necessaries, who considering the foresayd tempest, were of opinion that the nauy being of late dispersed and tossed vp and downe the maine Ocean, was by no means able to performe their intended voiage. They set saile from y Groine vpon the 11. of July. The Spaniards come within kenning of England. Captaine Fleming.

Moreouer, the L. Charles Howard L. high admiral of England had receiued letters from the court, signifying vnto him that her Maiestie was aduertised that the Spanish Fleete would not come foorth, nor was to be any longer expected for, and therefore, that vpon her Maiesties commandement he must send backe foure of her tallest and strongest ships vnto Chattam.

The lord high Admiral of England being thus on the sudden, namely vpon the 19. of July about foure of the clocke in the afternoone, enformed by the pinasse of captaine Fleming aforesaid, of the Spaniards approch, with all speed and diligence possible he warped his ships, and caused his mariners and souldiers (the greater part of whom was absent for the cause aforesayd) to come on boord, and that with great trouble and difficultie, insomuch that the lord Admiral himselfe was faine to lie without in the road with sixe ships onely all that night, after the which many others came foorth of the hauen. The very next day being the 20. of July about high noone, was the Spanish Fleete escried by the English, which with a Southwest wind came sailing along, and passed by Plimmouth: in which regard (according to the iudgement of many skilful nauigators) they greatly ouershot themselues, whereas it had bene more commodious for them to haue staied themselues there, considering that the Englishmen being as yet vnprouided, greatly relied vpon their owne forces, and knew not the estate of the Spanish nauy. Moreouer, this was the most conuenient port of all others, where they The L. Admirals short warning vpon the 19. of July. The 20. of July.

might

might with greater securitie haue bene aduertised of the English forces, and how the commons of the land stood affected, and might haue stirred vp some mutinie, so that hither they should haue bent all their puissance, and from hence the duke of Parma might more easily haue conueied his ships.

But this they were prohibited to doe by the king and his counsell, and were expressely commanded to vnite themselues vnto the souldiers and ships of the said duke of Parma, and so to bring their purpose to effect. Which was thought to be the most easie and direct course, for that they imagined that the English and Dutch men would be vtterly daunted and dismaied thereat, and would each man of them retire vnto his owne Prouince and Porte for the defence thereof, and transporting the armie of the duke vnder the protection of their huge nauy, they might inuade England.

It is reported that the chiefe commanders in the nauy, and those which were more skilfull in nauigation, to wit, Iohn Martines de Ricalde, Diege Flores de Valdez, and diuers others found fault that they were bound vnto so strict directions and instructions, because that in such a case many particular accidents ought to concurre and to be respected at one and the same instant, that is to say, the opportunitie of the wind, weather, time, tide, and ebbe, wherein they might saile from Flanders to England. Oftentimes also the darkenesse and light, the situation of places, the depths and shoulds were to be considered: all which especially depended vpon the conueniencie of the windes, and were by so much the more dangerous.

But it seemeth that they were enioined by their commission to ancre neere vnto, or about Caleis, whither the duke of Parma with his ships and all his warrelike prouision was to resort, and while the English and Spanish great ships were in the midst of their conflict, to passe by, and to land his souldiers vpon the Downes.

The Spanish captiues reported that they were determined first to haue entred the riuer of Thames, and thereupon to haue passed with small ships vp to London, supposing that they might easily winne that rich and flourishing Citie being but meanely fortified and inhabited with Citizens not accustomed to the warres, who durst not withstand their first encounter, hoping moreouer to finde many rebels against her Maiestie and popish catholiques, or some fauourers of the Scottish queene (which was not long before most iustly beheaded) who might be instruments of sedition.

Thus often aduertising the duke of Parma of their approch, the 20. of Iuly they passed by Plimmouth, which the English ships pursuing and getting the wind of them, gaue them the chase and the encounter, and so both Fleets frankly exchanged their bullets.

The 21. of July. The day following which was the 21. of July, the English ships approched within musquet shot of the Spanish: at what time the lorde Charles Howard most hotly and valiantly discharged his Ordinance vpon the Spanish Vice-admirall. The Spaniards then well perceiuing the nimblenesse of the English ships in discharging vpon the enimie on all sides, gathered themselues close into the forme of an halfe moone, and slackened their sailes, least they should outgoe any of their companie. And while they were proceeding on in this maner, one of their great Galliasses was so furiously battered with shot, that the whole nauy was faine to come vp rounder together for the safegard thereof: whereby it came to passe that the principall Galleon of Siuill (wherein Don Pedro de Valdez, Vasques de Silua, Alonzo de Sayas, and other noble men were embarqued) falling foule of another shippe, had her fore-mast broken, and by that meanes was not able to keepe way with the Spanish Fleete, neither would the sayde Fleete stay to succour it, but left the distressed Galeon behind. The lord Admirall of England when he saw this ship of Valdez, & thought she had bene voyd of Mariners and Souldiers, taking with him as many shippes as he could, passed by it, that he might not loose sight of the Spanish Fleet that night. For sir Francis Drake (who was notwithstanding appointed to beare out his lanterne that night) was giuing of chase vnto fiue great Hulkes which had separated themselues from the Spanish Fleete: but finding them to be Easterlings, he dismissed them. The lord Admirall all that night following the Spanish lanterne in stead

of

of the English, found himselfe in the morning to be in the midst of his enimies Fleete, but when he perceiued it, hee cleanly conueyed himselfe out of that great danger.

The day folowing, which was the two and twentie of Iuly, Sir Francis Drake espied Valdez his shippe, whereunto hee sent foorth his pinnasse, and being aduertised that Valdez himselfe was there, and 450. persons with him, he sent him word that he should yeeld himselfe. Valdez for his honors sake caused certaine conditions to be propounded vnto Drake: who answered Valdez that he was not now at laisure to make any long parle, but if he would yeeld himselfe, he should find him friendly and tractable: howbeit if he had resolued to die in fight, he should prooue Drake to be no dastard. The 22. of Iuly.

Vpon which answere Valdez and his company vnderstanding that they were fallen into the hands of fortunate Drake, being mooued with the renoume and celebritie of his name, with one consent yeelded themselues, and found him very fauourable vnto them. Then Valdez with 40. or 50. noblemen and gentlemen pertaining vnto him, came on boord sir Francis Drakes ship. The residue of his company were caried vnto Plimmouth, where they were detained a yere & an halfe for their ransome. Don Pedro de Valdez with his ship & company taken.

Valdez comming vnto Drake and humbly kissing his hand protested vnto him, that he and his had resolued to die in battell, had they not by good fortune fallen into his power, whom they knew to be right curteous and gentle, and whom they had heard by generall report to bee most fauourable vnto his vanquished foe: insomuch that he sayd it was to bee doubted whether his enimies had more cause to admire and loue him for his great, valiant, and prosperous exploites, or to dread him for his singular felicitie and wisedom, which euer attended vpon him in the warres, and by the which hee had attained vnto so great honour. With that Drake embraced him and gaue him very honourable entertainement, feeding him at his owne table, and lodging him in his cabbin.

Here Valdez began to recount vnto Drake the forces of all the Spanish Fleet, and how foure mightie Gallies were separated by tempest from them: and also how they were determined first to haue put into Plimmouth hauen, not expecting to bee repelled thence by the English ships which they thought could by no meanes withstand their impregnable forces, perswading themselues that by means of their huge Fleete, they were become lords and commaunders of the maine Ocean. For which cause they marueled much how the English men in their small ships durst approch within musket shot of the Spaniards mightie woodden castles, gathering the wind of them with many other such like attempts.

Immediately after, Valdez and his company, being a man of principal authoritie in the Spanish Fleete, and being descended of one and the same familie with that Valdez, which in the yeere 1574. besieged Leiden in Holland, were sent captiues into England. There were in the sayd ship 55. thousand ducates in ready money of the Spanish kings gold, which the souldiers merily shared among themselues.

The same day was set on fire one of their greatest shippes, being Admirall of the squadron of Guipusco, and being the shippe of Michael de Oquendo Vice-admirall of the whole Fleete, which contained great store of gunnepowder and other warrelike prouision. The vpper part onely of this shippe was burnt, and all the persons therein contained (except a very few) were consumed with fire. And thereupon it was taken by the English, and brought into England with a number of miserable burnt and skorched Spaniards. Howbeit the gunpowder (to the great admiration of all men) remained whole and vnconsumed. A great Biscaine ship taken by the English.

In the meane season the lord Admirall of England in his ship called the Arke-royall, all that night pursued the Spaniards so neere, that in the morning hee was almost left alone in the enimies Fleete, and it was foure of the clocke at afternoone before the residue of the English Fleet could ouertake him.

At the same time Hugo de Moncada gouernour of the foure Galliasses, made humble sute vnto the Duke of Medina that he might be licenced to encounter the Admirall of England: which libertie the duke thought not good to permit vnto him, because hee was loth to exceed the limites of his commission and charge.

Vpon Tuesday which was the three and twentie of Iuly, the naule being come ouer against Portland, The 23. of Iuly.

Portland, the wind began to turne Northerly, insomuch that the Spaniards had a fortunate and fit gale to inuade the English. But the Englishmen hauing lesser and nimbler Ships, recouered againe the vantage of the winde from the Spaniards, whereat the Spaniards seemed to bee more incensed to fight then before. But when the English Fleete had continually and without intermission from morning to night, beaten and battered them with all their shot both great and small: the Spaniardes vniting themselues, gathered their whole Fleete close together into a roundell, so that it was apparant that they ment not as yet to inuade others, but onely to defend themselues and to make hast vnto the place prescribed vnto them, which was neere vnto Dunkerk, that they might ioine forces with the duke of Parma, who was determined to haue proceeded secretly with his small shippes vnder the shadow and protection of the great ones, and so had intended circumspectly to performe the whole expedition.

This was the most furious and bloodie skirmish of all, in which the lord Admirall of England continued fighting amidst his enimies Fleete, and seeing one of his Captaines afarre off, hee spake vnto him in these wordes: Oh George what doest thou? Wilt thou nowe frustrate my hope and opinion conceiued of thee? Wilt thou forsake me nowe? With which wordes hee being enflamed, approched foorthwith, encountered the enemie, and did the part of a most valiant Captaine. His name was George Fenner, a man that had bene conuersant in many Sea-fights.

A great Venetian ship and other small ships taken by the English.

In this conflict there was a certaine great Venetian ship with other small ships surprised and taken by the English.

The English nauie in the meane while increased, whereunto out of all Hauens of the Realme resorted ships and men: for they all with one accord came flocking thither as vnto a set field, where immortall fame and glory was to be attained, and faithfull seruice to bee performed vnto their prince and countrey.

In which number there were many great and honourable personages, as namely, the Erles of Oxford, of Northumberland, of Cumberland, &c. with many Knights and Gentlemen: to wit, Sir Thomas Cecill, Sir Robert Cecill, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir William Hatton, Sir Horatio Palauacini, Sir Henry Brooke, Sir Robert Carew, Sir Charles Blunt, Master Ambrose Willoughbie, Master Henry Nowell, Master Thomas Gerard, Master Henry Dudley, Master Edward Darcie, Master Arthur Gorge, Master Thomas Woodhouse, Master William Haroie, &c. And so it came to passe that the number of the English shippes amounted vnto an hundreth: which when they were come before Douer, were increased to an hundred and thirtie, being notwithstanding of no proportionable bignesse to encounter with the Spaniards, except two or three and twentie of the Queenes greater shippes, which onely, by reason of their presence, bred an opinion in the Spaniardes mindes concerning the power of the English Fleet: the mariners and souldiers whereof were esteemed to be twelue thousand.

The 24. of Iuly.

The foure and twentie of Iuly when as the sea was calme, and no winde stirring, the fight was onely betweene the foure great Galleasses and the English shippes, which being rowed with Oares, had great vauntage of the sayde English shippes, which notwithstanding for all that would *not bee forced* to yeeld, *but* discharged their chaine-shot to cut asunder their Cables and Cordage of the Gallias ses, with many other such Stratagemes. They were nowe constrained to send their men on land for a newe supplie of Gunne-powder, whereof they were in great skarcitie, by reason they had so frankely spent the greater part in the former conflicts.

The same day, a Counsell being assembled, it was decreed that the English Fleete should be deuided into foure squadrons: the principall whereof was committed vnto the lord Admirall: the second to Sir Francis Drake: the third, to Captaine Hawkins: the fourth, to Captaine Frobisher.

The Spaniards in their sailing obserued very diligent and good order, sayling three and foure, and sometimes more ships in a ranke, and following close vp one after another, and the stronger and greater ships protecting the lesser.

The 25. of Iuly.

The fiue and twentie of Iuly when the Spaniardes were come ouer-gainst the Isle of Wight, the lord Admirall of England being accompanied with his best ships, (namely the Lion, Captaine

taine whereof was the lord Thomas Howard: The Elizabeth Ionas vnder the commandement of Sir Robert Southwel sonne in lawe vnto the lord Admirall: the Beare vnder the lord Sheffield nephew vnto the lord Admirall: the Victorie vnder Captaine Barker: and the Galeon Leicester vnder the forenamed Captaine George Fenner) with great valour and dreadfull thundering of shot, encountered the Spanish Admiral being in the very midst of all his Fleet. Which when the Spaniard perceiued, being assisted with his strongest ships, he came foorth and entered a terrible combate with the English: for they bestowed each on other the broad sides, and mutually discharged all their Ordinance, being within one hundred, or an hundred and twentie yards one of another.

At length the Spaniardes hoised vp their sayles, and againe gathered themselues vp close into the forme of a roundel. In the meane while Captaine Frobisher had engaged himselfe into a most dangerous conflict. Whereupon the lord Admirall comming to succour him, found that hee had valiantly and discreetly behaued himselfe, and that hee had wisely and in good time giuen ouer the fight, because that after so great a batterie he had sustained no damage.

For which cause the day following, being the sixe and twentie of Iuly, the lord Admirall rewarded him with the order of knighthood, together with the lord Thomas Howard, the lord Sheffield, M. Iohn Hawkins and others. The 26. of Iuly

The same day the lord Admirall receiued intelligence from Newhauen in France, by certaine of his Pinnasses, that all things were quiet in France, and that there was no preparation of sending aide vnto the Spaniards, which was greatly feared from the Guisian faction, and from the Leaguers: but there was a false rumour spread all about, that the Spaniards had conquered England.

The seuen and twentie of Iuly, the Spaniards about the sunne-setting were come ouer against Douer, and rode at ancre within the sight of Caleis, intending to hold on for Dunkerk, expecting there to ioyne with the duke of Parma his forces, without which they were able to doe litle or nothing. The 27. of Iuly. The Spaniardes ancre before Calais.

Likewise the English Fleete following vp hard vpon them, ancred iust by them within culuering-shot. And here the lord Henry Seymer vnited himselfe vnto the lord Admiral with his fleete of 30. ships which road before the mouth of Thames.

As the Spanish nauie therefore lay at ancre, the duke of Medina sent certaine messengers vnto the duke of Parma, with whom vpon that occasion many Noblemen and Gentlemen went to refresh themselues on land: and amongst the rest the prince of Ascoli, being accounted the kings base sonne, and a very proper and towardly yong gentleman, to his great good, went on shore, who was by so much the more fortunate, in that hee had not opportunitie to returne on boord the same ship, out of which he was departed, because that in returning home it was cast away vpon the Irish coast, with all the persons contained therein.

The duke of Parma being aduertised of the Spanish Fleetes arriuall vpon the coast of England, made all the haste hee could to bee present himselfe in this expedition for the performance of his charge: vainely perswading himselfe that nowe by the meanes of Cardinall Allen, hee should be crowned king of England, and for that cause hee had resigned the gouernement of the Lowe countries vnto Count Mansfeld the elder. And hauing made his vowes vnto S. Mary of Hall in Henault (whom he went to visite for his blind deuotions sake) hee returned toward Bruges the 28. of Iuly. The 28. of Iuly.

The next day trauelling to Dunkerk hee heard the thundering Ordinance of either Fleet: and the same euening being come to Dixmud, hee was giuen to vnderstand the hard successe of the Spanish Fleete. The 29. of Iuly.

Vpon Tuesday which was the thirtieth of Iuly, about high noone, hee came to Dunkerk, when as all the Spanish Fleete was now passed by: neither durst any of his ships in the meane space come foorth to assist the sayd Spanish Fleete for feare of fiue and thirtie warrelike ships of Holland and Zeland, which there kept watch and warde vnder the conduct of the Admirall Iustin of Nassau. The 30. of Iuly.

The foresayd fiue and thirtie shippes were furnished with most cunning mariners and olde

expert souldiers, amongst the which were twelue hundred Musketiers, whom the States had chosen out of all their garisons, and whom they knew to haue bene heretofore experienced in sea-fights.

This nauie was giuen especially in charge not to suffer any shippe to come out of the Hauen, not to permit any Zabraes, Pataches or other small vessels of the Spanish Fleete (which were more likely to aide the Dunkerkers) to enter thereinto, for the greater ships were not to be feared by reason of the shallow sea in that place. Howbeit the prince of Parma his forces being as yet vnreadie, were not come on boord his shippes, onely the English Fugitiues being seuen hundred in number vnder the conduct of Sir William Stanley, came in fit time to haue bene embarked, because they hoped to giue the first assault against England. The residue shewed themselues vnwilling and loath to depart, because they sawe but a few mariners, who were by constraint drawne into this expedition, and also because they had very bare prouision of bread, drinke, and other necessary victuals.

Moreouer, the shippes of Holland and Zeland stood continually in their sight, threatening shot and powder, and many inconueniences vnto them: for feare of which shippes, the Mariners and Sea-men secretly withdrew themselues both day and night, least that the duke of Parma his souldiers should compell them by maine force to goe on boord, and to breake through the Hollanders Fleete, which all of them iudged to bee impossible by reason of the straightnesse of the Hauen.

The Spaniards vaine opinion concerning their own fleet.

But it seemeth that the Duke of Parma and the Spaniards grounded vpon a vaine and presumptuous expectation, that all the ships of England and of the Low countreys would at the first sight of the Spanish and Dunkerk Nauie haue betaken themselues to flight, yeelding them sea roome, and endeuouring onely to defend themselues, their hauens, and sea coasts from inuasion. Wherefore their intent and purpose was, that the Duke of Parma in his small and flat-bottomed shippes, should as it were vnder the shadow and wings of the Spanish fleet, conuey ouer all his troupes, armour, and warlike prouision, and with their forces so vnited, should inuade England; or while the English fleet were busied in fight against the Spanish, should enter vpon any part of the coast, which he thought to be most conuenient. Which inuasion (as the captiues afterward confessed) the Duke of Parma thought first to haue attempted by the riuer of Thames; vpon the bankes whereof hauing at his first arriuall landed twenty or thirty thousand of his principall souldiers, he supposed that he might easily haue woonne the Citie of London; both because his small shippes should haue followed and assisted his land-forces, and also for that the Citie it-selfe was but meanely fortified and easie to ouercome, by reason of the Citizens delicacie and discontinuance from the warres, who with continuall and constant labour might be vanquished, if they yeelded not at the first assault. They were in good hope also to haue mette with some rebels against her Maiestie, and such as were discontented with the present state, as Papists and others. Likewise they looked for ayde from the fauorers of the Scottish Queene, who was not long before put to death; all which they thought would haue stirred vp seditions and factions.

Whenas therefore the Spanish fleet rode at anker before Caleis, to the end they might consult with the Duke of Parma what was best to be done according to the Kings commandement, and the present estate of their affaires, and had now (as we will afterward declare) purposed vpon the second of August being Friday, with one power and consent to haue put their intended businesse in practise; the L. Admirall of England being admonished by her Maiesties letters from the Court, thought it most expedient either to driue the Spanish fleet from that place, or at leastwise to giue them the encounter: and for that cause (according to her Maiesties prescription) he tooke forthwith eight of his woorst & basest ships which came next to hand, & disburthening them of all things which seemed to be of any value, filled them with gun-powder, pitch, brimstone, and with other combustible and firy matter; and charging all their ordinance with powder, bullets, and stones, he sent the sayd ships

The 28 of July. vpon the 28 of July being Sunday, about two of the clocke after midnight, with the winde

and

and tide against the Spanish fleet: which when they had proceeded a good space, being forsaken of the Pilots, and set on fire, were directly carried vpon the King of Spaines Nauie: which fire in the dead of the night put the Spaniards into such a perplexity and horrour (for they feared lest they were like vnto those terrible ships, which Frederic Ienebelli three yeeres before, at the siege of Antwerpe, had furnished with gun-powder, stones, and dreadfull engines, for the dissolution of the Duke of Parma his bridge, built vpon the riuer of Scheld) that cutting their cables whereon their ankers were fastened, and hoising vp their sailes, they betooke themselues very confusedly vnto the maine sea.

In this sudden confusion, the principall and greatest of the foure galliasses falling fowle of another ship, lost her rudder: for which cause when she could not be guided any longer, she was by the force of the tide cast into a certaine showld vpon the shore of Caleis, where she was immediatly assaulted by diuers English pinasses, hoyes, and drumblers. The galliasse of Hugo de Moncada cast vpon the showlds before Caleis.

And as they lay battering of her with their ordinance, and durst not boord her, the L. Admirall sent thither his long boat with an hundreth choise souldiers vnder the command of Captaine Amias Preston. Vpon whose approch their fellowes being more emboldened, did offer to boord the galliasse: against whom the gouernour thereof and Captaine of all the foure galliasses, Hugo de Moncada, stoutly opposed himselfe, fighting by so much the more valiantly, in that he hoped presently to be succoured by the Duke of Parma. In the meane season, Moncada, after he had endured the conflict a good while, being hitte on the head with a bullet, fell downe starke dead, and a great number of Spaniards also were slaine in his company. The greater part of the residue leaping ouer-boord into the sea, to saue themselues by swimming, were most of them drowned. Howbeit there escaped among others Don Anthonio de Manriques, a principall officer in the Spanish fleet (called by them their Veador generall) together with a few Spaniards besides: which Anthonio was the first man that carried certaine newes of the successe of their fleet into Spaine. M. Amias Preston valiantly boordeth the galliasse.

This huge and monstrous galliasse, wherein were contained three hundred slaues to lug at the oares, and foure hundred souldiers, was in the space of three houres rifled in the same place; and there were found amongst diuers other comodities 50000 ducats of the Spanish kings treasure. At length when the slaues were released out of their fetters, the English men would haue set the sayd ship on fire, which Monsieur Gourdon the gouernor of Caleis, for feare of the damage which might thereupon ensue to the Towne and Hauen, would not permit them to do, but draue them from thence with his great ordinance.

Vpon the 29 of July in the morning, the Spanish Fleet after the foresayd tumult, hauing arranged themselues againe into order, were, within sight of Greueling, most brauely and furiously encountered by the English; where they once againe got the winde of the Spaniards: who suffered themselues to be deprined of the commodity of the place in Caleis rode, and of the aduantage of the winde neere vnto Dunkerk, rather then they would change their array or separate their forces now conioyned and vnited together, standing onely vpon their defence. The great fight before Greueling the 29 of July.

And albeit there were many excellent and warlike ships in the English fleet, yet scarse were there 22 or 23 among them all which matched 90 of the Spanish ships in bignesse, or could conueniently assault them. Wherefore the English shippes vsing their prerogatiue of nimble stirrage, whereby they could turne and wield themselues with the winde which way they listed, came often times very neere vpon the Spaniards, and charged them so sore, that now and then they were but a pikes length asunder: & so continually giuing them one broad side after another, they discharged all their shot both great and small vpon them, spending one whole day from morning till night in that violent kinde of conflict, vntill such time as powder and bullets failed them. In regard of which want they thought it conuenient not to pursue the Spaniards any longer, because they had many great vantages of the English, namely for the extraordinary bignesse of their ships, and also for that they were so neerely conioyned, and kept together in so good array, that they could by no meanes be fought withall one to one. The English thought therefore, that they had right well acquited themselues, in chasing the Spaniards first from Caleis, and then from Dunkerk, and by that meanes

meanes to haue hindered them from ioyning with the Duke of Parma his forces, and getting the winde of them, to haue driuen them from their owne coasts.

The Spaniards that day sustained great losse and damage hauing many of their shippes shot thorow and thorow, and they discharged likewise great store of ordinance against the English; who indeed sustained some hinderance, but not comparable to the Spaniards losse: for they lost not any one shippe or person of account. For very diligent inquisition being made, the English men all that time wherein the Spanish Nauie sayled vpon their seas, are not found to haue wanted aboue one hundreth of their people: albeit Sir Francis Drakes shippe was pierced with shot aboue forty times, and his very cabben was twise shot thorow, and about the conclusion of the fight, the bedde of a certaine gentleman lying weary thereupon, was taken quite from vnder him with the force of a bullet. Likewise, as the Earle of Northumberland and Sir Charles Blunt were at dinner vpon a time, the bullet of a demi-culuering brake thorow the middest of their cabbin, touched their feet, and strooke downe two of the standers by, with many such accidents befalling the English shippes, which it were tedious to rehearse. Whereupon it is most apparant, that God miraculously preserued the English nation. For the L. Admirall wrote vnto her Maiestie that in all humane reason, and according to the iudgement of all men (euery circumstance being duly considered) the English men were not of any such force, whereby they might, without a miracle, dare once to approch within sight of the Spanish Fleet: insomuch that they freely ascribed all the honour of their victory vnto God, who had confounded the enemy, and had brought his counsels to none effect.

Three Spanish shippes suncke in the fight.

The same day the Spanish ships were so battered with English shot, that that very night and the day following, two or three of them suncke right downe: and among the rest a certaine great ship of Biscay, which Captaine Crosse assaulted, which perished euen in the time of the conflict, so that very few therein escaped drowning; who reported that the gouernours of the same shippe slew one another vpon the occasion following: one of them which would haue yeelded the shippe was suddenly slaine; the brother of the slaine party in reuenge of his death slew the murtherer, and in the meane while the ship suncke.

Two galeons taken and caried into Zeland.

The same night two Portugall galeons of the burthen of seuen or eight hundreth tunnes a piece, to wit the Saint Philip and the Saint Matthew, were forsaken of the Spanish Fleet, for they were so torne with shotte, that the water entered into them on all sides. In the galeon of Saint Philip was Francis de Toledo, brother vnto the Count de Orgas, being Colonell ouer two and thirty bands: besides other gentlemen; who seeing their mast broken with shotte, they shaped their course, as well as they could, for the coast of Flanders: whither when they could not attaine, the principall men in the ship committing themselues to their skiffe, arriued at the next towne, which was Ostend; and the ship it selfe being left behinde with the residue of their company, was taken by the Vlishingers.

In the other galeon, called the S. Matthew, was embarked Don Diego Pimentelli another camp-master and colonell of 32 bands, being brother vnto the marques of Tamnares, with many other gentlemen and captaines. Their ship was not very great, but exceeding strong, for of a great number of bullets which had battered her, there were scarse 20 wherewith she was pierced or hurt: her vpper worke was of force sufficient to beare off a musket shot: this shippe was shot thorow and pierced in the fight before Greueling; insomuch that the leakage of the water could not be stopped: whereupon the duke of Medina sent his great skiffe vnto the gouernour thereof, that he might saue himselfe and the principal persons that were in his ship: which he, vpon a hault courage, refused to do: wherefore the Duke charged him to saile next vnto himselfe: which the night following he could not performe, by reason of the great abundance of water which entered his ship on all sides; for the auoiding wherof, and to saue his ship from sincking, he caused 50 men continually to labor at the pumpe, though it were to small purpose. And seeing himselfe thus forsaken & separated from his admirall, he endeuored what he could to attaine vnto the coast of Flanders: where, being espied by 4 or 5 men of warre, which had their station assigned them vpon the same coast, he was admonished to yeeld himselfe vnto them. Which he refusing to do, was strongly assaulted by them

them altogether, and his ship being pierced with many bullets, was brought into farre worse case then before, and 40 of his souldiers were slaine. By which extremity he was enforced at length to yeeld himselfe vnto Peter Banderduess & other captaines, which brought him and his ship into Zeland; and that other ship also last before mentioned: which both of them, immediatly after the greater and better part of their goods were vnladen, suncke right downe.

For the memory of this exploit, the foresayd captaine Banderduess caused the banner of one of these shippes to be set vp in the great Church of Leiden in Holland, which is of so great a length, that being fastened to the very roofe, it reached downe to the ground.

About the same time another small ship being by necessity driuen vpon the coast of Flanders, about Blankenberg, was cast away vpon the sands, the people therein being saued. Thus almighty God would haue the Spaniards huge ships to be presented, not onely to the view of the English, but also of the Zelanders; that at the sight of them they might acknowledge of what small ability they had beene to resist such impregnable forces, had not God endued them with courage, prouidence, and fortitude, yea, and fought for them in many places with his owne arme.

A small shippe cast away about Blankenberg.

The 29 of Iuly the Spanish fleet being encountered by the English (as is aforesayd) and lying close together vnder their fighting sailes, with a Southwest winde sailed past Dunkerk, the English ships stil following the chase. Of whom the day following when the Spaniards had got sea roome, they cut their maine sailes; whereby they sufficiently declared that they meant no longer to fight but to flie. For which cause the L. Admirall of England dispatched the L. Henrie Seymer with his squadron of small ships vnto the coast of Flanders, where, with the helpe of the Dutch ships, he might stop the prince of Parma his passage, if perhaps he should attempt to issue forth with his army. And he himselfe in the meane space pursued the Spanish fleet vntill the second of August, because he thought they had set saile for Scotland. And albeit he followed them very neere, yet did he not assault them any more, for want of powder and bullets. But vpon the fourth of August, the winde arising, when as the Spaniards had spread all their sailes, betaking themselues wholly to flight, and leauing Scotland on the left hand, trended toward Norway, (whereby they sufficiently declared that their whole intent was to saue themselues by flight, attempting for that purpose, with their battered and crazed ships, the most dangerous nauigation of the Northren seas) the English seeing that they were now proceeded vnto the latitude of 57 degrees, and being vnwilling to participate that danger whereinto the Spaniards plunged themselues, and because they wanted things necessary, and especially powder & shot, returned backe for England; leauing behinde them certaine pinasses onely, which they enioyned to follow the Spaniards aloofe, and to obserue their course. And so it came to passe that the fourth of August, with great danger and industry, the English arriued at Harwich: for they had bene tossed vp and downe with a mighty tempest for the space of two or three dayes together, which it is likely did great hurt vnto the Spanish fleet, being (as I sayd before) so maimed and battered. The English now going on shore, prouided themselues foorthwith of victuals, gunne-powder, and other things expedient, that they might be ready at all assayes to entertaine the Spanish fleet, if it chanced any more to returne. But being afterward more certainely informed of the Spaniards course, they thought it best to leaue them vnto those boisterous and vncouth Northren seas, and not there to hunt after them.

The dishonourable flight of the Spanish nauy: and the prudent aduice of the L. Admirall.

The English returne home from the pursuite of ye Spaniards the 4 of August.

The Spaniards seeing now that they wanted foure or fiue thousand of their people and hauing diuers maimed and sicke persons, and likewise hauing lost 10 or 12 of their principall ships, they consulted among themselues, what they were best to doe, being now escaped out of the hands of the English, because their victuals failed them in like sort, and they began also to want cables, cordage, ankers, masts, sailes, and other naual furniture, and vtterly despaired of the Duke of Parma his assistance (who verily hoping and vndoubtedly expecting the returne of the Spanish Fleet, was continually occupied about his great preparation, commanding abundance of ankers to be made, & other necessary furniture for a Nauy to be prouided) they thought it good at length, so soone as the winde should serue them, to fetch a compasse about Scotland and Ireland, and so to returne for Spaine.

The Spaniards consult to saile round about Scotland and Ireland, and so to returne home.

For

For they well vnderstood, that commandement was giuen thorowout all Scotland, that they should not haue any succour or assistance there. Neither yet could they in Norway supply their wants. Wherefore, hauing taken certaine Scotish and other fisherboats, they brought the men on boord their owne ships, to the end they might be their guides and Pilots. Fearing also least their fresh water should faile them, they cast all their horses and mules ouerboord: and so touching no where vpon the coast of Scotland, but being carried with a fresh gale betweene the Orcades and Faar-isles, they proceeded farre North, euen vnto 61 degrees of latitude, being distant from any land at the least 40 leagues. Heere the Duke of Medina generall of the Fleet commanded all his followers to shape their course for Biscay: and he himselfe with twenty or flue and twenty of his ships which were best prouided of fresh water and other necessaries, holding on his course ouer the maine Ocean, returned safely home. The residue of his ships being about forty in number, and committed vnto his Vice-admirall, fell neerer with the coast of Ireland, intending their course for Cape Clare, because they hoped there to get fresh water, and to refresh themselues on land. But after they were driuen with many contrary windes, at length, vpon the second of September, they were cast by a tempest arising from the Southwest vpon diuers parts of Ireland, where many of their ships perished. And amongst others, the shippe of Michael de Oquendo, which was one of the great Galliasses: and two great ships of Venice also, namely, la Ratta and Belanzara, with other 36 or 38 ships more, which perished in sundry tempests, together with most of the persons contained in them.

The shippe-wracke of the Spaniardes vpon the Irish coast.

Likewise some of the Spanish ships were the second time carried with a strong West winde into the chanell of England, whereof some were taken by the English vpon their coast, and others by the men of Rochel vpon the coast of France.

Moreouer, there arriued at Newhauen in Normandy, being by tempest inforced so to doe, one of the foure great Galliasses, where they found the ships with the Spanish women which followed the Fleet at their setting forth. Two ships also were cast away vpon the coast of Norway, one of them being of a great burthen; howbeit all the persons in the sayd great ship were saued: insomuch that of 134 ships, which set saile out of Portugall, there returned home 53 onely small and great: namely of the foure galliasses but one, and but one of the foure gallies. Of the 91 great galleons and hulks there were missing 58. and 33 returned: of the pataches and zabraes 17 were missing, and 18 returned home. In briefe, there were missing 81 ships, in which number were galliasses, gallies, galeons, and other vessels both great and small. And amongst the 53 ships remaining, those also are reckoned which returned home before they came into the English chanell. Two galeons of those which were returned, were by misfortune burnt as they rode in the hauen; and such like mishaps did many others vndergo. Of 30000 persons which went in this expedition, there perished (according to the number and proportion of the ships) the greater and better part; and many of them which came home, by reason of the toiles and inconueniences which they sustained in this voyage, died not long after their arriuall. The Duke of Medina immediatly vpon his returne was deposed from his authority, commanded to his priuate house, and forbidden to repaire vnto the Court; where he could hardly satisfie or yeeld a reason vnto his malicious enemies and backbiters. Many honourable personages and men of great renowme deceased soone after their returne; as namely Iohn Martines de Ricalde, with diuers others. A great part also of the Spanish Nobility and Gentry employed in this expedition perished either by fight, diseases, or drowning, before their arriual; & among the rest Thomas Perenot of Granduell a Dutchman, being earle of Cantebroi, and sonne vnto Cardinall Granduell his brother.

Of 134 ships of the Spanish fleet, there returned home but 53.

Vpon the coast of Zeland Don Diego de Pimentell, brother vnto the Marques de Tamnares, and kinseman vnto the earle of Beneuentum & Calua, and Colonell ouer 32 bands with many other in the same ship was taken and detained as prisoner in Zeland.

Into England (as we sayd before) Don Pedro de Valdez, a man of singular experience, and greatly honoured in his countrey, was led captiue, being accompanied with Don Vasquez de Silua, Don Alonzo de Sayas, and others.

Likewise vpon the Scottish Westerne Isles of Lewis, and Ila, and about Cape Cantyre vpon

on the maine land, there were cast away certaine Spanish shippes, out of which were saued diuers Captaines and Gentlemen, and almost foure hundred souldiers, who for the most part, after their shipwracke, were brought vnto Edenborough in Scotland, and being miserably needy and naked, were there clothed at the liberality of the King and the Marchants, and afterward were secretly shipped for Spaine; but the Scotish fleet wherein they passed touching at Yarmouth on the coast of Norfolke, were there stayed for a time vntill the Councels pleasure was knowen; who in regard of their manifolde miseries, though they were enemies, wincked at their passage.

Vpon the Irish coast many of their Noblemen and Gentlemen were drowned; and diuers slaine by the barbarous and wilde Irish. Howbeit there was brought prisoner out of Ireland, Don Alonzo de Luçon, Colonell of two and thirty bandes, commonly called a terza of Naples; together with Rodorigo de Lasso, and two others of the family of Cordoua, who were committed vnto the custodie of Sir Horatio Palauicini, that Monsieur de Teligny the sonne of Monsieur de la Noüe (who being taken in fight neere Antwerpe, was detained prisoner in the Castle of Turney) migh be raunsomed for them by way of exchange. To conclude, there was no famous nor woorthy family in all Spaine, which in this expedition lost not a sonne, a brother, or a kinseman.

For the perpetuall memorie of this matter, the Zelanders caused newe coine of Siluer and brasse to be stamped: which on the one side contained the armes of Zeland, with this inscription: GLORY TO GOD ONELY: and on the other side, the pictures of certeine great ships, with these words: THE SPANISH FLEET: and in the circumference about the ships: IT CAME, WENT, AND WAS. Anno 1588. That is to say, the Spanish fleet came, went, and was vanquished this yere; for which, glory be giuen to God onely. New coines stamped for the memory of the Spaniards ouerthrow.

Likewise they coined another kinde of money; vpon the one side whereof was represented a ship fleeing, and a ship sincking: on the other side foure men making prayers and giuing thanks vnto God vpon their knees; with this sentence: Man purposeth; God disposeth. 1588. Also, for the lasting memory of the same matter, they haue stamped in Holland diuers such like coines, according to the custome of the ancient Romans.

While this woonderfull and puissant Nauie was sayling along the English coastes, and all men did now plainely see and heare that which before they would not be perswaded of, all people thorowout England prostrated themselues with humble prayers and supplications vnto God: but especially the outlandish Churches (who had greatest cause to feare, and against whom by name, the Spaniards had threatened most grieuous torments) enioyned to their people continuall fastings and supplications, that they might turne away Gods wrath and fury now imminent vpon them for their sinnes: knowing right well, that prayer was the onely refuge against all enemies, calamities, and necessities, and that it was the onely solace and reliefe for mankinde, being visited with affliction and misery. Likewise such solemne dayes of supplication were obserued thorowout the vnited Prouinces. The people of England and of the vnited prouinces, pray, fast, and giue thanks vnto God.

Also a while after the Spanish Fleet was departed, there was in England, by the commandement of her Maiestie, and in the vnited Prouinces, by the direction of the States, a solemne festiuall day publikely appointed, wherein all persons were enioyned to resort vnto the Church, and there to render thanks and praises vnto God: and the Preachers were commanded to exhort the people thereunto. The foresayd solemnity was obserued vpon the 29 of Nouember; which day was wholly spent in fasting, prayer, and giuing of thanks.

Likewise, the Queenes Maiestie herselfe, imitating the ancient Romans, rode into London in triumph, in regard of her owne and her subiects glorious deliuerance. For being attended vpon very solemnely by all the principall estates and officers of her Realme, she was carried thorow her sayd City of London in a tryumphant chariot, and in robes of triumph, from her Palace vnto the Cathedrall Church of Saint Paul, out of the which the ensignes and colours of the vanquished Spaniards hung displayed. And all the Citizens of London in their Liueries stood on either side the street, by their seuerall Companies, with their ensignes and banners: and the streets were hanged on both sides with Blew cloth, which, to-

gether with the foresayd banners, yeelded a very stately and gallant prospect. Her Maiestie being entered into the Church, together with her Clergie and Nobles gaue thanks vnto God, and caused a publike Sermon to be preached before her at Pauls crosse; wherein none other argument was handled, but that praise, honour, and glory might be rendered vnto God, and that Gods name might be extolled by thanksgiuing. And with her owne princely voice she most Christianly exhorted the people to doe the same: whereupon the people with a loud acclamation wished her a most long and happy life, to the confusion of her foes.

Thus the magnificent, huge, and mighty fleet of the Spaniards (which themselues termed in all places inuincible) such as sayled not vpon the Ocean sea many hundreth yeeres before, in the yeere 1588 vanished into smoake; to the great confusion and discouragement of the authours thereof. In regard of which her Maiesties happy successe all her neighbours and friends congratulated with her, and many verses were penned to the honour of her Maiesty by learned men, whereof some which came to our hands we will here annexe.

AD SERENISSIMAM ELIZABETHAM ANGLIÆ REGINAM.

THEODOR. BEZA.

STrauerat innumeris Hispanus nauibus æquor,
Regnis iuncturus sceptra Britanna suis.
Tanti huius, rogitas, quæ motus causa? superbos
Impulit Ambitio, vexit Auaritia.
Quàm bene te ambitio mersit vanissima ventus?
Et tumidos tumidæ vos superastis aquæ!
Quàm bene totius raptores orbis auaros,
Hausit inexhausti iusta vorago maris!
At tu, cui venti, cui totum militat æquor,
Regina, ô mundi totius vna, decus,
Sic regnare Deo perge, ambitione *remota*,
Prodiga sic opibus perge iuuare pios,
Vt te Angli longùm, longùm Anglis ipsa fruaris,
Quàm dilecta bonis, tam metuenda malis.

The same in English.

THe Spanish Fleet did flote in narrow Seas,
And bend her ships against the English shore,
With so great rage as nothing could appease,
And with such strength as neuer seene before:
And all to ioyne the kingdome of that land
Vnto the kingdomes that he had in hand.

Now if you aske what set this king on fire,
To practise warre when he of peace did treat,
It was his Pride, and neuer quencht desire,
To spoile that Islands wealth, by peace made great:
His Pride which farre aboue the heauens did swell,
And his desire as vnsuffic'd as hell.

But

But well haue windes his proud blasts ouerblowen,
And swelling waues alayd his swelling heart,
Well hath the Sea with greedie gulfs vnknowen,
Deuoured the deuourer to his smart:
And made his ships a pray vnto the sand,
That meant to pray vpon anothers land.

And now, O Queene, aboue all others blest,
For whom both windes and waues are prest to fight,
So rule your owne, so succour friends opprest,
(As farre from pride, as ready to do right)
That England you, you England long enioy,
No lesse your friends delight, then foes annoy.

A briefe and true report of the Honorable voyage vnto Cadiz, 1596. of the ouerthrow of the kings Fleet, and of the winning, sacking, and burning of the Citie, with all other accidents of moment, thereunto appertaining.

AFter that the two most Noble and Renowmed Lords Generals: The L. Robert Earle of Essex, and the L. Charles Howard L. High Admirall of England, were come vnto Plymmouth (which was about the beginning of May last, 1596.) being there accompanied with diuers other noble Peeres, as the Earle of Sussex, the L. Thomas Howard, the L. Harbert, the L. Warden Sir Walter Raleigh; the L. Marshall Sir Francis Vere: the L. Burk, Don Christopher young Prince of Portingall, young Count Lodouick of Nassaw, and the Admirall of the Hollanders, Sir John Vanderfoord: besides many other most worthy Knights and Gentlemen of great woorth attending vpon this most honorable Action: It pleased them, there to make their abode for the time of that moneth, aswell for the new furnishing and reuictualing of her Maiesties Royall Nauie: as also for the expecting of some other ships, which were to come from diuers places of the Realme, and were as yet wanting: making that place as it should seeme the Rendeuous for all the whole Fleete, there to complete the full number of al such companies both for sea and land: as was in their noble and deepe wisedomes thought meete and agreed vpon.

All the time of this their abode there, there was a most zealous and diligent care had for the holy seruice of God, dayly and reuerently to be frequented: and also for other good and ciuill orders of militarie discipline to be obserued, to the exceeding great comfort and reioycing of all the hearts of the godly and well disposed.

And for that it might the better appeare, that there was small hope of pardon to be expected of the offenders, if they did at any time neglect their duties, about due obseruation of matters of importance: Their orders, lawes, and decrees being once published: about the 8. or 9. of the same moneth, there were two offenders executed a little without the towne, in a very fayre pleasant greene, called the Ho: the one for beginning of a muteny in his company, the other for running away from his Colours.

And about the same time in the Dutch Regiment, an other for murthering of one of his companions, about a quarrell betweene themselues, rising as it was supposed, vpon their drinke, was by order of Martiall law, presently tyed to the partie so murthered, and foorthwith both of them so cast into the sea.

Moreouer, about the 28. of the same moneth, a certaine Lieutenant (whose name I will forbeare) was by sound of Drumme publikely in all the streetes disgraced, or rather after a sort disgraded, and cashierd for bearing any farther Office at that time, for the taking of money by way of corruption, of certaine prest souldiers in the Countrey, and for placing of others in their roomes, more vnfit for seruice, and of lesse sufficiency and abilitie. This seuere executing of iustice at the very first did breed such a deepe terror in the hearts of the

whole armie, that it seemed to cut off all occasion of the like disorder for euer afterwards to be attempted.

And here before their departure frō Plymmouth, it pleased their Lordships to publish in print, and make knowen to all the world, especially to such as whom it concerned, and that both in the Latine, French, Dutch, English and Spanish tongue, what were the true, iust and vrgent causes, that at this time prouoked her Maiestie, to vndertake the preparing and setting forth of this so great a Nauie, annexing thereunto a full declaration, what was their good will and pleasure should be done and performed of all them that ment not to incurre their owne priuate present daungers, or else were willing to auoyde her Maiesties future indignation and displeasure.

Likewise now, at the same instant, their owne most prouident and godly decrees, which they had deuised for the honest cariage of euery particular person in their degrees and vocation, were made knowen to all men, and published in sundry writings, with diuers great punishments, set downe and appointed for the wilfull offenders and breakers of the same.

Thus then, all things being in very good order and well appointed, the most holy name of our Omnipotent God being most religiously and deuoutly called vpon, and his blessed and sacred Communion being diuers times most reuerently and publikely celebrated: These two most noble personages, with all their honorable Associats, and most famous worthy Knights, Gentlemen, Captaines, Leaders, and very willing and expert Souldiers, and Mariners, being furnished with 150. good sayle of shippes or thereabout: In the name of the most High & euerliuing God, and with all true and faithful obedience, to her sacred Maiesty, to the infinite good and tranquillitie of our Countrey, and to the perpetuall glory, and triumphant renowme of the eternall memory of their honorable names to all posterity, the first day of Iune embarked themselues, weighed Ancre, and hoysed vp sayle, and put to sea onward their iourney from the Sownds of Plymmouth.

The winde, at the first setting foorth, seemed very fauourable: but yet in the euening growing very scant, and all that night falling more and more against vs, and we hauing sayled no further then to a certaine place called Dodman Head: we were constrained the next day, to make our returne to the road of Plymmouth againe, and there in the Sownds to lie at ancre for that night.

About this time, and in this very place, by good fortune there came to my handes a prayer in English, touching this present Action, and made by her Maiestie, as it was voyced: The prayer seemed to me to be most excellent, aswell for the matter, as also for the manner, and therefore for certaine diuers good motiues which then presently came to my minde, and whereof hereafter in his more conuenient time and place, I will make farther mention, I presumed at that very instant to translate it into Latine.

The Prayer is thus.

O MOst Omnipotent maker and guide of all our worlds masse, that onely searchest and sadomest the bottome of all our hearts conceits, and in them seest the true originals of all our actions intended: thou that by thy foresight doest truely discerne, how no malice of reuenge, nor quittance of iniury, nor desire of bloodshed, nor greedinesse of lucre hath bred the resolution of our now set out Army, but a heedfull care, & wary watch, that no neglect of foes, nor ouer-suretie of harme might breed either daunger to vs, or glory to them: these being the grounds wherewith thou doest enspire the mind, we humbly beseech thee with bended knees, prosper the worke, and with best forewindes guide the iourney, speed the victory, and make the returne the aduancement of thy glory, the tryumph of their fame, and surety to the Realme, with the least losse of the English blood. To these deuout petitions Lord giue thou thy blessed grant.

My homely translation is thus.

SVmmè præpotens Deus, immensæ huius totius nostri mundi molis fabricator & Rector, qui solus perscrutaris intimos cordis nostri sensus, & ad fundum vsq; nostrarum cogitationum explorando

explorando penetras, ac in eis, quid verè, & ex animo cogitemus, & quæ sint actionum nostrarum rationes, ac fundamenta, cognoscis: Tu, qui ea, quæ in te est, ab omni æternitate præscientia, vides, quòd nec aliqua vlciscendi malitiosa cupiditas, nec iniuriarum referendarum desiderium, nec sanguinis effundendi sitis, nec alicuius lucri, quæstusue auiditas ad istam classem præparandam, & emittendam nos commouerit: sed potiùs, quòd prouida quædam cura, solérsque vigilantia huc nos impulerit: ne vel inimicorum nostrorum neglectus, vel status nostri firmitatis nimium secura cogitatio, aut illis gloriam & honorem, aut nobis damnũ & periculum pariat: Cum, inquam, hæc sint nostri, quicquid attentatur, negotii fundamenta: cumque tu hunc nobis animum, mentémq; inieceris, vt istud aggrederemur: curuatis genibus a te humillimè petimus, vt velis hoc nostrum incœptum secundissimè fortunare, totum iter prosperrimis flatibus dirigere, celerem & expeditã victoriam nobis concedere, reditúmq; talem nostris militibus elargiri, qualis & nomini tuo incrementum gloriæ, & illis famæ, laudisque triumphum, & Regno nostro firmam tranquillitatem possit apportare: idque cum minimo Anglorum sanguinis dispendio. His nostris religiosis petitionibus concede, Domine, sacrosanctam & annuentem voluntatem tuam.

After that we had anchored at Plymmouth that night, as I haue said, the third of Iune very early in the morning, hauing a reasonable fresh gale of winde, we set sayle, and kept our course againe, and the ninth of the same moneth comming something neere to the North cape, in a maner in the same altitude, or not much differing, which was about xliii. degrees, and something more, yet bearing so, as it was impossible to bee descried from the land: There it pleased the Lords to call a select Councell, which was alwayes done by hanging out of a flagge of the armes of England, and shooting off of a great warning peece. Of this select or priuie Councell were no moe then these: The two Lords Generall, the Lord Thomas Howard, the Lorde Warden Sir Walter Raleigh, the Lord Martiall Sir Francis Vere, Sir George Cary master of the Ordinance, Sir Coniers Clifford, and Sir Anthony Ashley, Clarke of the sayde Councell. And when it pleased the Lords Generall to call a common Counsell (as often times they did vpon weightie matters best knowen to their honours) then they would cause an other kinde of flagge to be hanged out, which was the Redcrosse of S. George, and was very easie to be discerned from the other that appertained onely to the select Counsell, and so often as this flagge of Saint George was hanged out, then came all the Masters and Captaines of all the ships, whose opinions were to be demaunded, in such matters as appertayned vnto this sayd select Counsell: It was presently concluded, that our course in sayling should foorthwith be altered, and that we should beare more into the West, for some purposes to them best knowen.

At that very instant many letters of instructions were addressed and sent to euery particular Master and Captaine of the Ships: What the contentes of those letters of instructions were it was not as yet knowne vnto any, neither was it held meet to be enquired or knowen of any of vs. But vnder the titles and superscriptions of euery mans particuler letter these wordes were endorsed. Open not these letters on pain of your liues, vales we chance to be scattered by tempest, and in that case open them, and execute the contents thereof: but if by mishap you fall into your enemies hand, then in any case cast them into the sea, sealed as they are. It should seeme that these letters did conteine in them the principall place and meaning of this entended action, which was hitherto by their deepe foresights kept so secret, as no man to my knowledge either did, or coulde so much as suspect it, more then themselues, who had the onely managing thereof. A conceite in my iudgement of greatest moment in the world, to effect any matter of importance. I meane, to entertaine those two vertues, Fidem, & Taciturnitatem: so much commended by the old writers, And if there was euer any great designement, in this our age, and memorie, discreetly, faithfully, and closely caried, I assure my selfe it was this, and though it were but in respect to that poynt onely: yet for such faithfull secrecie, it deserueth immortall praise.

All this while, our ships, God be thanked, kept in a most excellent good order, being deuided into fiue squadrons: that is to say, The Earle of Essex, the Lord Admirall, the Lord Thomas

Thomas Howard, the Lord Warden Sir Walter Raleigh, and the Admirall of the Hollanders. All which squadrons, albeit they did euery day separate themselues of purpose, by the distance of certaine leagues, as well to looke out for such shippes as were happily vnder sayle, as also for the better procuring of sea-roome: yet alwayes commonly eyther that day, or the next day, towarde euening, they came all together, with friendly salutations and gratulations one to an other: which they terme by the name of *Hayling*: a ceremonie done solemnly, and in verie good order, with sound of Trumpets and noyse of cheerefull voyces: and in such sort performed as was no small encouragement one to the other, beside a true report of all such accidents, as had happened in their squadrons.

Hitherto, as I sayde, our iourney was most prosperous, and all our shippes in very good plight, more then that the Mary Rose, by some mischance, either sprang or spent her foreyarde, and two dayes after Sir Robert Crosse had in a manner the like mischance.

Nowe being thus betweene the North cape, and cape S. Vincent, and yet keeping such a course a loofe, that by no meanes, those from the shoare might be able to descrie vs: The tenth of Iune, a French Barke, and a Fleming comming from the coast of Barbarie were brought in by some of our companie: but they were both of them very honourably and well vsed by the Lords Generall: and so after a fewe dayes tarrying, were peaceably sent away, after that they had conferred with them about such matters, as was thought good in their honorable wisedomes.

The twelfth of the same moneth, Sir Richard Leuison Knight, assisted with Sir Christopher Blunt, fought with three Hamburgers, and in that fight slewe two of them, and hurt eleuen, and in the ende brought them all three in: and this was the very first hansell and maydenhead (as it were) of any matter of importance, or exployt worthy obseruation that was done in the way outward of this honorable voyage, and was so well performed of those most worthy Gentlemen, as euery man highly commended them for their great valure, and discretion, and no lesse reioyced at this their fortunate successe.

The next day after, Sir Richard Weston meeting with a Flemming, who refused to vale his foretoppe, with the like good courage and resolution, attempted to bring him in. The fight continued very hot betweene them, for a good space: in the end the Swan, wherein the sayd Sir Richard was, had her forebeake strooken off: and hauing spent before in fight the one side of her tire of Ordinance, while she prepared to cast about, and to bestow on him the other side, in the meane time the Fleming taking this opportunity, did get almost halfe a league from him: and so for that time made his escape. And yet the next day after, the sayd Flemming being in a maner got to the very mouth of the Riuer vp to Lisbone, was taken, and brought in by M. Dorrell, being Captaine of the Iohn and Francis of London. Thus by deuiding their squadrons, and spreading the whole sea ouer a mighty way, there could not so much as the least pinke passe but she was espied and brought in.

The 13. 14. and 15. dayes, certaine little straglíng Caruels were taken by certaine of the Fleete, and in one of them a young beggarly Fryer vtterly vnlearned, with a great packet of letters for Lisbon: the poore wretches were maruellously well vsed by the Lords Generall, and that Caruel, and the like still as they were taken were commaunded to giue their attendance, and their Honors did vnderstand what they might of these poore men, of the estate of Spaine for that present.

About this time and in this place it was, that first in all my life time I did see the flying fishes, who when they are hardly pinched and chased by the Bonitoes and other great fishes, then to auoyde the daunger, they presently mount vp, and forsake the water, and betake themselues to the benefite of their winges and make their flight, which commonly is not aboue fiue or sixe score, or there about, and then they are constrayned to fall downe into the water againe, and it is the Mariners opinion that they can fly no longer then their wings be wet. The fish it selfe is about the bignesse of a Mackrell or a great white Herring, and much of that colour and making, with two large wings shaped of nature very cunningly, and with great delight to behold, in all the world much like to our Gentlewomens dutch Fans, that are made either of paper, or parchment, or silke, or other stuffe, which will with certaine

taine pleights easily runne and fold themselues together. One of these flying fishes was presented to my L. Admirall by a fisher man, and newly taken in his L. returne from Cadiz, and then I good leisure and opportunitie to view it.

The 18. day early in the morning wee tooke an Irish man, and he came directly from Cadiz, hauing beene there but the day before at twelue of the clocke at high noone. This man being examined, told truely that there was now great store of shipping at Cadiz, and with them xviii. or xix. gallies in a readinesse, and that among those ships there were diuers of the kings best: and namely, that the Philip of Spaine was amongst them, but what their intent was, hee could not tell. This man was commanded also to giue his attendance.

The 20. of Iune being Sunday, we came before Cadiz very early in the morning, and in all this time as yet, the whole Nauy had not lost either by sicknesse or by any other maner of wayes sixe men to my knowledge: as for the Dutch company, I am not able precisely to say what happened there, for that they were no part of our charge to be looked vnto, but were a regiment entire of themselues, and by themselues to be prouided for, either for their diet, or for the preseruation of their healths by phisicke.

Thus then I say, being all in good plight and strong, the 20. of Iune wee came to Cadiz, and there very earely in the morning presented our selues before the Towne, ryding about a league or something lesse, from it. The sea at that instant went maruelous high, and the winde was exceeding large. Notwithstanding, a Councell being called, our Lords Generall foorthwith attempted with all expedition to land some certaine companies of their men at the West side of the Towne, by certaine long boats, light horsemen, pynnesses, and barges made for the purpose, but could not compasse it, and in the attempting thereof, they chanced to sinke one of their Barges, with some foure score good souldiers well appointed in her, and yet by good hap and great care the men were all saued excepting viii. And therefore they were constrayned to put off their landing till an other more conuenient time.

That morning very timely, there lighted a very faire doue vpon the maine yard of the L. Admirals ship, and there she sate very quietly for the space of 3. or 4. houres, being nothing dismayed all that while, euery man gazed and looked much vpon her, and spake their minds and opinions, yet all concluding by no meanes to disquiet her: I for my part, tooke it for a very good omen and boading, as in trueth (God be thanked) there fell out nothing in the end to the contrary. And as at our very first comming to Cadiz this chanced, so likewise on the very last day of our departing from the same towne, another Doue presented her selfe in the selfe same order into the same ship, and presently grew wonderfull tame and familiar to vs all, and did so still keepe vs company, euen till our arriuall here in England.

We no sooner presented our selues, but presently a goodly sort of tall Spanish ships came out of the mouth of the Bay of Cadiz, the Gallies accompanying them in such good order, and so placed as all of them might well succour each other, and therewithall kept themselues very close to their towne, the castle, and the forts, for their better guard and defence, abiding there still, and expecting our farther determination. All that day passed, being very rough and boysterous, and litle or nothing could be done, more then that about the euening there passed some friendly and kinde salutations sent one from the other in warlike maner, by discharging certain great peeces, but to my knowledge no hurt done at all, or else very litle.

A carefull and diligent watch was had all that night thoroughout the whole armie, and on monday morning being the 21. day, the winde and weather being become moderate and fauourable, betweene fiue and sixe of the clocke in the morning, our ships in the name of almightie God, and in defence of the honour of England, without any farther delay, with all speed, courage, and alacritie, did set vpon the Spanish ships, being then vnder sayle, and making out of the mouth of the Bay of Cadiz, vp toward Puente de Suaço on Grenada side, being in number lix. tall ships, with xix. or xx. Gallies attending vpon them, sorted in such good order, and reasonable distance as they might still annoy vs, and alwayes relieue themselues interchangeably: hauing likewise the Castle, Forts, and Towne, continually to assist them and theirs, and alwayes readie to play vpon vs and ours.

In most mens opinions it seemed that the enemy had a wonderful aduantage of vs, all circumstances

circumstances being well weighed, but especially the straightnesse of the place, and the naturall forme and situation of the Bay it selfe, being rightly considered. For albeit the very Bay it selfe is very large and exceeding beautifull, so that from Cadiz to Port S. Mary, is some vi. or vii. English miles ouer or there abouts, yet be there many rockes, shelues, sands and shallowes in it, so that the very chanell & place for sea roome, is not aboue 2. or 3. miles, yea and in some places not so much, for the ships of any great burthen, to make way in, but that they must either be set on ground or else constrained to run fowle one on another. All this notwithstanding, with great and inuincible courage, the Lords generall presently set vpon them, and sorting out some such conuenient ships, as to their honorable wisedomes seemed fittest for that times seruice, they were driuen to take some other course then before had beene by them entended. Wherefore vpon a graue consultation had by a select Counsell, what great dangers might ensue vpon so mightie a disaduantage as appeared in all probability, if it were not by good and sound iudgement preuented, & therwithall in their singular wisedomes foreseeing that some great stratageme might be practised by the enemy, either by fire-worke, or some other subtill politike deuise, for the hazarding of her Maiesties ships of honor in so narrow a place, thus with al expedition they concluded that the Viceadmirall, the L. Thomas Howard, that most noble L. Howard (whose exceeding great magnanimity, courage, & wisedome, ioyned with such an honorable kind of sweet courtesie, bountie, and liberalitie, as is not able by me & my weakenes to be expressed, hath wonne him all the faithfull louing hearts of as many as euer haue had any maner of dealing with him) This L. Thomas, I say, in ỹ Non Pareille for that time, & the Reare Admirall Sir Walter Raleigh (a man of maruellous worth & regard, for many his exceeding singular great vertues, right fortitude & great resolutenes in all matters of importance) in the Warspight associated with diuers most famous worthy knights, namely, Sir Francis Vere the L. Martiall in the Rainbow, Sir George Cary M. of the Ordinance, in the Mary rose, Sir Robert Southwell in the Lyon, gentlemen for all laudable good vertues, and for perfect courage & discretion in all military actions, of as great praise & good desert as any gentlemen of their degree whosoeuer, hauing with them some of ỹ ships of London and some of the Dutch squadron of reasonable burthen, should leade the dance, & giue the onset, and that the two most noble Lords generall, with some others of their companies, should in their conuenient time & order, second the maine battell. The fight being begunne and growen very hot, the L. Generall the Earle of Essex, (whose infinite princely vertues, with triumphant fame deserue to be immortalized) being on Port S. Mary side, vpon a sudden & vnlooked for of others, thrust himselfe among the formost into the maine battell. The other most honorable L. Generall (whose singular vertues in all respects are of such an excellencie & perfection as neither can my praise in any part increase them, nor any mans enuy any whit blemish or diminish thē) vnderstanding, the most noble Earle to be in fight among them, & perceiuing by the M. of his ship, the Arke Royall, that for lacke of water, it was not possible, that he might put any neerer, without farther delay, called presently for his Pynnesse, and in the same Pynnesse put himselfe, and his honorable son L. William Howard that now is, aboord the Honor de la mer, & there remained in the fight till the battell was ended. The fight was very terrible, and most hideous to the beholder by the continuall discharging of those roaring thundering great peeces, on all sides, and so continued doubtful till about one or two of the clocke in the afternoone: about which time the Philip, whom in very truth, they had all most fancie vnto, began to yeeld and giue ouer, her men that remained aliue shifting for themselues as they were able, and swimming and running a shoare with all the hast that they could possibly, & therewithall, at the very same instant themselues fired their ship, and so left her, & presently thereupon a great Argosie, with an other mighty great ship, fired themselues in ỹ like maner. Immediately hereupon, the residue of the ships, ran themselues on ground, as farre from vs as they could, and therby purchased their owne safety, or rather breathing space for the time. Of them all two faire ships only were boorded and taken by our men with most part of their furniture in them, the one called S. Matthy, a ship by estimation of some xii. hundred tunne, and the other S. Andrew, being a ship of not much lesser burthen. The Gallies, seeing this suddaine

great

great victorious ouerthrow, made all the hast they could toward the Bridge called Puente de Suaço, and there shrowded themselues in such sort as our shippes could not by any meanes possible come nigh them for lacke of water.

The Spanish ships in all were lix. & as is sayd, all tall ships & very richly furnished and well appointed, whereof some of them were bound for the Indies, and other, fraighted and furnished for Lisbon, as themselues affirme: and had we not come that very time that we did, (which for my part, I do not attribute so much vnto meere chance, as to some secret deepe insight and foreknowledge of the two most worthy Lords generall, who no doubt spared for no cost or labour for true intelligence) we had certainely mist of them all.

Of what great wealth and riches these ships were, that I leaue to other mens iudgement and report, but sure I am that themselues offered two millions and a halfe of ducats for the redemption of the goods and riches that were in them: which offer of theirs, albeit it was accepted of the Lords Generall, and should haue beene receiued, yet we were defeated of it, as hereafter shall be more at large declared.

What maner of fight this was, and with what courage performed, & with what terror to the beholder continued, where so many thundering tearing peeces were for so long a time discharged, I leaue it to the Reader to thinke & imagine. Yet such was the great mercy & goodnes of our liuing God, that in all this cruell terrible fight, in the end, there were not either slaine or hurt by any maner of meanes (excepting one mischance that happened, wherof I will by & by make mention) many aboue the number of 100. of our men: notwithstanding diuers of our shippes were many times shot thorow and thorow: yea and some of them no lesse then two and twentie times, as I was enformed by credible report of the Captaines and Masters themselues. I knowe not of any other hurt done, sauing onely that Sir Robert Southwell, who alwayes shewed himselfe a most valiant resolute knight in all this action, making a litle too much haste with his Pinnesse to boord the Philip, had there his said Pinnesse burnt with the Philip at the same instant, and yet by good care and diligence his men were saued.

One other mischance (as I said) there happened, and it was thus: One of the Flemings flieboats, who had, in all the conflict before, caried himselfe very well and valiantly, about ten of the clocke while the fight continued sharpest, chanced by great negligence and misfortune, to be fired and blowen vp by his owne powder, who could not have any fewer in him, then one hundred fighting men by all supposall, and so in the very twinckling of an eye, both shippe and men were all cast away, excepting vii. or viii. which by very good fortune, and great care and diligence of some of the other ships were saued.

Immediatly vpon this notable victory without any farther stay in all the world, the Lord generall the Earle of Essex put to shore and landed about 3000. shot, & pikemen: of the which number the one halfe was presently dispatched to the bridge Puente de Suaço, vnder the conduct of three most famous worthy knights, Sir Christopher Blunt, Sir Coniers Clifford, & Sir Thomas Gerard: with the other halfe, being about fifteene hundred, the most noble Earle of Essex himselfe, being accompanied with diuers other honorable Lords, namely the Earle of Sussex, the Lord Harbert, the Lord Burk, Count Lodouick of Nassaw, the Lord Martiall Sir Francis Vere, with many other worthy Knights, and men of great regard, who all in that dayes seruice did most valiantly behaue themselues, with all expedition possible marched on foote toward the towne of Cadiz, which was about three English miles march. That time of the day was very hot and faint and the way was all of dry deepe slyding sand in a manner, and beside that, very vneuen, and by that meanes so tiresome and painefull as might be. The enemie hauing reasonable *companie* both of horse and footemen, stoode in a readinesse some good distance without the towne to welcome vs, and to encounter the Lorde Generall. But the most famous Earle with his valiant Troupes, rather running in deede in good order, then marching, hastened on them with such vnspeakeable courage and celeritie, as within one houres space and lesse, the horsemen were all discomfited and put to flight, their leader being strooken downe at the very first encounter, whereat *the footemen* being wonderfully dismayed and astonished at the vnexspected manner of *the Englishmens* kinde

of such fierce and resolute fight retyred themselues with all the speede possible that they could, to recouer themselues into the Towne againe, which being done by them, with farre swifter legges then manly courage, ourmen were enforced to skale the walles: which thing in very deede, although it was not without great danger and difficulty to be perfourmed: Yet such was the inuincible resolution, and the wonderfull dexterity of the English, that in one halfe houre or thereabout, the enemie was repulsed, and the towne wall possessed, by the noble Earle himselfe, being in all this action, either the very first man or else in a maner ioyned with the first.

The towne walles being then possessed, and the English Ensigne being there displayed vpon them, with all speede possible they proceeded on to march through the towne, making still their waie with sworde and shot so well as they could, being still fought withall at euery turne.

Immediately vpon this most famous entrie, the noble Earle, (according to their resolutions, as I take it, put downe before) was seconded by the noble L. Admirall in person, who was accompanied, with the noble L. Thomas Howard, the most worthy gentleman his sonne, now L. Howard, Sir Robert Southwell, Sir Richard Leuison, and with diuers other gentlemen, his L. followers of good account: his colours being aduanced by that valiant resolute gentleman, (a man beautified with many excellent rare gifts, of good learning and vnderstanding) S. Edward Hobby Knight. And thus he likewise marching with al possible speede on foote, notwithstanding his L. many yeres, the Intolerable heate, for the time, and the ouertiring tedious deepe sands, with other many impediments: Yet in good time, ioyned himselfe with the Earle and his companies, and gaue them the strongest, and best assistance that he could.

Thus then the two Lords Generall with their companies being ioyned together, and proceeding so farre as the market place, there they were hotly encountered, where and at what time, that worthy famous knight Sir Iohn Winkfield, being sore wounded before on the thigh, at the very entry of the towne, and yet for all that no whit respecting himselfe, being caried away, with the care he had to encourage and direct his company, was with the shot of a musket in the head, most vnfortunately slaine.

And thus before eight of the clocke that night were these two most noble Lords General, Masters of the market place, the forts, and the whole Towne and all, onely the Castle as yet holding out, & from time to time as they could, still annoying them, with seuen battering pieces. By this time night began to grow on, and a kind of peace or intermission was obtained by them of the Castle: to whome the Lords Generall had signified: that vnlesse before the next day in the morning they would absolutely render themselues, they should looke for no mercy, but should euery one be put to the sword: vpon which message they tooke deliberation that night: but in the morning before breake of day, they hanged out their flag of truce, and so without any further composition did yeeld themselues absolutely to their mercy, and deliuered vp the Castle.

And yet notwithstanding all this, in the night time while they had this respite to pause, and deliberate about the peacemaking, there were diuers great and suddaine alarms giuen: which did breed some great outrages and disorder in the towne. At euery which alarme, the two Lordes Generall shewed themselues maruelous ready & forward, insomuch that at the very first alarme, skant wel furnished with any more defence then their shirts, hose, and dublets, & those too altogether in a maner vntied, they were abroad in the streets themselues, to see the vttermost of it. But for that it is not as yet very well knowen (or at the least not well knowen vnto me) either wherfore, or by whom these alarmes were attempted: I am therefore to intreat, that a bare report, that such a thing was done, may suffice.

These things being done, and this surrender being made, present proclamation was published, that the fury now being past, all men should surcease from all maner of blood and cruell dealing, and that there should no kind of violence or hard vsage be offered to any, either man, woman or child, vpon paine of death: And so permitting the spoyle of so much of the towne as was by them thought meete, to the common souldiers for some certaine dayes,

they

they were continually in counsell about other graue directions, best knowen to their honourable wisedomes.

This honourable and mercifull Edict I am sure was streightly and religiously obserued of the English: But how well it was kept by the Dutch, I will nether affirme, nor yet denie. For I perceiue betweene them and the Spaniards, there is an implacable hartburning, and therefore as soone as the Dutch squadron was espied in the fight, immediatly thereupon both they of Siuil and S. Lucar and also some, of some other places, did not onely arrest all such Dutch ships, as delt with them friendly by the way of traffick & Marchandise, and so confiscated their goods, but also imprisoned the Marchants and Owners of the same, and, as the report goeth, did intreat many of them with extreame cruelty thereupon.

In the meane while the very next day being the two and twenty day of Iune, all the Spanish shippes which were left on ground in the Bay of Cadiz, where the great ouerthrowe had beene but the day before, were by the Spaniards themselues there set on fire, and so from that time forward they neuer left burning of them, till euery one of them, goods and all, as farre as wee know were burnt and consumed. This their doing was much maruelled at of vs, and so much the more, for that, as I sayd before, there had bene made some offer for the redemption and sauing of the goods, and it was not to them vnknowen that this their offer was not misliked, but in all probabilitie should haue bene accepted. The common opinion was, that this was done either by the appointment of the Duke de Medina Sidonia, or els by expresse commandement from the higher powers.

Not long after the same time (three dayes as I remember) the gallies that were runne on ground, did quitte themselues also out of that place, and by the bridge of the Iland called Puente de Suaço, made their way round about the same Iland, and so by putting themselues to the maine sea, escaped to a towne called Rotta, not farre off, but something vp towards the Towne of Saint Lucars, and there purchased their safety by that meanes.

Thus was this notable victorie, as well by sea as by land, both begunne and in effect performed, within the compasse, in a maner, of foureteene houres: A thing in trueth so strange and admirable, as in my iudgement will rather bee wondered at then beleeued of posteritie. And if euer any notable exploit in any age was comparable to Cæsars Veni, Vidi, Vici, certainely in my poore opinion it was this.

Here it is to be wished (and perchance of some too it is looked for) that euery mans particular worthy acte in this dayes seruice, with the parties names also, should be put downe, that thereby both they and their good deserts might be registred to all posteritie: and for my part I would it were so, and wish I were able to doe it. But for that I confesse it is a matter that passeth my power, yea, and for that I thinke it also a thing impossible to be precisely perfourmed by any other, I am to craue pardon for that I rather leaue it out altogether, then presume to doe it maymedly: and in this point I referre the Reader onely to the Mappe that is set foorth of this iourney, where it is in some parte conueniently touched and specified.

The Towne of it selfe was a very beautifull towne, and a large, as being the chiefe See of the Bishop there, and hauing a goodly Cathedrall Church in it, with a right goodly Abbey, a Nunnery, and an exceeding fine College of the Iesuites, and was by naturall situation, and also by very good fortification, very strong, and tenable enough in all mens opinions of the better iudgement. Their building was all of a kind of hard stone, euen from the very foundation to the top, and euery house was in a manner a kind of a fort or Castle, altogether flat-roofed in the toppe, after the Turkish manner, so that many men together, and that at ease, might walke theron: hauing vpon the house top, great heapes of weighty stoanes piled vp in such good order, as they were ready to be throwen downe by euery woman most easily vpon such as passed by, and the streetes for the most part so exceeding narrow, (I thinke to auoide the intolerable great heat of the Sunne) as but two men or three at the most together, can in any reasonable sorte march thorough them, no streete being broader commonly then I suppose Watling streete in London to be.

The towne is altogether without glasse, excepting the Churches, yet with faire comely

windowes, and with faire grates of iron to them, and haue very large folding leaues of wainscot, or the like. It hath very fewe Chimnies in it, or almost none at all: it may be some one chimney in some one or other of the lower out roomes of lest account, seruing for some necessary vses, either to wash in, or the like, or els nowe and then perchance for the dressing of a dish of meate, hauing, as it should seeme vnto me, alwayes a greater care and respect how to keepe themselues from all kind of great heat, then how to prouide for any store of great roste. It had in it by report of them that should best know it, some foure thousand and moe, of very good able fighting men, and sixe hundred horsemen at the least. No question but that they were well furnished of all things appertaining thereunto, especially so many good ships lying there, and being so well stored with all manner of munition, shot, and powder, as they were.

Whether they had knowledge of our comming or no, I can say nothing to it: Themselues giue it out that they vnderstood not of it, but onely by a Caruel the Friday at euening before we came. But whether they knew it or no, thus much I dare boldly affirme, that if the English had bene possessed of that or the like Towne, and had bene but halfe so well prouided as they were, they would haue defended it for one two moneths at the least, against any power whatsoeuer in al Christendome. But surely GOD is a mighty GOD, and hath a wonderfull secret stroke in all matters, especially of weight and moment. Whether their hearts were killed at the mighty ouerthrow by sea, or whether they were amased at the inuincible courage of the English, which was more then ordinary, caring no more for either small shot or great, then in a maner for so many hailestones, or whether the remorse of a guilty conscience toward the English nation, for their dishonourable and diuelish practises, against her Sacred Maiestie, and the Realme, (a matter that easily begetteth a faint heart in a guilty minde) or what other thing there was in it I know not, but be it spoken to their perpetuall shame and infamie, there was neuer thing more resolutely perfourmed of the courageous English, nor more shamefully lost of the bragging Spaniard.

Of what wealth this towne should be, I am not able to resolue the asker: for I confesse that for mine owne part, I had not so much good lucke, as tobe partaker so much as of one pennie, or penny worth. Howbeit my ill fortune maketh that towne neuer a whit the poorer. But as it should appeare by the great pillage by the common souldiers, and some mariners too, and by the goodly furnitures, that were defaced by the baser people, and thereby vtterly lost and spoyled, as not woorth the carying away, and by the ouer great plenty of Wine, Oyle, Almonds, Oliues, Raisins, Spices, and other rich grocery wares, that by the intemperate disorder of some of the rasher sort were knockt out, and lay trampled vnder feete, in euery common high way, it should appeare that it was of some very mighty great wealth to the first owners, though perchance, not of any such great commoditie to the last subduers, for that I iudge that the better part was most ryotously and intemperately spent and consumed. A disorder in mine opinion very much to be lamented, and if it might be by any good meanes remedied, in my conceit, it were a most honourable deuice.

The Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday following, the Lords Generall spent in counsell, about the disposing of all matters, aswell touching the towne and prisoners, as also concerning all other matters, thought meete of them in their honourable wisedomes, and in all that meane while did shew such honourable bounty and mercy, as is not able to be expressed. For not onely the liues of euery one were spared, but also there was an especial care had, that al the Religious, as wel men as women, should be well and fauourably intreated, whom freely without any maner of ransome or other molestation, they caused to be safely transported ouer to Port Saint Marie, a towne in a manner as fayre as Cadiz: but at that time, as the case did stand, certainely knowen to be of no wealth in the world, and it was some sixe or seuen miles distant ouer against Cadiz, in a maner as Paules is against Southwarke, on the other side of the Bay, in a part of Andaluzia, subiect to the territory of the Duke de Medina Sidonia.

Moreouer, at the same instant they did appoint that worthy knight Sir Amias Preston, and some others in some conuenient Barkes, to transport ouer to the sayd Towne safely and in

good

good order, a hundred or moe of the better sort of ancient gentlewomen, and marchants wiues, who were suffered to put vpon themselues, some of them two, yea, some three sutes of apparell, with some conuenient quantitie of many Iewels, Chaines, and other ornaments belonging to their estate and degree. Such was the heroicall liberality, and exceeding great clemencie of those most honourable Lords Generall, thereby, as it should seeme vnto mee, beating downe that false surmised opinion, which hath bene hitherto commonly spread abroad, and setled among the Spaniards: which is, That the English doe trouble them and their countries, more for their golde, riches and pearle &c. then for any other iust occasion. Whereas by these their honourable dealings it is manifest to all the world, that it is onely in respect of a iust reuenge for the manifolde iniuries, and most dishonourable practises that haue bene from time to time attempted by them against vs and our natiõ, and also in the defence of the true honour of England: which they haue sought, and daylie doe seeke, by so many sinister and reprochfull deuices, so much as in them lieth, to deface.

Vpon Saturday being the 26. Sir Iohn Winkfield knight was buried, in honourable and warlike manner, so farre foorth as the circumstances of that time and place could permit. At whose funerals the Nauie discharged a great part of their Ordinance, in such order, as was thought meete and conuenient by the Lords Generals commandement.

The twenty seuenth day being Sunday, in the Abbey the diuine seruice was had, and a learned Sermon was made there by one Master Hopkins, the right honourable Earle of Essex his Preacher, a man of good learning and sweete vtterance, and euen there the same day, something before the sermon was made, these worthie Gentlemen following were knighted by the Lords General. And here I am to signifie by the way that two of these were knighted three or foure dayes before, and some three or foure moe were knighted after that time, vpon certaine occasions: but yet I holde it best (and I trust without offence) to recite their names in this place altogether.

The names of such noble men and gentlemen, as were knighted at Cadiz in Iune 1596 by the two most honourable Lordes Generall.

Iune 21. 22.	Sir Samuel Bagnol.	Sir Alexander Clifford.
	Sir Arthur Sauage.	Sir Maurice Barkley.
27.	The Earle of Sussex.	Sir Charles Blunt.
	The Lord Harbert.	Sir George Gifford.
	The Lord Burk.	Sir Robert Crosse.
	Count Lodowick.	Sir Iames Escudamor.
	Sir William Howard.	Sir Vrias Leigh.
	Sir George D'Eureux.	Sir Iohn Leigh, alias Lee.
	Sir Henry Neuel.	Sir Richard Weston.
	Sir Edmund Rich.	Sir Richard Wainman.
	Sir Richard Leuen.	Sir Iames Wootton.
	Sir Peter Egomort.	Sir Richard Ruddal.
	Sir Anthonie Ashley.	Sir Robert Mansfield.
	Sir Henry Leonard.	Sir William Mounson.
	Sir Richard Leuison.	Sir Iohn Bowles.
	Sir Horatio Vere.	Sir Edward Bowes.
	Sir Arthur Throchmorton.	Sir Humfrey Druel.
	Sir Miles Corbet.	Sir Amias Preston.
	Sir Edward Conway.	Sir Robert Remington.
	Sir Oliuer Lambert.	Sir Iohn Buck.
	Sir Anthony Cooke.	Sir Iohn Morgan.
	Sir Iohn Townesend.	Sir Iohn Aldridg.
	Sir Christopher Heydon.	Sir Iohn Asshindon.
	Sir Francis Popham.	Sir Matthew Browne.
	Sir Philip Woodhouse.	Sir Iohn Acton.

Sir

Sir Thomas Gates.
Sir Gilly Mericke.
Sir Thomas Smith.
Sir William Pooley.
Sir Thomas Palmer.
Sir Iohn Stafford.
Sir Robert Louel.
Sir Iohn Gylbert.
Sir William Haruie.
Sir Iohn Gray.
Don Christ. prince of Portugal.
Sir Iohn Vandersoord, Admirall of the Hollanders.
Sir Robert Dudley. & August.

I am not curious in placing these gentlemen, but put them downe at a venture. Only I haue obserued, as neere as I could, the iust day and time when they were created. And I trust where the place of it selfe is so worthy and equall, there the bare naming and placing of the parties, shal breede no offence, or make a disparity. The two gentlemen that were last knighted receiued their knighthood in the way of our returne from Cadiz: the one of them vpon the sea, not farre from the Bay of the Groyne, at what time our ships stood vpon their staies for a space, while certaine Pinnasses were sent to descrie what shipping was at the Groine: The other at Plimmouth in the open streete, when the Lords Generall came from the Sermon. The one a man of long seruice, and good desert among the Dutch: the other of so many good parts of a worthy gentleman, as the like are seldome seene to concurre in any.

I spake in ℘ beginning of her Maiesties praier, which I presumed (though vnworthy) to translate into Latine: and nowe at this very time, there was some opportunity offered, for to make some vse of that translation. For nowe being in Cadiz, attending vpon my most honourable good Lord, I talked with certaine of the Religious men, such as I found learned, whereof indeed there were some, though not very many. I talked also with the Bishop of Cusco there, a graue aged comely man, and being of late chosen to that Bishopricke, he was as then to haue gone to the Indies, had not we then taken him prisoner, and so stayed his iourney for that time. With these men euer as occasion did serue, I did seeke nowe and then to spende some speech, and to entertaine time withall, I would breake with them of this our victorie, and of the iniuries and bad dealings of their Prince and Countrey offered to her Maiestie, whereby shee was prouoked, and in a manner drawen to this action: though otherwise of her own most excellent princely good nature, she was altogether giuen to peace, and quietnes. And alwayes in some part of our conferences, I would shew them a copie of her Maiesties praier in Latine, which I had alwaies of purpose ready about me, whereby it might the better appeare vnto them, how vnwillingly, and vpō how great & vrgent occasions, her Maiesty was, as it were enforced to vndertake this action: and therewithall I did vse now and then to bestow vpon them a copy of the same in writing. They seemed in all outward shew to allow of my speeches, and to praise her Maiesties good inclination; and earnestly wish that there might be a firme concord and peace againe.

It pleased the Lords general to deale exceeding fauourably with this said Bishop of Cusco: for it was their good pleasure to giue him his free passage without any ransome, and therewithal to let him to vnderstand, that they came not to deale with Church-men, or vnarmed men, or with men of peace, weaklings & children, neither was it any part of their meaning to make such a voyage for gold, siluer, or any other their wealth and riches, &c. But that their only cumming was to meet with their dishonorable practises, and manifold iniuries, & to deale with men of warre and valour, for the defence of the true honour of England: and to let them to vnderstand, that whensoeuer they attempted any base-conceited & dishonorable practise to their soueraigne Queene, their Mistresse, that it should be reuenged to the vttermost, &c.

In this meane space, while the Lords general continued at Cadiz, there came to them certain poore wretched Turks, to the number of 38, that had bin a long time gally-slaues and either at the very time of the fight by sea, or els immediately thereupon, taking the opportunity, did then make their escape, and did swim to land: yeelding themselues to the mercy of their most honorable Lordships. It pleased them with all speed to apparel them, and

and to furnish them with money, and all other necessaries, and to bestow on them a barke, and a Pilot, to see them freely and safely conueied into Barbary, willing them to let the countrey vnderstand what was done, and what they had seene. Whereby I doubt not, but as her Maiesty is a most admirable Prince already, ouer all Europe, all Africk, and Asia, and throughout Christendome: so the whole worlde hereafter shall haue iust cause to admire her infinite Princely vertues, and thereby bee prouoked to confesse, that as she hath bin mightily protected from time to time, by the powerful hand of the almighty, so vndoubtedly, that she is to be iudged and accounted of vs, to be his most sacred handmaide, and chosen vessel. And therefore, whatsoeuer wicked designement shalbe conspired and plotted against her Maiesty hereafter, shalbe thought to be conspired, plotted, and intended against the almighty himselfe: and for that cause, as I trust, shalbe by the infinite goodnes and mercy of that almighty, mightily frustrate and ouerthrowen.

The 28. day being Munday, the L. Admiral came aboord the Arke againe, minding there to remaine for a space, as indeed he did, and vpon the aduise of his Physition, to deale something in Physicke, for that his L. found his body something out of frame. At that time it pleased his L. to write certain letters to the Duke of Medina Sidonia, for the deliuerance of English captiues, who were remaining in the gallies. For by this time, it was reported, that the saide Duke was come downe in person with some power, and that he was either at Port S. Mary, or els at Rotta, or thereabout. His L. did endite the letters himselfe, but his pleasure was, they should be turned into Latine by another: and so to be sent (as indeed they were) in the latine tongue vnto the Duke.

A copie of the Lord Admirals letters to the Duke of Medina Sidonia.

Illustrissimo Principi Duci de Medina Sidonia.

Illustrissime Princeps, ex nonnullis quibusdam Hispanis intelligimus, Excellentiam vestram iam nunc esse apud portam S. Mariæ. Et quoniam in anno Domini 1588. id nobis tunc muneris assignatum erat à sereniss. nostra Regina domina mea, vt contra vos, vestrásq; copias, Ego solus pro eo tempore Generalis essem constitutus: Idcircò non opinamur vobis ignotum esse, quàm mite quoddam, & humanum bellandi genus, tum hîc iam in hoc ipso tempore, aduersus huius loci populum atq; incolas vsurpauerimus: tum etiam sæpiùs antehac quàm humaniter, benigneq; eos omnes tractauerimus, quos ex vestris iure belli captiuos acceperimus. Ex quorum numero quàm multa millia, etiam gratis, nullo accepto pretio, libertate donauerimus, id putamus omnibus esse testatius, quàm vt à quoquã denegetur. Quocirca, neq; vllo modo nobis in mentem venire potest, vt dubitemus, quin parem etiam in vobis humanitatem aduersus nostros captiuos simus reperturi. Càm igitur nobis compertũ iam sit, habere vos in vestris galeris, ex Reginæ nostræ serenissimæ Dominæ meæ subditis vnum & quinquaginta captiuos: non equidem dubitamus, quin eos omnes sitis relaxaturi, & ad nos missuri: ea lege, ac conditione, vt totidem ex vestris hîc captiuis eiusdem loci atq; ordinis, melioris etiam fortassis notæ, ac conditionis, homuncios, ad vos vicissim remittamus. Id quod nos facturos data fide spondemus, quàm primùm nostros captiuos ex vestris manibus acceperimus. Hac in re si nostro desiderio ac voluntati parùm satisfactum erit, aliud profectò tunc posthac belli genus ingrediemur, alitúmq; bellandi morem cogemur, etiam inuiti, & contra voluntatem prosequi. Ex Regia Anglicana classe apud Cadiz vltimo Iunij, stilo antiquo. 1596.

Carolus Howard.

These letters were sent by a Spaniard, and an answere was brought from the Duke with al conuenient speed, and as it should seeme by the L. Admirals next answere returned to him in writing, which immediatly hereafter foloweth, the Duke de Medina Sidonia his letters were honorable, and with good regard.

A Copie

A Copie of my L. Admirals second letter to the Duke of Medina Sidonia.

Illustrissimo Principi Duci de Medina Sidonia.

ILlustrissime Princeps, literas ab excellentia vestra hodiè accepimus: quæ verò nostra sit ad illas responsio, nobiles isti viri, qui vestras literas ad nos pertulerunt: plenius declarabunt. Hoc interim cupimus esse penitùs persuasum Excellentiæ vestræ, nos sedulò operam daturos, vt in omni honorificæ benignitatis humanitatisq; genere, expectationi vestræ omni ex parte respondeamus. Quod ad Anglicos nostros captiuos attinet, quos ab Excellentia vestra huc ad nos crastino die missum iri expectamus, in ea re pollicemur Excellentiæ vestræ, quòd plenius à nobis vestræ voluntati satisfactum erit: & quòd pro illis captiuis tales nos captiuos vobis remittemus, quales tũ ab ipso Dom. Mendoza, tum ab alijs illustrib. viris, qui à Dom. Porta Carero in illorum ad nos fauorẽ mittebantur, communi cum consensu erant ab ipsis approbati. Si verò quis alius iam captiuus est vel posthac futurus erit in nostra potestate, pro cuius redemptione nondum plenè conuentum est & stipulatum de certo pretio persoluendo: concedimus Excellentiæ vestræ, vt in hoc etiã casu vos, vestro pro arbitrio, de illis quicquid velitis, imperetis. Ex Regia classe Anglicana, apud Cadiz, 3. die Iulij stylo antiquo. 1596.

Carolus Howard.

The next day after, being the 4. of Iuly, the L. L. generall caused the towne of Cadiz to be set on fire, and rased & defaced so much as they could, the faire cathedral Church, and the religious houses only being spared, and left vnblemished. And with the town al such prouision for shipping, & other things, as were seruiceable for ỹ K. vse, & yet were not either so conuenient for vs to be caried away, or els such as we stood no whit at all in need of, were likewise at the same instant consumed with fire. And presently theruppon, their Lordships, with as conuenient speed as they could, and the whole army in such good order and leisure, as they thought best, came aboord.

The next day being the 5. of Iuly, the L. L. generall with all the armie being vnder saile, & now making for England, & but as yet passing the very mouth of the bay of Cadiz, a galley full of English prisoners, with a flag of truce, met vs frõ Rotta, sent by the D. of Medina Sidonia, & sent as it should seeme, one day later then his promise: but yet their flag being either not big enough, or not wel placed in the galley, or not wel discerned of our men, or by what other mischance I know not: but thus it was: by one of our smallest ships ỹ sailed formost, assoone as the said galley came within gunshot, there was a great peece discharged vpon her, & at that instant there was one man slaine outright, and 2. other grieuously hurt. The error being espied and perceiued, our ship gaue ouer immediatly from any farther shooting. Assoone as the galley came neere vs, my L. Admirall caused a gracious salutation to be sounded with his trumpets, & willed the captains forthwith to come aboord his ship: which they did, and then he feasted them with a very fine and honorable banket, as the time and place might serve. And then by them vnderstanding of that vnfortunate mischance that had hapned by the shot of the said ship, he was very sory for the same, and yet such was the merciful prouidence of almighty God, that euen in this mischance also, he did hold his holy hand ouer the English. And al the harme that was done did light onely vpon the poore Turk, and the Spaniard himselfe. When this Lorde had well banqueted them, hee presently called for his barge, and did accompany the said galley to the Lorde general the Earle of Essex, who then did ride with his ship a good distance off: and there they being in like maner most honorably receiued, and intertained, the Spanish gentlemẽ deliuered vp their prisoners the English captiues, of whõ some had bin there 6 yere, some 8, or ten: yea, and some 22. yeere, and vpward, and some of them but lately taken in S. Francis Drakes last voiage to the Indies. The number of the prisoners deliuered were but 39, and no mo, and were brought in, and deliuered by Don Antonio de Corolla and his brother, and by Don Pedro de Cordua, and certaine others. If you demaund why, of one and fiftie Captiues, there were no moe deliuered then was, I presuppose, (and I thinke it true

to)

to) that at that time the residue were farther off in some remote places of Spaine bestowed, and so by that meanes, not able at this time to bee in a readinesse, but yet like enough that there is some good order taken for them hereafter, to be redeemed, and sent ouer into England.

If any man presume here so farre, as to enquire how it chanced, that the Lords generall rested so long at Cadiz, and went no farther, and why Port S. Mary being so faire a towne, and so neere to them, was forborne? and why Sheres aliàs Xeres? And why Rotta and the like? And why this or that was done? And why that or this left vndone? I will not answere him with our common English prouerbe, as I might, which is: That one fodle may aske moe questions in one houre, then ten discrete men can wel answere in fiue dayes.

But that graue auncient writer, Cornelius Tacitus, hath a wise, briefe, pithy saying, and it is this: *Nemo tentauit inquirere in columnas Herculis, sanctiùsq; ac reuerentius habitum est de factis Deorum credere, quàm scire.* Which saying, in my fancy, fitteth marueilous well for this purpose: and so much the rather, for that this Cadiz is that very place, (at least by the common opinion) where those said pillers of Hercules were thought to be placed: and, as some say, remaine as yet not farre off to be seene. But to let that passe, the saying beareth this discrete meaning in it, albeit in a prety kind of mystical maner vttered: That it befitteth not inferiour persons to be curious, or too inquisitiue after Princes actions, neither yet to be so sawcy and so malapert, as to seeke to diue into their secrets, but rather alwayes to haue a right reuerend conceite and opinion of them, and their doings: and theron so resting our inward thoughts, to seek to go no further, but so to remaine ready alwaies to arme our selues with dutiful minds, and willing obedience, to perform and put in execution that which in their deepe insight and heroicall designements, they shall for our good, and the care of the common wealth determine vpon.

This, and much lesse to, might suffice to satisfie any honest minded man. But yet if any will needs desire to be a little farther satisfied, albeit it neede not, yet then, thus much I dare say and affirme, that vpon my knowledge, the chiefest cause why Port Saint Mary, and the rest were left vntouched, was this: For that it was most certainly knowen, that they were townes not woorth the saluting of such a royall companie, in which there was no maner of wealth in the world left, more then bare houses of stone, and standing walles, and might well haue serued rather as a stale, perchance, to haue entrapped, then as a meanes to haue enriched. And it had bin more then a suspicion of follie, for such an army as this, to haue sought to fight with the aire, and to haue laboured with great paine and charges, yea, and with some euident danger too, to haue ouerthrowen that, which could very litle or nothing haue profited, being destroyed: and yet nowe, can doe as little harme being left, as it is, vntouched.

And thus much for our iourney to Cadiz: for the accidents that happened by the way, for the winning, spoiling, and burning of the said towne, for the ouerthrowe of the Spanish Fleet there, and for al other by-matters that happened, as appendances to the same, both in the time of our abode there, as also at the very last houre of our comming from thence.

As for our returne home, and our entrance into a part of Portingal by the way, with the taking, spoyling, and burning of the towne of Faraon there, and marching into the Spanish confines therabouts, &c. I minde to leaue it to some other, whose chance was to be present at the action, as myselfe was not, and shalbe of more sufficient ability to performe it.

That the Brittons were in Italie and Greece with the Cimbrians and Gaules, before the incarnation of Christ. M. Wil. Camden, pag. 33.

BRitannos autem cum Cimbris & Gallis permistos fuisse in expeditionibus illis in Italiam & Græciam videtur. Nam præter nomen commune in Britannico Triadum libro vetustissimo, Triadum Liber. vbi tres maximi exercitus, qui è Britannis conscripti erant, memorantur, proditum est, exterum quendam ducem longè maximum exercitum hinc contraxisse, qui, populata magna Europæ parte, tandem ad Græcum mare (forsitan Galliam innuit) consederit.

Britomarum item ducem inter illos militarem, cuius meminit Florus & Appianus, Britonem

fuisse nomẽ euincit, quod Britonem magnum significat. Nec torquebo illud Strabonis, qui Brennum natione Prausum fuisse scribit vt natione Britonem faciam.

The same in English.

IT is not vnlike that the Britons accompanied the Cimbrians and Gaules in those expeditions to Italy and Greece. For besides the common name, it is recorded in that most ancient British booke called Liber Triadum, (wherein also mention is made of three huge armies that were leuied out of Britaine) that a certaine outlandish captaine gathered from hence a mightie armie; who hauing wasted a great part of Europe, at length tooke vp his abode (perhaps the Author meaneth in Gallatia) neere vnto the sea of Greece.

Likewise, that the warrelike captaine Britomarus (of whom Florus and Appian doe make report) was himselfe a Briton, his very name doeth testifie, which signifieth A great Briton. Neither will I wrest that testimonie of Strabo (who reporteth Brennus to haue bene a Prause by birth) that I may prooue him also to haue bene a Briton borne.

The trauaile of Helena.

HElena Flauia Augusta serenissimi Coeli Britannici Regis Hæres, & vnica filia, Magni Constantini Cæsaris mater, incomparabili decõre, fide, religione, bonitate, ac magnificentiâ piâ, Eusebio etiam teste, per totum resplenduit orbem: Inter omnes ætatis suæ fœminas, nulla inueniebatur eâ in liberalibus artibus doctior, nulla in instrumentis musicis peritior, aut in linguis nationum copiosior. Innatam habebat ingenij claritudinem, oris facundiam, ac morum ornatissimam compositionem: Hebraicè, Græcè, & Latinè erudita. Carnerat pater alia sobole (inquit Virumnius) quæ Regni solio potiretur. Illam propterea his instrui fecit per optimos præceptores, vt eò commodius Regni tractaret negotia. Vnde ob incredibilem eius pulchritudinem, atque alias eximias animi & corporis dotes, Constantius Chlorus Cæsar illam duxit in vxorem, atque ex eâ filium in Britanniâ genuit Constantinum Magnum. Sed eo tandem Eboraci defuncto, cum Annâ illâ Euangelicâ, in sanctâ viduitate perduraut ad vltimum vitæ diem, tota Christianæ religioni dedita. Sunt enim authores, qui narrent per istam, cessante persecutione, pacem Ecclesijs datam: Ad tantam cœlestis Philosophiæ cognitionem eam ferunt post agnitum Euangelium peruenisse, vt olim multos ediderit libros, & carmina quædam Græca, quæ hucúsque à Pontico superesse perhibentur. Visionibus admonita Hierosolymam petijt, & omnia saluatoris loca perlustrauit. Romæ tandem octogenaria fœliciter in Christo quieuit. 15. Kalendas Septembris, filio adhuc superstite, anno salutis humanæ 337. Regnante apud Britannos Octauio. Huius corpus non minimâ nunc curâ Venetijs seruatur.

The same in English.

HElena Flauia Augusta, the heire and onely daughter of Coelus sometime the most excellent king of Britaine, the mother of the Emperour Constantine the great, by reason of her singular beautie, faith, religion, goodnesse and godly Maiestie (according to the testimonie of Eusebius) was famous in all the world. Amongst all the women of her time, there was none either in the liberall arts more learned, or in instruments of musike more skilfull, or in the diuers languages of nations more abundant then herselfe. She had a naturall quicknesse or excellency of wit, eloquence of speech, and a most notable grace in all her behauiour. She was seene in the Hebrew, Greeke and Latine tongues.

Her father (as Virumnius reporteth) had no other childe to succeed in the kingdome after him but her, and therefore caused her to be instructed in these things by the best teachers, that thereby she might the better in time gouerne the Realme: so that by reason of her passing beautie, and other her excellent giftes of body and minde, Constantius Chlorus the Emperour married her, and had by her a sonne called Constantine the great, while hee remained in Britaine. Who at length deceasing at Yorke, this Helena (no otherwise then Anna of whom mention is made in the new Testament) continued a vertuous and holy widow to the end of her life.

There

There are some writers which doe affirme, that persecution ceased, and peace was granted to the Christian Churches by her good meanes.

After the light and knowledge of the Gospel, she grewe so skilfull in diuinitie, that shee wrote and composed diuers bookes and certaine Greeke verses also, which (as Ponticus reporteth) are yet extant. Being warned by some visions she went to Ierusalem, and visited all the places there, which Christ had frequented. She liued to the age of fourescore yeeres, and then died at Rome the 15 day of August in the yeere of oure redemption 337. Octauius being then king of Britaine, and her sonne Constantine the Emperour then also liuing, and her body is to this day very carefully preserued at Venice.

The life and trauels of Constantine the great, Emperour and King of Britaine.

FLauius Constantinus cognomento Magnus post Genitorum Cõstantium Britannorum Rex, ac Romanorum Cæsar Augustus, ex Britannica matre in Britannia natus, & in Britannia creatus Imperator, patriam natalem magnificè suæ gloriæ participem fecit. Profligatis Alemanis, Hispanis, & Francis, eorúmque Regibus pro spectaculo bestijs obiectis, Galliam subiectam tenuit: Tres Helenæ matris auunculos Britannos, Leolinum, Traherum, & Marium, quos cæteris semper fidentiores habuerat in suis fortunis, Italis à Maxentij tyrannide fœlicitèr liberatis, in Senatorum ordinem Romæ promouit. Innumeræ in eo (vt Eutropius habet) claruêre tam animi, quàm corporis virtutes, dum appetentissimus esset gloriæ militaris, successu semper in bellis prospero. Inter literas tam Græcas quàm Latinas, à Christianissima matre Helena Christi fidem edoctus, eos honorabat præcipuè, qui in Philosophia Christiana vitam reclinassent. Vnde ab oceani finibus nempe Britannis incipiens, ope fretus diuina, religionis curam in medijs superstitionum tenebris cepit, ab Occiduis ad Indos, innumeras ad æternæ spem vitæ erigens gentes. Animum diuinis exercendo studijs, noctes trahebat insomnes, & quæsita scribendi diuerticula per otium frequentabat: Imperium oratione, ac Sanctis operationibus continendum ratus, Egregius Christianæ disciplinæ præco, filios ac proceres docuit, pietatem diuitijs omnibus, atque adeò ipsi anteferre totius mundi Monarchiæ. Falsorum deorum euersor, Imaginum cultus per Græciam, Ægyptum, Persiam, Asiam, & vniuersam ditionem Romanam, repetitis abrogat legibus, iubens per edicta Christum coli, Euangelium prædicari sacrum, Ministris honores, & alimenta dari, atq; idolorum vbique destrui templa. Et vt fidei forma cunctis videretur, Euangelium Iesu Christi ante se semper ferri fecit, & Biblia sacra ad omnes prouincias destinari, diademáque Monarchicum primus Britannis regibus dedit: Ecclesijs infinita præstitit, agros, annonam, stipem egenis, ægris, viduis, ac orphanis, pro quibusque vt pater sollicitus. Eusebium, Lactantium, & similes, familiarissimos habuit, & hanc ad Deum orationem indies ipsis in eius vita testibus fudit. Vnum te Deum esse nouimus, vnum te Regem intelligimus, appellamus adiutorem, nobis abs te victoria cecidit, ex te Aduersarium fudimus, &c. Pro delicijs habuit, vt Sextus Aurelianus tradit, literarum studia colere, bonos artes fouere, legere, scribere, meditari: composuit Græcè & Latinè multos libros & Epistolas. E vita Nicomediæ discessit Senex, ætatis suæ Anno 66. & Imperij 32. à Christi verò incarnatione 339. Constantinopoli sepultus, Octauio in Britãnijs regnante. Eius vitam in quatuor libris Eusebius Cæsariensis Græcè scripsit, & Ioannes Portesius Gallus in Latinum transtulit sermonem.

The same in English.

FLauius Constantine, surnamed the great, king of the Britaines after his father, and Emperor of the Romanes, borne in Britanie of Helena his mother, and there created Emperour, made his natiue countrey partaker of his singular glory and renoume.

Hauing conquered and put to flight the Almanes, Spaniards, Frenchmen, and their Kings for a spectacle throwen out to wild beasts, he held France it selfe as subiect vnto him: and hauing happily deliuered the Italians from the tyrannie of Maxentius, he preferred three of his mothers vncles, all Britaines, namely, Leoline, Trahere, and Marius, whom in all his actions he had found more faithfull vnto him then any others, to be of the order of the Romane Senators.

Eutropius reporteth, that he infinitely excelled in the vertues both of the mind and body also, and that hauing a pleasure in the practise of warre, and in the iust commendation of Martiall prowesse, he neuer pitched his field but his successe in the battel was alwayes victorious. His mother Helena hauing instructed him in the faith of Christ, although hee made much of all men that were learned in the Greeke and Latine tongues, yet he yeelded speciall honor to those that spent their time in the studie of Diuinitie, which he called Christian Philosophie: so that beginning at the furthest part of the Ocean sea, which then was taken to be his owne natiue soyle of Britaine, and trusting in the assistance of God, when the darkenes of superstition was most thicke, then hee vndertooke a care of Religion, stirring vp innumerable nations from the West as farre as India it selfe, to the hope of eternall life.

Hee passed many nightes without sleepe, hauing his minde occupied in diuine studies: and whensoeuer his laisure from greater affaires did permit him, his vacant times should be spent in the vse of writing and other good exercises, assuring himselfe that his kingdomes and Empire were to be continued and strengthened to him by prayer and holy workes: and oftentimes taking vpon him as it were the person of a notable preacher of Christian discipline, he would teach his children and nobilitie, that godlinesse was to be preferred before riches, yea, before the Monarchie of all the world.

He ouerthrew the false gods of the heathens, and by many lawes often reuiued, he abrogated the worshipping of Images in all the countries of Greece, Egypt, Persia, Asia, and the whole Romane Empire, commanding Christ onely by his Edicts to be worshipped, the sacred Gospell to be preached, the Ministers thereof to be honoured and relieued, and the temples of Idoles euery where to be destroyed.

Whithersoeuer he went hee caused the booke of the Gospell of Christ to be still caried before him, that thereby it might appeare to be a forme of faith to all men, and to appertaine generally to all nations.

He was the first that appointed an Imperiall Diademe, or Crowne to the Kings of Britaine.

He was most beneficiall to all Churches, bestowing vpon them lands and fields, and vpon the poore, sicke persons, widowes and orphanes, corne and wood, being as carefull of them as if he had beene their naturall father.

He vsed learned men most familiarly, as Eusebius, Lactantius and others, and they are witnesses that this was his usuall prayer to God. O Lord we know thee to be the onely God, we are sure that thou art the onely King, and wee call vpon thee as our helper: through thee we haue gotten the victorie, and by thee we haue ouerthrowen the enemie.

Sextus Aurelius reporteth, that it was his greatest delight to imbrace the studie of learning, to fauour good Arts, to read, write and meditate, and that he composed many bookes and Epistles both in the Greeke and Latine tongues.

He died at Nicomedia, being then 66. yeres of age, in the 32. yere of his reigne, and in the 339. yeere after the Incarnation of Christ, and was buried at Constantinople, Octauius being then King of Britaine: whose life Eusebius bishop of Cæsarea hath written in Greeke in 4. bookes, which afterwards were translated into the Latine tongue by Iohn Portes a Frenchman.

The life and trauailes of Pelagius borne in Wales.

PElagius Cambrius ex ea Britanniæ parte oriundus, famati illius Collegij Bannochorensis a Cestria non procul, præpositus erat, in quo Christianorum philosophorum duo millia ac centum, ad plebis in Christo commoditatem militabant, manuum suarum laboribus, iuxta Pauli doctrinam victitantes. Post quam plures exhibitos, pro Christiana Repub. labores, vir eruditione insignis, & tum Græcè, tum Latinè peritus, vt Tertullianus alter, quorundam Clericorum lacessitus iniurijs, grauatim tulit, ac tandem a fide defecit.

Peragratis igitur deinceps Gallijs, in Aegyptum, & Syriam aliásque orientis Regiones demum peruenit. Vbi ex earum partiũ Monacho præsul ordinatus, sui nominis hæresim fabricabat: asserens hominem sine peccato nasci, ac solo voluntatis imperio sine gratia saluari posse, vt ita nefarius baptismum ac fidem tolleret. Cum his & consimilibus impostricis doctrinæ

trinæ fæcibus in patriam suam reuersus, omnem illam Regionem, Iuliano & Cælestino Pseudoepiscopis fautoribus, conspurcabat. Verum ante lapsum suum studia tractabat honestissima, vt post Gennadium, Bedam, & Honorium alij ferunt authores, composuitq; multos libros ad Christianam vtilitatem. At postquam est Hereticus publicatus, multo plures edidit hæresi succurrentes, & ex diametro cum vera pietate pugnantes, vnde erat a suis Britannis in exilium pulsus, vt in Epistola ad Martinum 5. Valdenus habet. Claruit anno post Christum incarnatum, 390. sub Maximo Britannorum Rege.

The same in English.

PElagius, borne in that part of Britaine which is called Wales, was head or gouernour of the famous Colledge of Bangor, not farre from Chester, wherein liued a Societie of 2100. Diuines, or Students of Christian philosophie, applying themselues to the profite of the Christian people, and liuing by the labours of their owne handes, according to Pauls doctrine. He was a man excellently learned, and skilfull both in the Greeke and Latine tongues, and as it were another Tertullian, after his long and great trauailes for the good of the Christian common wealth, seeing himselfe abused, and iniuriously dealt withall by some of the Clergie of that time, he tooke the matter so grieuously, that at the last he relapsed from the faith.

Whereupon he left Wales, and went into France, and hauing gone through France, hee went therehence into Egypt, Syria, & other Countries of the East, and being made Priest by a certaine Monke of those parties, he there hatched his heresie, which according to his name was called the heresie of the Pelagians: which was, that manne was borne without sinne, and might be saued by the power of his owne will without grace, that so the miserable man might take away faith and baptisme. With this and the like dregges of false doctrine, hee returned againe into Wales, and there by the meanes of the two false Prelates Iulian and Celestine, who fauoured his heresie, hee infected the whole Countrey with it. But before his fall and Apostasie from the faith, he exercised himselfe in the best studies, as Gennadius, Beda, Honorius, and other authors doe report of him, and wrote many bookes seruing not a litle to Christian vtilitie: but being once fallen into his heresie, hee wrote many more erroneous bookes, then he did before honest, and sincere: whereupon, at the last his owne Countreymen banished him, as Walden testifieth in his Epistle to Pope Martine the fift. He flourished in the yere after the Incarnation, 390. Maximus being then King of Britaine.

Certaine Englishmen sent to Constantinople by the French King to Iustinian the Emperor, about the yeere of Christ, 500. out of the fourth booke of Procopius de Bello Gothico.

BRitanniam insulam tres numerosissimæ gentes incolunt: Quorum vnicuique suus Rex imperat. Nominantur hæ gentes Angili, Frisones, & qui eiusdem sunt cum insula cognominis Britones. Tanta vero hominum multitudo esse videtur, vt singulis annis inde magno numero cum vxoribus & liberis ad Francos emigrent. Illi autem in eorum terram, quæ maximè deserta videtur, excipiunt. Vnde insulam sibi vendicare ferunt. Vtique non ita pridem, cum Francorum Rex quosdam è suis Constantinopolim ad Iustinianum legaret, Anglos etiam misit, ambitiosius vendicans, quasi hæc insula sue subesset imperio.

The same in English.

THe Isle of Britaine is inhabited by three most populous nations, euery of which is gouerned by a seuerall king. The sayd nations are named Angili, Frisones, and Britones, which last are called after the name of the Island. In this Isle there are such swarmes of people, that euery yeere they goe foorth in great numbers with their wiues and children into France. And the Frenchmen right willingly receiue them into their lande, which seemeth very desolate for want of inhabitants. Whereupon it is sayd that the French doe challenge the foresayde Island vnto themselues. For not long since, when the king of the Frankes sent certaine of his subiects ambassadours to Constantinople vnto Iustinian the Emperour, he sent

English

English men also, ambitiously boasting, as though the sayd Isle had bene vnder his iurisdiction.

A testimonie of the sending of Sighelmus Bishop of Shirburne, by King Alphred, vnto Saint Thomas of India in the yeare of our Lord 883, recorded by William of Malmesburie, in his second booke and fourth Chapter de gestis regum Anglorum.

ELeemosynis intentus priuilegia ecclesiarum, sicut pater statuerat, roborauit; & trans mare Romam, & ad sanctum Thomam in Indiam multa munera misit. Legatus in hoc missus Sighelmus Shirburnensis Episcopus cum magna prosperitate, quod quiuis hoc seculo miretur, Indiam penetrauit; inde rediens exoticos splendores gemmarum, & liquores aromatum, quorum illa humus ferax est, reportauit.

The same in English.

KIng Alphred being addicted to giuing of almes, confirmed the priuileges of Churches as his father had determined; and sent also many giftes beyond the seas vnto Rome, and vnto S. Thomas of India. His messenger in this businesse was Sighelmus bishop of Schirburne; who with great prosperitie (which is a matter to be wondered at in this our age) trauailed thorough India, and returning home brought with him many strange and precious vnions and costly spyces, such as that countrey plentifully yeeldeth.

A second testimony of the foresaid Sighelmus his voyage vnto Saint Thomas of India &c. out of William of Malmesburie his second booke de gestis pontificum Anglorum, cap. de episcopis Schireburnensibus, Salisburiensibus, Wiltunensibus:

SIghelmus trans mare, causa eleemosynarum regis, & etiam ad Sanctum Thomam in Indiam missus mira prosperitate, quod quiuis in hoc seculo miretur, Indiam penetrauit; indeque rediens exotici generis gemmas, quarum illa humus ferax est, reportauit. Nonnullæ illarum adhuc in ecclesiæ monumentis visuntur.

The same in English.

Sighelmus being for the performance of the kings almes sent beyond the seas, and trauailing vnto S. Thomas of India, very prosperously (which a man would woonder at in this age) passed through the sayde countrey of India, and returning home brought with him diuers strange and precious stones, such as that climate affourdeth. Many of which stones are as yet extant in the monuments of the Church.

The life and trauailes of Iohn Erigena.

IOannes Erigena Britannus natione, in Meneuia vrbe, seu ad fanum Dauidis, & patricio genitore natus, dum Anglos Daci crudeles bellis ac rapinis molestarent, ac omnia illic essent tumultibus plena, longam ipse peregrinationem Athenas vsque suscepit, annósq; quamplures literis Græcis, Chaldaicis, & Arabicis insudauit: omnia illic inuisit Philosophorum loca, ac studia, imo & ipsum oraculum Solis, quod Aesculapius sibi construxerat. Inueniens tandem quod longo quæsierat labore, in Italiam & Galliam est reuersus vbi ob insignem eruditionem, Carolo Caluo, & postea Ludouico Balbo acceptus, Dionysij Areopagitæ libros de cœlesti Hierarchia, ex Constantinopoli tunc missos Latinos fecit, Anno Dom. 858. Profectus postea in Britanniam, Alphredi Anglorum Regis, & suorum liberorum factus est præceptor, atque ipso mox adhortante, inter ocia literaria è Græco transtulit in tres linguas, scilicet Chaldaicam, Arabicam, & Latinam, Aristotelis moralia, de secretis secretorum, seu recto regimine Principum, opus certe exquisitum. In Malmsburiensi cœnobio tandem, quo recreationis gratia se contulerat, inter legendum a quibusdam discipulis maleuolis interimebatur, Anno Christi, 884.

The same in English.

IOhn Erigene a Britane, descended of honourable parents, and borne in the Towne of S. Dauid

Dauid in Wales, seeing the Englishmen to be oppressed with the warres and rapines of the cruell Danes, and all the land in a hurlie burlie, he in the meane time vndertooke a long iourney, euen as farre as Athens, and there spent many yeres in the studie of the Greeke, Chaldie, and Arabian tongues: he there frequented all the places and schooles of the Philosophers, and the oracle also of the Sunne, which Aesculapius had built vnto himselfe. And hauing found at length that which he had with long trauell searched, he returned againe into Italie, and France, where for his singular learning, he was much fauoured of the two Kings Charles and Lewes, and in his being there, he translated into Latine the bookes of Dionysius Areopagita concerning the Heauenly Hierarchie, which were sent from Constantinople in the yeere 858. After this hee came backe againe into his owne Countrey, and was schoolemaster vnto Alphred then King of England, and his sonnes: and vpon his request, at his times of leasure, he translated Aristotles Morals, of the Secrets of Secrets, or of the right gouernement of Princes, out of Greeke into these three tongues, Chaldie, Arabian, and Latine, which he did very exquisitely. At the last, being in the Abbie of Malmesburie, whither he went for his recreation, and there according to his manner disputing, and reading to the Students, some of them misliking and hating him, rose against him, and slue him in the yeere of Christ, 884.

The trauailes of Andrew Whiteman aliàs Leucander, Centur. 2.

ANdræas Leucander aliàs Whiteman (iuxta Lelandum) Monachus, & Abbas Rameseiensis Cœnobij tertius fuit. Hic bonis artibus studio quodam incredibili noctes atque dies inuigilabat, & operæ præcium ingens inde retulit. Accessit præterea & ardens quoddam desiderium, ea proprijs & apertis oculis videndi loca in quibus Seruator Christus redemptionis nostræ mysteria omnia consummauit, quorum prius sola nomina ex scripturarum lectione nouerat: vnde & sacram Hierosolymorum vrbem miraculorum, prædicationis, ac passionis eius testem inuisit, atque domum rediens factus est Abbas. Clarvisse fertur anno nati Seruatoris, 1020. sub Canuto Dano.

The same in English.

ANdrew Leucander otherwise called Whiteman (as Leland reporteth) was by profession a Monke, and the third Abbat of the Abbey of Ramsie: he was exceedingly giuen to the studie of good artes, taking paines therein day & night, & profited greatly thereby. And amongst all other things, he had an incredible desire to see those places with his eyes, wherein Christ our Sauiour performed and wrought all the mysteries of our redemption, the names of which places he onely knew before by the reading of the Scriptures. Whereupon he began his iourney, and went to Ierusalem a witnesse of the miracles, preaching, and passion of Christ, and being againe returned into his countrey, he was made the aforesayd Abbat. He flourished in the yere of Christ 1020. vnder Canutus the Dane.

The voyage of Swanus one of the sonnes of Earle Godwin vnto Ierusalem, Anno Dom. 1052, recorded by William of Malmsburie lib. 2. de gestis regum Anglorum, Capite 13.

SWanus peruersi ingenij & infidi in regem, multoties a patre & fratre Haroldo desciuit: & pirata factus, prædis maritimis virtutes maiorum polluit. Postremò pro conscientia Brunonis cognati interempti, & (vt quidam dicunt) fratris Ierosolimam abijt; indeque rediens, a Saracenis circumuentus, & ad mortem cæsus est.

The same in English.

SWanus being of a peruerse disposition, and faithlesse to the king, often times disagreed with his father and his brother Harold: and afterwards prooving a pirate, he stained the vertues of his ancestours with his robberies vpon the seas. Last of all, being guilty vnto himselfe of the murther of his kinseman Bruno, and (as some do report) of his owne brother, he

he trauailed vnto Ierusalem: and in his returne home, being taken by the Saracens, was beaten, and wounded vnto death.

A voyage of three Ambassadours, who in the time of K. Edward the Confessor, and about the yere of our Lord 1056, were sent vnto Constantinople, and from thence vnto Ephesus, together with the occasion of their sending, &c. recorded by William of Malmesburie, lib. 2. de gestis regum Anglorum, capite 13.

DIe sancti paschatis ad mensam apud Westmonasterium assederat, diademate fastigatus, & optimatum turma circumuallatus. Cúmque alij longam quadragesimæ inediam recentibus cibis compensantes, acriter comederent, ille a terrenis reuocato animo, diuinum quiddam speculatus, mentes conuiuantium permouit ampliorem perfusus in risum: nullóque causam lætitiæ perquirere præsumente, tùnc quidèm ita tacitum, donec edendi satietas obsonijs finem imposuit. Sed remotis mensis, cum in triclinio regalibus exuerctur, tres optimates eum prosequuti, quorum vnus erat comes Haroldus, secundus abbas, tertius episcopus, familiaritatis ausu interrogant quid riserat: mirum omnibus nec immeritò videri, quarè in tanta serenitate diei & negotij, tacentibus cæteris, scurrilem cachinnum ejecerit. Stupenda (inquit) vidi, nec ideo sine causa risi. Tum illi, vt moris est humani ingenij, sciscitari & quærere causam ardentiùs, vt supplicibus dignantèr rem impertiatur. Ille multùm cunctatus tandem instantibus mira respondit: septem dormientes in monte Cælio requiescere iam ducentis annis in dextro iacentes latere: sed tunc in hora ipsa risus sui, latus inuertisse sinistrum: futurum vt septuaginta quatuor annis ita iaceant: dirum nimirum miseris mortalibus omen. Nam omnia ventura in his septuaginta quatuor annis, quæ dominus circa finem mundi prædixit discipulis suis: gentem contra gentem surrecturam, & regnum aduersus regnum, terræmotus per loca, pestilentiam & famem, terrores de cœlo & signa magna, regnorum mutationes, gentilium in Christianos bella, item Christicolarum in paganos victorias. Talia mirantibus inculcans passionem septem dormientium, & habitudines corporum singulorum, quas nulla docet litera, ita promptè disseruit: ac si cum eis quotidiano victitaret contubernio. His auditis, comes militem, episcopus clericum, abbas monachum, ad veritatem verborum exsculpendam, Manicheti Constantinopolitano imperitori misere, adiectis regis sui literis & muneribus. Eos ille benignè secum habitos episcopo Ephesi destinauit, epistola pariter, quam sacram vocant, comitante: vt ostenderentur legatis regis Angliæ septem dormientium marturiales exuuiæ. Factúmq; est vt vaticinium regis Edwardi Græcis omnibus comprobatum, qui se a patribus accepisse iurarent, super dextrum illos latus quiescere: sed post introitum Anglorum in speluncam, veritatem peregrinæ prophetiæ contubernalibus suis prædicarunt. Nec moram festinatio malorum fecit, quin Agareni, & Arabes, & Turci, alienæ scilicèt a Christo gentes, Syriam, & Lyciam, & minorem Asiam omnino, & maioris multas vrbes, inter quas & Ephesum, ipsam etiam Hierosolymam depopulati, super Christianos inuaderent.

The same in English.

VPon Easter day king Edward the Confessour being crowned with his kingly diademe, and accompanied with diuers of his nobles, sate at dinner in his pallace at Westminster. And when others, after their long abstinence in the Lent, refreshed themselues with dainty meats, and fed thereupon very earnestly, he lifting vp his mind from earthly matters and meditating on heauenly visions (to the great admiration of those which were present) brake forth into an exceeding laughter: and no man presuming to enquire the cause of his mirth, they all kept silence til dinner was ended. But after dinner as he was in his bed-chamber putting off his solemne roabes, three of his Nobles, to wit earle Harold, an Abbot, and a Bishop, being more familiar with him then the residue followed him in and bouldly asked him what was the occasion of his laughter: for it seemed very strange vnto them all, what should moue him at so solemne a time and assembly, while others kept silence, to laugh so excessiuely. I saw (quoth he) admirable things, and therefore laughed I not without occasion. Then they (as it is the common guise of all men) demaunded and enquired the cause more earnestly, humbly beseeching him that hee would vouchsafe to impart that secret vnto them. Whereupon musing

musing a long while vnto himselfe, at length he told them wonderfull things: namely that seuen Sleepers had rested in mount Cælius two hundred yeeres, lying vpon their right sides; but in the very houre of his laughter, that they turned themselues on their left sides; and that they should continue so lying for the space of 74. yeeres after; being a dismal signe of future calamitie vnto mankinde. For all things should come to passe within those 74. yeeres, which, as our Sauiour Christ foretold vnto his disciples, were to be fulfilled about the ende of the world; namely that nation should rise against nation, and kingdome against kingdome, and that there should bee in many places earthquakes, pestilence, and famine, terrible apparitions in the heauens, and great signes; together with alterations of kingdomes, warres of infidels against the Christians, and victories of the Christians against the infidels. And as they wondered at these relations, he declared vnto them the passion of the seuen Sleepers, with the proportion and shape of eache of their bodies (which things no man liuing had as then committed vnto writing) and that so plainely and distinctly, as if he had conuersed a long time in their company. Hereupon the earle sent a knight, the bishop a clearke, and the Abbot a monke vnto Maniches the Emperour of Constantinople, with the letters and gifts of their King. Who giuing them friendly entertainment, sent them ouer vnto the bishop of Ephesus; and wrote his letters vnto him giuing him charge, that the English Ambassadours might be admitted to see the true, and material habiliments of the seuen Sleepers. And it came to passe that King Edwards vision was approued by all the Greekes, who protested they were aduertised by their fathers, that the foresaid seuen Sleepers had alwayes before that time rested vpon their right-sides; but after the Englishmen were entered into the caue, those Sleepers confirmed the trueth of the outlandish prophesie, vnto their countreymen. Neither were the calamities foretold, any long time delayed: for the Agarens, Arabians, Turkes and other vnbeleeuing nations inuading the Christians, harried and spoiled Syria, Lycia, the lesser Asia, and many cities of Asia the greater, and amongst the rest Ephesus, yea, and Ierusalem also.

The Voyage of Alured bishop of Worcester vnto Ierusalem, an. 1058. Recorded by Roger Houeden in parte priore Annalium, fol. 2[illegible]. linea 15.

ALuredus Wigorniensis Episcopus ecclesiam, quam in ciuitate Glauorna à fundamentis con- A. D. 1058.
struxerat, in honore principis Apostolorum Petri honorificè dedicauit: & posteà regis licentia Wolstanum Wigorniensem Monachum à se ordinatum Abbatem constituit ibidem. Dein præsulatu dimisso Wiltoniensis ecclesiæ, qui sibi ad regendum commissus fuerat, & Hermanno, cujus suprà mentionem fecimus, reddito, mare transijt, & per Hungariam profectus est Hierosolymam, &c.

The same in English.

IN the yere of our Lord 1058. Alured bishop of Worcester, very solemnely dedicated a Church (which himselfe had founded and built in the citie of Glocester) vnto the honour of S. Peter the chiefe Apostle: and afterward by the kings permission ordained Wolstan a Monke of Worcester of his owne choice, to be Abbate in the same place. And then hauing left his Bishopricke which was committed vnto him ouer the Church of Wilton, and hauing resigned the same vnto Hermannus aboue mentioned, passed ouer the seas, and trauailed through Hungarie vnto Ierusalem, &c.

The voyage of Ingulphus Abbat of Croiland vnto Ierusalem, performed (according to Florentius Wigorniensis) in the yeere of our Lord, 1064, and described by the said Ingulphus himselfe about the conclusion of his briefe Historie.

EGo Ingulphus humilis minister Sancti Guthlaci Monasterijq; sui Croilandensis, natus in A. D. 1064.
Anglia, & a parentibus Anglicis, quippè vrbis pulcherrimæ Londoniarum, pro literis addiscendis in teneriori ætate constitutus, primum Westmonasterio, postmodum Oxoniensi studio traditus eram. Cúmque in Aristotele arripiendo supra multos coætaneos meos profecissem, etiam Rhetoricam Tullij primam & secundam talo tenus indue[illegible]am. Factus ergo

adolescentior, fastidiens parentum meorum exiguitatem, paternos lares relinquere, & palatia regum aut principum affectans, mollibus vestiri, pomposisque lacinijs amiciri indies ardentius appetebam. Et eccè, inclytus nunc rex noster Angliæ, tunc adhuc comes Normanniæ
A. D. 1051. Wilhelmus ad colloquium tunc regis Angliæ Edwardi cognati sui, cum grandi ministrantium comitatu Londonias aduentabat. Quibus citius insertus, ingerens me vbique ad omnia emergentia negotia peragenda, cum prosperè plurima perfecissem, in breui agnitus illustrissimo comiti & astrictissimè adamatus, cum ipso Normanniam enauigabam. Factus ibidem scriba eius, pro libito totam comitis curiam, ad nonnullorum inuidiam regebam; quòsque volui humiliabam, & quos volui exaltabam. Cumque iuuenili calore impulsus in tam celso statu supra meos natales consistere tæderem, quin semper ad altiora conscendere, instabili animo, ac nimium prurienti affectu, ad erubescẽtiam ambitiosus auidissimè desiderarem: nuntiatur per vniuersam Normanniam plurimos archiepiscopos imperij cum nonnullis alijs
A. D. 1064, According to Florentius Wigornensis. terræ principibus velle pro merito animarum suarum more peregrinorum cum debita deuotione Hierosolymam proficisci. De familia ergo comitis domini nostri plurimi tam milites quàm clerici, quorum primus & præcipuus ego eram, cum licentia, & domini nostri comitis beneuolentia, in dictum iter nos omnes accinximus: & Alemanniam petentes, equites triginta numero & ampliùs domino Maguntino coniuncti sumus. Parati namque omnes ad viam, & cum dominis episcopis connumerati septem millia, pertranseuntes prosperè multa terrarum spatia, tandem Constantinopolim peruenimus. Vbi Alexium Imperatorem eius adorantes Agiosophiam vidimus, & infinita sanctuaria osculati sumus. Diuertentes inde per Lyciam, in manus Arabicorum latronum incidimus; euisceratique de infinitis pecunijs, cum mortibus multorum, & maximo vitæ nostræ periculo vix euadentes, tandem desideratissimam ciuitatem Hierosolymam læto introitu tenebamus. Ab ipso tunc patriarcha Sophronio nomine, viro veneranda canitie honestissimo ac sanctissimo, grandi cymbalorum tonitru, & luminarium immenso fulgore suscepti, ad diuinissimam ecclesiam sanctissimi sepulchri, tam Syrorum, quàm Latinorum solenni processione deducti sumus. Ibi quot preces inorauimus, quot lachrymas infleuimus, quot suspiria inspirauimus, solus eius inhabitator nouit D. noster Iesus Christus. Ab ipso itaque glorioissimo sepulchro Christi ad alia sanctuaria ciuitatis inuisenda circumducti, infinitam summam sanctarum ecclesiarum, & oratoriorum, quæ Achim Soldanus dudum destruxerat, oculis lachrymosis vidimus. Et omnibus ruinis sanctissimæ ciuitatis, tam extra, quàm intra; numerosis lachrymis intimo affectu compassi, ad quorundam restaurationem datis non paucis pecunijs, exire in patriam & sacratissimo Iordane intingi, vniuersáque Christi vestigia osculari, desiderantissima deuotione suspirabamus. Sed Arabum latrunculi qui omnem viam obseruabant, longiùs a ciuitate euagari, sua rabiosa multitudine innumera non sinebant. Vere igitur accidente, stolus nauium Ianuensium in porta Ioppensi applicuit. In quibus, cum sua mercimonia Christiani mercatores per ciuitates maritimas commutassent, & sancta loca similitèr adorassent, ascendentes omnes mari nos commisimus. Et iactati fluctibus & procellis innumeris tandem Brundusiũ, & prospero itinere per Apuliam Romam petentes, sanctorũ Apostolorum Petri & Pauli limina, & copiosissima sanctorũ martyrum monumenta per omnes stationes osculati sumus. Indè archiepiscopi, cæterique principes imperij Alemanniam per dextram repetentes, nos versùs Franciam ad sinistram declinantes cum inenarribilibus & gratijs & osculis ab inuicem discessimus. Et tandem de triginta equitibus, qui de Normannia pingues exiuimus, vix viginti pauperes peregrini, & omnes pedites, macie multa attenuati, reuersi sumus.

The same in English.

I Ingulphus an humble seruant of reuerend Guthlac and of his monastery of Croiland, borne in England, and of English parents, at the beautifull citie of London, was in my youth, for the attaining of good letters, placed first at Westminster, and afterward sent to the Vniuersitie of Oxford. And hauing excelled diuers of mine equals in learning of Aristotle, I inured my selfe somewhat vnto the first & second Rhethorique of Tullie. And as I grew in age, disdayning my parents meane estate, and forsaking mine owne natiue soyle, I affected the Courts of kings and princes, and was desirous to be clad in silke, and to weare braue

braue and costly attire. And loe, at the same time William our souereigne king now, but then Erle of Normandie, with a great troup of followers and attendants came vnto London, to conferre with king Edward the Confessour his kinsman. Into whose company intruding my selfe, and proffering my seruice for the performance of any speedy or weightie affayres, in short time, after I had done many things with good successe, I was knowen and most entirely beloued by the victorious Erle himselfe, and with him I sayled into Normandie. And there being made his secretarie, I gouerned the Erles Court (albeit with the enuie of some) as my selfe pleased, yea whom I would I abased, and preferred whom I thought good. When as therefore, being carried with a youthful heat and lustie humour, I began to be wearie euen of this place, wherein I was aduanced so high aboue my parentage, and with an inconstant minde, and affection too too ambitious, most vehemently aspired at all occasions to climbe higher: there went a report throughout all Normandie, that diuers Archbishops of the Empire, and secular princes were desirous for their soules health, and for deuotion sake, to goe on pilgrimage to Ierusalem. Wherefore out of the family of our lorde the Earle, sundry of vs, both gentlemen and clerkes (principall of whom was myselfe) with the licence and good will of our sayd lord the earle, sped vs on that voiage, and trauailing thirtie horses of vs into high Germanie, we ioyned our selues vnto the Archbishop of Mentz. And being with the companies of the Bishops seuen thousand persons sufficiently prouided for such an expedition, we passed prosperously through many prouinces, and at length attained vnto Constantinople. Where doing reuerence vnto the Emperour Alexius, we sawe the Church of Sancta Sophia, and kissed diuers sacred reliques. Departing thence through Lycia, we fell into the hands of the Arabian theeues: and after we had beene robbed of infinite summes of money, and had lost many of our people, hardly escaping with extreame danger of our liues, at length wee ioyfully entered into the most wished citie of Ierusalem. Where we were receiued by the most reuerend, aged, and holy patriarke Sophronius, with great melodie of cymbals and with torch-light, and were accompanied vnto the most diuine Church of our Sauiour his sepulchre with a solemne procession aswell of Syrians as of Latines. Here, how many prayers we vttered, what abundance of teares we shed, what deepe sighs we breathed forth, our Lord Iesus Christ onely knoweth. Wherefore being conducted from the most glorious sepulchre of Christ to visite other sacred monuments of the citie, we saw with weeping eyes a great number of holy Churches and oratories, which Achim the Souldan of Egypt had lately destroyed. And so hauing bewailed with sadde teares, and most sorowful and bleeding affections, all the ruines of that most holy city both within and without, and hauing bestowed money for the reedifying of some, we desired with most ardent deuotion to go forth into the countrey, to wash our selues in the most sacred riuer of Iordan, and to kisse all the steppes of Christ. Howbeit the theeuish Arabians lurking vpon euery way, would not suffer vs to trauell farre from the city, by reason of their huge and furious multitudes. Wherefore about the spring there arriued at the port of Ioppa a fleet of ships from Genoa. In which fleet (when the Christian merchants had exchanged all their wares at the coast townes, and had likewise visited the holy places) wee all of vs embarked, committing ourselues to the seas: and being tossed with many stormes and tempests, at length wee arriued at Brundusium: and so with a prosperous iourney trauelling thorow Apulia towards Rome, we there visited the habitations of the holy apostles Peter and Paul, and did reuerence vnto diuers monuments of holy martyrs in all places thorowout the city. From thence the archbishops and other princes of the empire trauelling towards the right hand for Alemain, and we declining towards the left hand for France, departed asunder, taking our leaues with vnspeakable thankes and courtesies. And so at length, of thirty horsemen which went out of Normandie fat, lusty, and frolique, we returned hither skarse twenty poore pilgrims of vs, being all footmen, and consumed with leannesse to the bare bones.

A. D. 1051.

Diuers of the honourable family of the Beauchamps, with Robert Curtoys sonne of William the Conqueror, made a voyage to Ierusalem 1096. Hol. pag. 23. vol. 2.

POpe Vrbane calling a councell at Clermont in Auuergne, exhorted the Christian princes so earnestly to make a iourney into the Holy land, for the recouery thereof out of the Saracens hands, that the saide great and generall iourney was concluded vpon to be taken in hand, wherein many noble men of Christendome went vnder the leading of Godfrey of Bouillon & others, as in the Chronicles of France, of Germanie, and of the Holy land doeth more plainely appeare. There went also among other diuers noble men foorth of this Realme of England, specially that worthily bare the surname of Beauchampe.

The voyage of Gutuere an English Lady maried to Balduine brother of Godfreide duke of Bouillon, toward Ierusalem about 1097. And the 11. yeere of William Rufus King of England.

THe Christian armie of Godfrie of Bouillon passing the citie of Iconium, alias Agogna in the countrey of Licaonia, and from thence by the city of Heraclia, came at length vnto the citie of Marasia, where they encamped, and soiourned there three whole dayes, because of the wife of Balduine brother germane of the duke of Loraigne. Which Lady being long time vexed with a grieuous malady, was in extremitie, where at length paying the debt due to nature, she changed this transitorie life, for life eternall; Who, in her life time, was a very worthy and vertuous Lady, borne in England, and descended of most noble parentage named Gutuere; Which, according to her degree, was there most honourably enterred, to the great griefe of all the whole armie. As reporteth William Archbishop of Tyre, lib. 3. cap. 17. hist. belli sacri. The same author in the 10. booke & first chapter of the same historie concerning the same English Lady, writeth further as followeth, Baldwine hauing folowed the warres for a time, gaue his minde to marriage, so that being in England he fell in loue with a very honourable and noble Lady named Gutuere, whom he married and caried with him in that first happy expedition, wherin he accompanied his brethren the Lords, duke Godfrey and Eustace, persons very commendable in all vertues and of immortall memorie. But he had hard fortune in his iourney, because his foresaid wife, being wearied with a long sicknes finished her life with a happie end neere the citie of Marasia, before the Christian armie came vnto Antioch, where she was honourably buried, as we haue declared before.

Chronicon Hierosolymitanum in lib. 3. cap. 27. maketh also mention of this English Lady, which he calleth Godwera in this maner.

HAc in regione Maresch vxor Baldewini nobilissima, quam de regno Angliæ eduxit, diutina corporis molestia aggrauata, & duci Godefrido commendata, vitam exhalauit, sepulta Catholicis obsequijs; cuius nomen erat Godwera.

The same in English.

IN this prouince of Maresch the most noble wife of Baldwine, which he caried with him out of England being visited with dayly sicknesses and infirmities of body, and commended to the custody of duke Godfrey, departed out of this life, and was buried after the Christian maner. Her name was Godwera.

The voyage of Edgar the sonne of Edward which was the sonne of Edmund surnamed Ironside, brother vnto K. Edward the confessor, (being accompanied with valiant Robert the sonne of Godwin) vnto Ierusalem, in the yeere of our Lord 1102. Recorded by William of Malmesburie, lib. 3. histo. fol. 58.

A. D. 1102. SVbsequenti tempore cum Roberto filio Godwini milite audacissimo Edgarus Hierosolymam pertendit. Illud fuit tempus quo Turci Baldwinum regem apud Ramas obsederunt: qui cum obsidionis iniuriam ferre nequiret, per medias hostium acies effugit, solius Roberti opera liberatus

beratus præeuntis, & euaginato gladio dextra leuaque Turcos cædentis. Sed cum successu ipso truculentior, alacritate nimia procurreret, ensis manu excidit. Ad quem recolligendum cum se inclinasset, omnium incursu oppressus, vinculis palmas dedit. Inde Babyloniam (vt aiunt) ductus, cum Christum abnegare nollet, in medio foro ad signum positus, & sagittis terebratus, martyrium consecrauit. Edgarus amisso milite regressus, multaque beneficia ab Imperatoribus Græcorum, & Alemannorum adeptus (quippè qui etiam eum retinere pro generis amplitudine tentassent) omnia pro natalis soli desiderio spreuit. Quosdam enim profectò fallit amor patriæ, vt nihil eis videatur iucundum, nisi consuetum hauserint cœlum. Vndè Edgarus fatua cupidine illusus Angliam redijt, vbi (vt superius dixi) diuerso fortunæ ludicro rotatus, nunc remotus & tacitus, canos suos in agro consumit.

The same in English.

AFterward Edgar being sonne vnto the nephewe of Edward the confessour, traueiled with Robert the sonne of Godwin a most valiant knight, vnto Ierusalem. And it was at the same time when the Turkes besieged king Baldwin at Rama: who not being able to endure the straight siege, was by the helpe of Robert especially, going before him, and with his drawen sword making a lane, and slaying the Turkes on his right hande and on his left, deliuered out of that danger, and escaped through the midst of his enemies campe. But vpon his happie successe being more eager and fierce, as he went forward somewhat too hastily, his sworde fell out of his hand. Which as he stouped to take vp, being oppressed with the whole multitude, hee was there taken and bound. From whence (as some say) being carried vnto Babylon or Alcair in Egypt, when he would not renounce Christ, he was tyed vnto a stake in the midst of the market place, and being shot through with arrowes, died a martyr. Edgar hauing lost his knight returned, and being honoured with many rewards both by the Greekish and by the Germaine Emperour (who both of them would right gladly haue entertained him stil for his great nobilitie) contemned all things in respect of his natiue soile. For in very deede some are so inueagled with the loue of their countrey, that nothing can seeme pleasant vnto them, vnlesse they breath in the same aire where they were bred. Wherefore Edgar being misledde with a fond affection, returned into England; and afterward being subiect vnto diuers changes of fortune (as we haue aboue signified) he spendeth now his extreeme olde age in an obscure and priuate place of the countrey.

When the author was writing of this history.

Mention made of one Godericus, a valiant Englishman, who was with his ships in the voyage vnto the Holy land in the second yeere of Baldwine King of Ierusalem, in the third yere of Henry the first of England.

CHronicon Hierosolymitanum lib. 9. cap. 9. Verùm de hinc septem diebus euolutis rex ab Assur exiens, nauem quæ dicitur Buza ascendit, & cum eo Godericus pirata de regno Angliæ, ac vexillo hastæ præfixo & elato in aëre ad radios solis vsque, laphet cum paucis nauigauit, vt hoc eius signo ciues Christiani recognito, fiduciam vitæ regis haberent, & non facile hostiũ minis panefacti, turpiter diffugium facerent, aut vrbem reddere cogerentur. Sciebat enim eos multum de vita & salute eius desperare. Saraceni autẽ viso eius signo, & recognito, ea parte quæ vrbem nauigio cingebat illi in galeis viginti & Carinis tredecim, quas vulgo appellant Cazh, occurrerunt, volentes Buzam regis coronare. Sed Dei auxilio vndis maris illis ex aduerso tumescentibus ac reluctantibus, Buza autem regis facili, & agili cursu inter procellas labente, ac volitante, in portu Ioppæ delusis hostibus subitò affuit, sex ex Saracenis in arcu suo in nauicula percussis, ac vulneratis. Intrans itaque ciuitatem dum incolumis omnium pateret oculis, reuixit spiritus cunctorum gementium & de eius morte hactenus dolentium, eo quòd caput & rex Christianorum & princeps Hierusalem adhuc viuus & incolumis receptus sit.

The same in English.

BVt seuen dayes afterward, the King comming out of the towne of Assur entred into a shippe called a Busse, and one Godericke a pirate of the kingdome of England with him, and fastening

fastening his banner on the toppe of a speare, and holding it vp aloft in the aire against the beames of the Sunne, sailed vnto Iaphet with a small company; That the Christian Citizens there seeing this his banner, might conceiue hope that the King was yet liuing, and being not easily terrified with the threates of the enemies might shamefully runne away, or be constrained to yeeld vp the citie. For hee knew that they were very much out of hope of his life and safetie. The Saracens seeing and knowing this his banner, that part of them which enuironed the Citie by water made towards him with twentie Gallies and thirteene shippes, which they commonly cal Cazh, seeking to inclose the Kings shippe. But, by Gods helpe the billowes of the Sea swelling and raging against them, and the Kings shippe gliding and passing through the waues with an easie and nimble course arriued suddenly in the hauen of Ioppa, the enemies frustrated of their purpose; and sixe of the Saracens were hurt and wounded by shot out of the Kings shippe. So that the King entering into the Citie, and nowe appearing in safetie in all their sightes, the spirits of all them that mourned for him, and vntil then lamented as though hee had bene dead, reuiued, because that the head and King of the Christians, and prince of Ierusalem was yet aliue, and come againe vnto them in perfect health.

Mention made of one Hardine of England one of the chiefest personages, and a leader among other of two hundred saile of ships of Christians that landed at Ioppa in the yeere of our Lord God 1102.

CHronicon Hierosolymitanum libro 9. cap. 11. Interea dum hæc obsidio ageretur 200. naues Christianorum nauigio Ioppen appulsæ sunt, vt adorarent in Hierusalem. Horum Bernardus Witrazh de terra Galatiæ, Hardinus de Anglia, Otho de Roges, Hadewerck, vnus de præpotentibus Westfalorum, primi & ductores fuisse referuntur, &c. Erat autem tertia feria Iulij mensis, quando hæ Christianorum copiæ, Deo protegente, huc nauigio angustiatis & obsessis ad opem collatæ sunt. Sarracenorum autem turmæ, videntes quia Christianorum virtus audacter facie ad faciem vicino sibi hospitio proximè iungebatur, media nocte orbi incumbente, amotis tentorijs amplius milliari subtractæ consederunt, dum luce exorta consilium inirent, vtrum Ascalonem redirent, aut ciues Iaphet crebris assultibus vexarent.

The same in English.

WHile the Sarazens continued their siege against Ioppa, two hundred saile of Christian ships arriued at Ioppa, that they might performe their deuotions at Hierusalem. The chiefe men and leaders of these Christians are reported to haue bene: Bernard Witrazh of the land of Galatia, Hardine of England, Otho of Roges, Haderwerck one of the chiefe noble men of Westphalia, &c. This Christian power through Gods speciall prouision, arriued here for the succour and reliefe of the distressed & besieged Christians in Ioppa, the third day of Iuly, 1102. and in the second yeere of Baldwine king of Ierusalem. Whereupon the multitude of the Sarazens, seeing that the Christian power ioyned themselues boldly, close by them euen face to face in a lodging hard by them, the very next night at midnight, remooued their tents, and pitched them more then a mile off, that they might the next morning bee aduised whether they should returne to Ascalon, or by often assaults vexe the citizens of Iaphet.

Chronicon Hierosolymitanum, eodem libro 9. cap. 12. continueth this historie of these two hundreth saile of ships, and sheweth how by their prowesse chiefly, the multitude of the Sarazens were in short space vanquished and ouerthrowen: The words are these; Ab ipso verò die tertiæ feriæ dum sic in superbia & elatione suæ multitudinis immobiles Saraceni persisterent, & multis armorum terroribus Christianum populum vexarent, sexta feriæ appropinquante, Rex Baldwinus in tubis & cornibus a Iaphet egrediens, in manu robusta equitum & peditum virtutem illorum crudeli bello est aggressus, magnis hinc & hinc clameribus intonantes. Christiani quoque qui nauigio appulsi sunt horribili pariter clamore cum Rege Baldwino, & graui strepitu vociferantes, Babylonios vehementi pugna sunt aggressi, sæuissimis atq; mortiferis plagis eos affligentes, donec bello fatigati, & vltrà vim non sustinentes fugam versus Ascalonea inierunt. Alij verò ab insecutoribus eripi existimantes, & mari se credentes, intole-

rabili

rabili procellarum fluctuatione absorpti sunt. Et sic ciuitas Ioppe cum habitatoribus suis liberata est. * Ceciderunt hac die tria millia Saracenorum: Christianorum verò pauci perijsse inuenti sunt.

The same in English.

YEt notwithstanding, after the said third day of Iuly, the Sarazens persisted high minded and insolent, by reason of their great multitude, and much annoied the Christian people with their many forceable and terrible weapons; whereupon, on the sixt day of Iuly early in the morning king Baldwine issued out of Iaphet, his trumpets and cornets yeelding a great and lowd sound, and with a very strong armie as well of horsemen as footemen, who on euery side making great shoutes and outcries, with fierce and sharpe battell set on the maine power of their enemies. The Christians also who arriued in the nauie, rearing great clamours and noyses, with loud voices and shoutings in horrible wise together, with king Baldwine assaulted likewise with strong batteH the Babylonians, and afflicted them with most sore and deadly wounds, vntill the Sarazens being wearied with fighting, nor able longer to endure and hold out against the valure of the Christians, fled towards Ascalon. And other of them hoping to escape from them that pursued them, lept into the sea, and were swalowed vp in the waues thereof. And so the citie of Ioppa with the inhabitants thereof were freed of their enemies. There were slaine this day three thousand Sarazens, and but a few of the Christians perished.

A Fleete of Englishmen, Danes, and Flemmings, arriued at Ioppa in the Holy land, the seuenth yeere of Baldwine the second king of Hierusalem. Written in the beginning of the tenth booke of the Chronicle of Hierusalem, in the 8. yeere of Henry the first of England.

Cap. 1.

AT the same time also in the seuenth yeere of the raigne of Baldwine the Catholike king of Hierusalem, a very great warrelike Fleete of the Catholike nation of England, to the number of about seuē thousand, hauing with them more men of warre of the kingdom of Denmarke, of Flanders and of Antwerpe, arriued with ships which they call Busses, at the hauen of the citie of Iaphet, determining there to make their abode, vntill they hauing obtained the kings licence and safeconduct, might safely worship at Hierusalem. Of which nauie the chiefest and best spoken repairing to the king, spake to him in this maner. Christ preserue the Kings life, and prosper his kingdome from day to day; Wee, being men & souldiours of Christian profession, haue, through the helpe of God, sayled hither through mightie and large seas, from the farre countreys of England, Flanders, and Denmarke, to worship at Ierusalem, and to visit the sepulchre of our Lord. And therefore we are assembled to intreat your clemency touching the matter, that by your fauour and safe conduct we may peaceably goe vp to Ierusalem, and worship there, and so returne.

Chap. 2.

THe king fauourably hearing their whole petition, granted vnto them a strong band of men to conduct them, which brought them safely from all assaults and ambushes of the Gentiles by the knowen wayes vnto Ierusalem and all other places of deuotion. After that these pilgrims, & new Christian strangers were brought thither, they offering vnto our Lord their vowes in the temple of the holy sepulchre, returned with great ioy, and without all let vnto Ioppa; where finding the king, they vowed that they would assist him in all things, which should seeme good vnto him: who, greatly commending the men, and commanding them to be well entertained with hospitality, answered that he could not on the sudden answere to this point, vntill that after he had called his nobles together, he had consulted with my lord the Patriarch what was most meet and conuenient to be done, and not to trouble in vaine so willing an army. And therefore after a few dayes, calling vnto him my lord the Patriarch, Hugh of Tabaria, Gunfride the keeper and lieutenant of the tower of Dauid, and the other chiefest

chiefest men of warre, he determined to haue a meeting in the city of Rames, to consult with them what was best to be done.

Chap. 3.

WHo, being assembled at the day appointed, and proposing their diuers opinions & iudgements, at length it seemed best vnto the whole company to besiege the city Sagitta, which is also called Sidon, if peraduenture, through God's helpe, and by the strength of this new army, by land and sea it might be ouercome. Whereupon all they which were there present, and required that this city should be besieged, because it was one of those cities of the Gentiles which continually rebelled, were commended, and admonished of the king euery one to go home, and to furnish themselues with things necessary, and armour for this expedition. Euery one of them departed home; likewise Hugh of Tabaria departed, being a chiefe man of warre against the inuasions of the enemies, which could neuer be wearied day nor night in the countie of the Pagans, in pursuing them with warre and warlike stratagemes all the dayes of his life. Immediatly after this consultation the king sent ambassadours to all the multitude of the English men, requiring them not to remoue their campe nor fleet from the city of Iaphet, but quietly to attend the kings further commandement. The same embassadours also declared vnto the whole army, that the king and all his nobility had determined to besiege and assault the city Sagitta by sea and by land, and that their helpe and forces would there be needfull; and that for this purpose, the king and the patriarch were comming downe vnto the city of Acres, and that they were in building of engins, and warlike instruments, to inuade the walles and inhabitants thereof: and that in the meane season they were to remaine at Iaphet, vntill the kings further commandement were knowen. Whereupon they all agreed that it should so be done according to the king's commandement; and answered that they would attend his directions in the Hauen of Iaphet, & would in all points be obedient vnto him vnto the death.

Chap. 4.

THe king came downe to Acres with the patriarch, and all his family, building, and making there by the space of fortie dayes engins, and many kindes of warlike instruments: and appointing all things to be made perfectly ready, which seemed to be most conuenient for the assaulting of the city. Assoone as this purpose and intent of the king was come vnto the eares of the inhabitants of Sagitta, and that an inuincible power of men of warre was arriued at Iaphet to helpe the king, they were greatly astonied, fearing that by this meanes, they should be consumed and subdued by the king by dint of sword, as other cities, to wit, Cæsaria, Assur, Acres, Cayphas, and Tabaria were vanquished and subdued. And therefore laying their heads together, they promised to the king by secret mediatours, a mighty masse of money of a coyne called Byzantines: and that further they would yeerely pay a great tribute, vpon condition that ceasing to besiege and inuade their city, he would spare their liues. Whereupon these businesses were handled from day to day betweene the king and the citizens, and they sollicited the king for the ransomming both of their city and of their liues, proffering him from time to time more greater gifts. And the king for his part, being carefull and perplexed for the payment of the wages which he ought vnto his souldiers, harkened wholy vnto this offer of money. Howbeit because he feared the Christians, least they should lay it to his charge as a fault, he durst not as yet meddle with the same.

Chap. 5.

IN the meane space Hugh of Tabaria being sent for, accompanied with the troopes of two hundred horsemen and foure hundred footmen, inuaded the countrey of the Grosse Carle called Suet, very rich in gold and siluer most abundant in cattle frontering vpon the countrie of the Damascenes, where hee tooke a pray of inestimable riches and cattle, which might haue suffised him for the besiege of Sagitta, whereof he ment to impart liberally to the king, and his companie. This pray being gathered out of sundry places thereabout, and being

being led away as farre as the citie of Belinas, which they call Cæsaria Philippi, the Turkes which dwelt at Damascus, together with the Saracens inhabitants of the countrie perceiuing this, flocking on all partes together by troopes, pursued Hughes companie to rescue the pray, and passed foorth as farre as the mountaines, ouer which Hughes footemen did driue the pray. There beganne a great skirmish of both partes, the one side made resistance to keepe the pray, the other indeuoured with all their might to recouer it, vntill at length the Turkes and Saracens preuailing, the pray was rescued and brought backe againe: which Hugh and his troopes of horsemen, suddenly vnderstanding, which were on the side of the mountaines, incontinently rid backe vpon the spurre, among the straight and craggie rockes, skirmishing with the enemies, and succouring their footemen, but as it chanced they fought vnfortunately. For Hugh, being vnarmed, and immediatly rushing into the middest of all dangers, and after his woonted manner inuading and wounding the infidels, being behinde with an arrowe shot through the backe which pierced thorough his liuer and brest, he gaue vp the ghost in the handes of his owne people. Hereupon the troopes of the Gentiles being returned with the recouered pray, and being deuided through the secret and hard passages of the craggie hilles, the souldiers brought the dead bodie of Hugh, which they had put in a litter, into the citie of Nazareth, which is by the mount Thaber, where with great mourning and lamentation, so worthie a prince, and valiant champian was honourably and Catholikely interred. The brother of the said Hugh named Gerrard, the same time lay sicke of a grieuous disease. Which hearing of the death of his brother, his sicknesse of his body increasing more vehemently through griefe, he also deceased within eight dayes after, and was buried by his brother, after Christian maner.

Chap. 6.

AFter the lamentable burials of these so famous Princes, the King, taking occasion of the death of these principall men of his armie, agreed, making none priuie thereto, to receiue the money which was offered him for his differring off the siege of the citie of Sagitta, yet dissembling to make peace with the Saracens, but that he meant to go through with the worke, that he had begunne. Whereupon sending a message vnto Iapher, hee aduised the English souldiers to come downe to Acres with their fleete, and to conferre and consult with him touching the besieging and assaulting of the citie of Sagitta, which rising immediatly vpon the kings commaundement, and foorthwith hoysing vp the sayles of their shippes aloft with pendants and stremers of purple, and diuerse other glorious colours, with their flagges of scarlet colour and silke, came thither, and casting their ancres, rode hard by the citie. The king the next day calling vnto him such as were priuie & acquainted with his dealings, opened his griefe vnto the chiefe Captaines of the English men and Danes, touching the slaughter of Hugh, and the death of his brother, and what great confidence he reposed in them concerning these warres: and that nowe therefore they being departed and dead, he must of necessity differre the besieging of Sagitta, & for this time dismisse the armie assembled. This resolution of the king being spred among the people, the armie was dissolued, and the Englishmen, Danes and Flemings, with sailes and oares going aboard their fleete, saulted the king, and returned home vnto their natiue countries.

The trauailes of one Athelard an Englishman, recorded by master Bale Centur. 2.

ATheIardus Bathoniensis Cœnobij monachus, naturalium rerum mysteria, & causas omnes, diligentiâ tam vndecunque exquisitâ perscrutatus est, vt cum aliquibus veteris seculi philosophis non indignè conferri possit. Hic olim spectatæ indolis Adolescens, vt virente adhuc ætate iuuenile ingenium fœcundaret, atque ad res magnas pararet relicta dulci patria longinquas petijt regiones. Cum verò Ægyptum & Arabiam peragrans, plura inuenisset, quæ ęius desiderabat animus, cum magno laborum, ac literarum lucro in Angliam tum demùm reuertebatur. Claruit anno virginei partus, 1130. Henrico primo regnante.

The same in English.

AThelard a Monke of the Abbie of Bathe was so diligent a searcher of the secrets, and causes of naturall things, that he deserueth worthely to be compared with some of the auncient Philosophers. This man although young, yet being of a good wit, and being desirous to increase and enrich the same with the best things, and to prepare himselfe as it were for greater matters, left his Countrey for a time, and trauailed into forreine Regions. He went through Egypt, and Arabia, and found out many things which he desired to his owne priuate contentment, and the profite of good letters generally, and so being satisfied, returned againe into his Countrey: he flourished in the yeere 1130. Henry the first being then king of England.

¶ The life and trauailes of one William of Tyre, an Englishman. Centur. 13.

Hic etiam Guilielmus Tyrensis claruit sub Henrico primo.

GVlielmus, Ecclesiæ Dominici sepulchri Hierosolymæ Regularium Canonicorum prior, natione Anglicus vir vita & moribus cõmendabilis, Anno Dom. 1128. postquam Tyrorum Ciuitas fidei Christianæ restituta est a Guimundo Hierosolymorum patriarcha, eidem vrbi primus Archiepiscopus præficiebatur. Est autem Tyrus ciuitas antiquissima, Phœniciæ vniuersæ Metropolis, quæ inter Syriæ prouincias, & bonorum omnium penè commoditate, & incolarum frequentia primùm semper obtinuit locum: post conscripta quædam opuscula, & Epistolas, ad Dominum migrauit, An. Christi 1130. quum duobus tantum sedisset annis, & in Tyrensi Ecclesia sepelitur.

The same in English.

WIlliam the Prior of the Canons Regular in the Church of Ierusalem, called the Lords Sepulchre, was an Englishman borne, and of a vertuous and good behauiour. After that the Citie of Tyre was restored againe to the Christian faith, Guimunde the Patriarke of Ierusalem made him the first Archbishop of Tyre, in the yeere 1128. Which Tyre is a very ancient Citie, the Metropolis of all Phœnicia, and hath bene accompted the chiefest Prouince of Syria, both for fruitful commodities and multitude of inhabitants. This William haning in his life written many Bookes and Epistles, died at last in the yeere 1130. hauing bene Archbishop the space of two yeeres, and was buried in the Church of Tyre.

The trauailes of Robertus Ketenensis.

RObertus Ketenensis natione & cognomine Anglus, degustatis primùm per Anglorum gymnasia humanarum artium elementis literarijs, vltramarinas statim visitare prouincias in animo constituit: Peragratis ergò Gallijs, Italia, Dalmatia, & Græcia, tum demum peruenit in Asiam, vbi non paruo labore, ac vitæ suæ periculo inter Saracenos truculentissimum hominum genus, Arabicam linguam ad amussim didicit. In Hispaniam postea nauigio traductus, circa fluuium Hiberum Astrologicæ artis studio, cum Hermanno quodam Dalmata, magni sui itineris comite se totum dedit. Claruit anno seruatoris nostri, 1143 Stephano regnante, & Pampilonæ sepelitur.

Claruit sub Stephano.

The same in English.

THis Robert Ketenensis was called an Englishman by surname, as he was by birth: who after some time spent in the foundations of humanitie, and in the elements of good Artes in the Vniuersities of England, determined to trauaile to the partes beyond sea: and so trauailed through France, Italie, Dalmatia, and Greece, and came at last into Asia, where he liued in great danger of his life among the cruell Saracens, but yet learned perfectly the Arabian tongue. Afterwardes he returned by sea into Spaine, and there about the riuer Iberus, gaue him selfe wholy to the studie of Astrologie, with one Hermannus a Dalmatian, who had accompanied him in his long voyage. He flourished in the yeere 1143. Steuen being then King of England, and was buried at Pampilona.

A voyage

A voyage of certaine English men vnder the conduct of Lewes king of France vnto the Holy land.

TAntæ expeditionis explicito apparatu vterque princeps iter arripuit, & exercitu separtito. Imperator enim Conradus præcedebat itinere aliquot dierum, cum Italorum, Germanorum, aliarúmque gentium amplissimis copijs. Rex vero Lodouicus sequebatur Francorum, Flandrensium, Normannorum, Britonum, Anglorum, Burgundionum, Prouincialium, Aquitanorum, equestri simul & pedestri agmine comitatus. Gulielmus Neobrigensis, fol. 371. 1147. Tempore regis Stephani.

The same in English.

BOth the princes prouision being made for so great an expedition, they seuering their armies, entered on their iourney. For the Emperour Conradus went before, certaine dayes iourney, with very great power of Italians, Germans, and other countreys. And king Lewes followed after accompanied with a band of horsemen and footmen of French men, Flemmings, Normans, Britons, English men, Burgundions, men of Prouence, and Gascoins.

The voyage of Iohn Lacy to Ierusalem.

ANno Domini 1172 fundata fuit abbatia de Stanlaw per dominum Iohannem Lacy Constabularium Cestriæ & dominum de Halton, qui obijt in Terra sancta anno sequenti: qui fuit vicessimus annus regni regis Henrici secundi. 1173.

The same in English.

IN the yere of our Lord 1172 was founded the abbey of Stanlaw by the lord Iohn Lacy Constable of Chester, & lord of Halton, who deceased in the Holy land the yere following: which was in the twentieth yere of king Henry the second.

The voyage of William Mandeuile to Ierusalem.

WIlliam Mandeuile earle of Essex, with diuers English lords and knights, went to the Holy land in the 24 yere of Henry the second. Holinshed pag. 101. 1177.

English men were the guard of the Emperours of Constantinople in the reigne of Iohn the sonne of Alexius Comnenus. Malmesburiensis, Curopolata and Camden, pag. 96.

IAm inde Anglia non minus belli gloria, quàm humanitatis cultu inter Florentissimas orbis Christiani gentes inprimis floruit. Adeo vt ad custodiam corporis Constantinopolitanorum Imperatorum euocati fuerint Angli. Ioannes enim Alexij Comneni filius, vt refert noster Malmesburiensis, eorum fidem suspiciens præcipue familiaritati suæ applicabat, amorem eorum filio transcribens: Adeo vt iam inde longo tempore fuerint imperatorum illorum satellites, Inglini Bipenniferi Nicetæ Choniatæ, Barangi Curopolatæ dicti. Qui vbiq; Imperatorem prosequebantur ferentes humeris secures, quas tollebant, cum Imperator ex oratorio spectandum se exhibebat, Anglicè vitam diuturnam secures suas collidentes vt sonitum ederent, comprecabantur.

The same in English.

FRom this time forward the kingdome of England was reputed amongst the most flourishing estates of Christendome, no lesse in chiualrie then humanitie. So farforth that the English men were sent for to be the guarders of the persons of the Emperours of Constantinople. For Iohn the sonne of Alexius Comnenus, as our countreyman William of Malmesburie reporteth, highly esteeming their fidelity, vsed them very nere about him, recommending them ouer to his sonne: so that long time afterwards the guard of those Emperours were English halberdiers, called by Nicetas Choniata, Inglini Bipenniferi, and by Curopo-

lata, Barangi, which alwayes accompanied the Emperour with their halberds on their shoulders, which they held vp when the Emperour comming from his Oratorie shewed himselfe to the people; and clashing their halberds together to make a terrible sound, they in the English tongue wished vnto him long life.

A great supply of money to the Holy land by Henry the 2.

THe same yeere King Henry the second being at Waltham, assigned an aide to the maintenance of the Christian souldiers in the Holy lande, That is to wit, two and fortie thousand marks of siluer, and fiue hundred markes of golde. Matth. Paris. and Holens. pag. 105.

A letter written from Manuel the Emperour of Constantinople, vnto Henrie the second King of England, Anno Dom. 1177. wherein mention is made that certaine of king Henries Noble men and subjects were present with the sayd Emperour in a battell of his against the Soldan of Iconium. Recorded by Roger Houeden, in Annalium parte posteriore, in regno Hen. 2. fol. 316, & 317.

EOdem anno Manuel Constantinopolitanus imperator, habito prælio campestri cum Soltano Iconij & illo devicto, in hac forma scripsit Domino regi Angliæ.

Manuel in Christo deo Porphyrogenitus, diuinitùs coronatus, sublimis, potens, excelsus, semper Augustus, & moderator Romanorum, Comnenus, Heprico nobilissimo regi Angliæ, charissimo amico suo, salutem & omne bonum. Cum imperium nostrum necessarium reputet notificare tibi, vt dilecto amico suo, de omnibus quæ sibi obueniunt; ideò & de his quæ nunc acciderunt ei, opportunum iudicauit declarare tuæ voluntati. Igitur a principio coronationis nostræ imperium nostrum aduersus dei inimicos Persas nostrum odium in corde nutriuit, dum cerneret illos in Christianos gloriari, eleuaríque in nomen dei, & Christianorum dominari regionibus. Quo circa & alio quidem tempore indifferentèr inuasit eos, & prout deus ei concessit, sic & fecit. Et quæ ab ipso frequenter patrata sunt ad contritionem ipsorum & perditionem, imperium nostrum credit nobilitatem tuam non latere. Quoniam autem & nunc maximum exercitum contra eos ducere proposuit, & bellum contra omnem Persidem mouere, quia res cogebat. Et non vt voluit multum aliquem apparatum fecit, sicut ei visum est. Veruntamen prout tempus dabat & rerum status, potentèr eos inuasit. Collegit ergo circa se imperium nostrum potentias suas: sed quia carpenta ducebat armorum, & machinarum, & aliorum instrumentorum conferentium ciuitatum expugnationibus, pondera portantia: idcircò nequaquam cum festinatione iter suum agere poterat. Ampliùs autem dum adhuc propriam regionem peragraret, antequam barbarorum aliquis aduersus nos militaret in bellis aduersarius, ægritudo difficillima fluxus ventris invasit nos, qui diffusus per agmina imperij nostri pertransibat, depopulando & interimendo multos, omni pugnatore grauior. Et hoc malò inualescens maximè nos contriuit. Ex quo verò fines Turcorum inuasimus, bella quidem primum frequentia concrepabant, & agmina Turcorum cum exercitibus imperij nostri vndique dimicabant. Sed Dei gratia ex toto à nostris in fugam vertebantur barbari. Post verò vbi ei qui illic adjacet angustiæ loci, quæ à Persis dominatur Cibrilcimam, propinquauimus, tot Persarum turmæ peditum & equitum, quorum pleræque ab interioribus partibus Persidis occurrerant in adiutorium contribulium suorum, exercitui nostro superuenerunt, quot penè nostrorum excederent numerum. Exercitu itaque imperij nostri propter viæ omnino angustiam & difficultatem, vsq; ad decem milliaria extenso; & cum neque qui præibant possent postremos defendere, neque versa vice rursus postremi possent præeuntes iuuare, non mediocritèr ab inuicem hos distare accidit. Sanè primæ cohortes permultùm ab acie imperij nostri diuidebantur, postremarum oblitæ, illas non præstolantes. Quoniam igitur Turcorum agmina ex iam factis prælijs cognouerant, non conferre sibi à fronte nobis repugnare, loci angustiam bonum subuentorem cum inuenissent, posteriora statuerunt inuadere agmina, quod & fecerunt. Arctissimo igitur vbique loco existente, instabant barbari vndique, à dextris & à sinistris, & aliundè dimicantes, & tela

super

super nos quasi imbres descendentia interimebant viros & equos complures. Ad hæc itaque imperium nostrũ vbi malum superabundabat, reputans secum oportunũ iudicabat retrò expectare, atque illos qui illic erant adiuuare, expectando vtiquè contra infinita illa Persarum agmina bellum sustinuit. Quanta quidem, dum ab his circundaretur, patrauerit, non opus est ad tempus sermonibus pertexere, ab illis autem qui interfuerunt, forsitan discet de his tua nobilitas. Inter hæc autem existente imperio nostro, & omne belli grauamen in tantum sustinente, postremæ cohortes vniuersæ Græcorum & Latinorum, & reliquorum omnium generum conglobatæ, quæ iaciebantur ab inimicis tela non sustinentes, impactione vtuntur, & ita violentèr ferebantur, dùm ad adiacentem ibi collem quasi ad propugnaculum festinarent: sed precedentes impellunt nolentes. Multo autem eleuato puluere, ac perturbante oculos, & neminem permittente videre quæ circa pedes erant, in præcipitium quod aderat profundissimæ vallis alius super alium homines & equi sic incontinentè portati corruerunt, quòd alij alios conculcantes ab inuicem interemerunt non ex gregarijs tantum, sed ex clarissimis & intimis nostris consanguineis. Quis enim inhibere poterat tantæ multitudinis importabilem impulsum? At verò imperium nostrum tot & tantis confertum barbaris saucians, sauciatúmque, adeò vt non modicam in eos moueret perturbationem, obstupentes perseuerant iam ipsius, & non remittebatur, benè iuuante deo, campum obtinuit. Neque locum illum scandere aduersarios permisit, in quo dimicauit cum barbaris. Nec quidem equum suum illorum timore incitauit, celerius aliquando ponere vestigia. Sed congregando omnia agmina sua, & de morte eripiendo ea, collocauit circa se: & sic primos attigit, & ordinatim proficiscens ad exercitus suos accessit. Ex tunc igitur videns Soltanus, quòd post tanta quæ acciderant exercitibus nostris, imperium nostrum, sicut oportunum erat, rem huiusmodi dispensauit, vt ipsum rursùm inuaderet: mittens supplicauit imperio nostro, & deprecatorijs vsus est sermonibus, & requisiuit pacem illius, promittens omnemi mperij nostri adimplere voluntatem, & scruitium suum contra omnem hominem dare, & omnes qui in regno suo tenebantur captiuos absoluere, & esse ex toto voluntatis nostræ. Ibidem ergo per duos dies integros, in omni potestate morati sumus, & cognito quòd nihil poterat fieri contra ciuitatem Iconij, perditis testudinibus & machinis bellicis, eo quòd boues cecidissent a telis in modo pluuiæ iactis, qui eas trahebant: Simul autem eo quòd & vniuersa animalia nostra irruente in illa difficillima ægritudine laborabant, suscepit Soltani deprecationem & fœdera & iuramenta peracta sub vexillis nostris, & pacem suam ei dedit. Inde ingressum imperium nostrum in regionem suam regreditur, tribulationem habens non mediocrem super his quos perdidit consanguineis, maximas tamen Deo gratias agens, qui per suam bonitatem & nunc Ipsum honorauit: Gratum autem habuimus, quòd quosdam nobilitatis tuæ principes accidit interesse nobiscum, qui narrabũt de omnibus quæ acciderant, tuæ voluntati seriem. Cæterùm autem, licèt contristati simus propter illos qui ceciderunt: oportunum tamen duximus, de omnibus quæ acciderant, declarare tibi, vt dilecto amico nostro, & vt permultùm coniuncto imperio nostro, per puerorum nostrorum intimam consanguinitatem. Vale. Data mensé Nouembris, indictione tertia.

The same in English.

IN the yeere 1177, Manuel the emperour of Constantinople hauing fought a field with the Soldan of Iconium, and vanquished him, wrote vnto Henry the second king of England in maner following.

Manuel Comnenus in Christ the euerliuing God a faithful emperour, descended of the linage of Porphyrie, crowned by Gods grace, high, puissant, mighty, alwayes most souereigne, and gouernour of the Romans; vnto Henry the most famous king of England, his most deare friend, greeting and all good successe. Whereas our imperiall highnesse thinketh it expedient to aduertise you our welbeloued friend of all our affaires: We thought it not amisse to signifie vnto your royall Maiestie certaine exploits at this present atchieued by vs. From the beginning therefore of our inauguration our imperiall highnes hath mainteined most deadly feod and hostility against Gods enemies the Persians, seeing them so to triumph ouer Christians, to exalt theselues against the Name of God, and to vsurpe ouer Christian kingdomes.

For

For which cause our imperial highnesse hath in some sort encountered them heretofore, and did as it pleased God to giue vs grace. And we suppose that your Maiestie is not ignorant, what our imperiall highnesse hath often performed for their ruine and subuersion. For euen now, being vrged thereunto, we haue determined to leade a mighty army against them, and to wage warre against all Persia. And albeit our forces be not so great as we could wish they were, yet haue we according to the time, and the present state of things, strongly inuaded them. Wherefore our Maiestie imperiall hath gathered our armies together: but because we had in our army sundry carts laden with armour, engines, & other instruments for the assault of cities, to an exceeding weight we could not make any great speed in our iourney. Moreouer while our imperiall highnesse was yet marching in our owne dominions, before any barbarous enemy had fought against vs: our people were visited with the most grieuous disease of the fluxe, which being dispersed in our troups destroyed and slew great numbers, more then the sword of the enemy would haue done. Which mischiefe so preuailing, did woonderfully abate our forces. But after we had inuaded the Turkish frontiers, we had at the first very often and hot skirmishes, and the Turks came swarming to fight against our imperiall troups. Howbeit by Gods assistance those miscreants were altogether scattered and put to flight by our souldiers. But as we approched vnto that strait passage which is called by the Persians Cibrilcimam, so many bands of Persian footemen and horsemen (most whereof came from the innermost parts of Persia, to succour their Allies) encountred our army, as were almost superiour vnto vs in number. Wherefore the army of our Imperiall highnesse, by reason of the straightnesse and difficultie of the way, being stretched ten miles in length; and the first not being able to helpe the last, nor yet contrarywise the last to rescue the first, it came to passe that they were very farre distant asunder. And in very deed the foremost troupes were much separated from the guard of our imperiall person, who forgetting their fellowes behind, would not stay any whit for them. Because therefore the Turkish bands knew full well by their former conflicts that it was bootlesse for them to assaile the forefront of our battell, and perceiuing the narownesse of the place to be a great aduantage, they determined to set vpon our rereward, and did so. Wherefore our passage being very straight, and the infidels assayling vs vpon the right hand and vpon the left, and on all sides, and discharging their weapons as thicke as hailestones against vs, slew diuers of our men and horses. Hereupon, the slaughter of our people still encreasing our maiestie imperiall deemed it requisite to stay behind, and to succour our bands in the rereward, and so expecting them we sustained the fierce encounter of many thousand Persians. What exploits our Imperiall person atchieued in the same skirmish, I hold it needlesse at this time to recount: your maiestie may perhaps vnderstand more of this matter by them which were there present. Howbeit our Imperiall highnesse being in the middest of this conflict, and enduring the fight with so great danger, all our hindermost troups, both Greekes, Latines, and other nations, retiring themselues close together, and not being able to suffer the violence of their enemies weapons, pressed on so hard, and were caried with such maine force, that hastening to ascend the next hill for their better safegard, they vrged on them which went before, whether they would or no. Whereupon, much dust being raised, which stopped our eyes and vtterly deprined vs of sight, and our mē and horses pressing so sore one vpon the necke of another, plunged themselues on the sudden into such a steepe and dangerous valley, that treading one vpon another, they quelled to death not onely a multitude of the common souldiours, but diuers most honourable personages, & some of our neere kinsmen. For who could restraine the irresistable throng of so huge a multitude? Howbeit our Imperiall highnesse being enuironed with such swarmes of Infidels, and giuing and receiuing wounds (insomuch that the miscreants were greatly dismaied at our constancie) we gaue not ouer, but by Gods assistance wonne the field. Neither did we permit the enemie to ascend vnto that place, from whence we skirmished with him. Neither yet spurred wee on our horse any faster for all their assaults. But marshalling all our troupes together, and deliuering them out of danger, we disposed them about our Imperial person; and so we ouertooke the foremost, and marched in good order with our whole army. Nowe the Soldan perceiuing that notwithstanding the great damages which we had sustained, our

Imperial

Imperial highnes prouided to giue him a fresh encounter, humbly submitting himselfe vnto vs, and vsing submissive speaches, made suite to haue peace at our hands, and promised to fulfill the pleasure of our maiestie Imperiall, to doe vs seruice against all commers, to release all our subiects which were captiues in his realme, and to rest wholy at our commaund. Here therefore we remained two dayes with great authoritie; and considering that wee could attempt nought against the citie of Iconium, hauing lost all our warrelike engines both for defence and for batterie, for that the oxen which drew them were slaine with the enemies weapons, falling as thicke as hailestones: and also for because all our beasts in a maner were most grieuously diseased; our maiestie Imperial accepted of the Soldans petition, league, and oath being made and taken vnder our ensignes, and granted our peace vnto him. Then returned we into our owne dominions, being greatly grieued for the losse of our deere kinsmen, and yeelding vnto God most humble thanks, who of his goodnesse had euen now giuen vs the victory. We are right glad likewise that some of your maiesties princes and nobles accompanied vs in this action, who are able to report vnto you all things which haue happened. And albeit we were exceedingly grieued for the losse of our people; yet thought it we expedient to signifie vnto you the successe of our affaires, as vnto our welbeloued friend, & one who is very neerly allied vnto our highnesse Imperial, by reason of the consanguitie of our children. Farewell. Giuen in the moneth of Nouember, and vpon the tenth Indiction.

The citie of Iconium intended to haue bene beseiged.

Certaine noblemen of the king of England were with the Emperor in his battell against the Soldan of Iconium.

The woorthy voiage of Richard the first, K. of England into Asia, for the recouerie of Iernsalem out of the hands of the Saracens, drawen out of the booke of Acts and Monuments of the Church of England, written by M. Iohn Foxe.

KIng Richard the first of that name, for his great valure surnamed Ceur de Lion, the sonne of Henry the second, after the death of his father remembring the rebellions that he had vndutifully raised against him, sought for absolution of his trespasse, and in part of satisfaction for the same, agreed with Philip the French king to take his voiage with him for the recouerie of Christes patrimonie, which they called the Holy land, whereupon the sayd king Richard immediately after his Coronation, to prepare himselfe the better towards his iourney, vsed diuers meanes to take vp summes of money, and exacted a tenth of the whole Realme, the Christians to make three score and ten thousand pounds, and the Iewes which then dwelt in the Realme threescore thousand.

Hauing thus gotten sufficient money for the exploite, he sent certaine Earles and Barons to Philip the French king in the time of his Parliament at S. Denis, to put him in mind of his promise made for the recouerie of Christs holy patrimonie out of the Saracens hands: To whom he sent againe in the moneth of December, that he had bound himselfe by solemne othe, deposing vpon the Euangelists, that he the yeere next following, about the time of Easter, had certainly prefixed to addresse himselfe toward that iourney, requiring him likewise not to faile, but to bee ready at the terme aboue limited, appointing also the place where both the Kings should meete together.

In the yeere therfore. 1190. King Richard hauing committed the gouernment of this realme in his absence to the bishop of Ely then Chancellor of England, aduanced forward his iourney, and came to Turon to meet with Philip the French king, & after that went to Vizeliac, where the French king & he ioyning together, for the more continuance of their iourney, assured themselues by solemne othe, swearing fidelitie one to the other: the forme of whose oth was this.

That either of them should defend and maintaine the honour of the other, and beare true fidelitie vnto him, of life, members & worldly honor, and that neither of them should faile one the other in their affaires: but the French King should aide the King of England in defending his land and dominions, as he would himselfe defend his owne Citie of Paris if it were besieged: and that Richard king of England likewise should aide the French king in defending his land and Dominions, no otherwise then he would defend his own Citie of Roan if it were besieged, &c.

¶ The oth of fidelitie betwixt King Richard and the French King.

Concerning

Concerning the lawes and ordinances appointed by K. Richard for his Nauie, the forme thereof was this.

The discipline and orders of the King.

1. That who so killed any person on shipboord, should be tied with him that was slaine, and throwen into the sea.

2. And if he killed him on the land, he should in like manner be tied with the partie slaine, and be buried with him in the earth.

3. He that shalbe conuicted by lawfull witnes to draw out his knife or weapon to the intent to strike any man, or that hath striken any to the drawing of blood, shall loose his hand.

4. Also he that striketh any person with his hand without effusion of blood, shall be plunged three times in the sea.

5. Item, who so speaketh any opprobrious or contumelious wordes in reuiling or cursing one another, for so oftentimes as he hath reuiled, shall pay so many ounces of siluer.

6. Item, a thiefe or felon that hath stollen being lawfully cõuicted, shall haue his head shorne, and boyling pitch powred vpon his head, and feathers or downe strawed vpon the same, whereby he may be knowen, and so at the first landing place they shall come to, there to be cast vp.

These things thus ordered, king Richard sending his Nauie by the Spanish seas, and by the streights of Gibraltar, betweene Spaine and Africa, to meete him at Marsilia, hee himselfe went as is said to Vizeliac to the French king. Which two kings from thence went to Lions, where the bridge ouer the flood Rhodanus with preasse of people brake, and many both men and women were drowned: by occasion whereof the two kings for the combrance of their traines, were constrained to disseuer themselues for time of their iourney, appointing both to meet together in Sicily: and so Philip the French king tooke his way to Genua, and king Richard to Marsilia, where he remained 8. dayes, appointing there his Nauie to meete him. From thence crossing ouer to Genua where the French king was, he passed forward by the coasts of Italy, and entred into Tiber not farre from Rome.

King Richard staying in Marsilia 8. dayes for his Nauie which came not, he there hired 20. Gallies, and ten great barkes to ship ouer his men, and so came to Naples, and so partly by horse and wagon, and partly by the sea, passing to Falernum, came to Calabria, where after that he had heard that his ships were arriued at Messana in Sicilie, he made the more speed, and so the 23. of September entred Messana with such a noyse of Trumpets and Shalmes, with such a rout and shew, that it was to the great wonderment and terror both of the Frenchmen, and of all other that did heare and behold the sight.

To the said towne of Messana the French king was come before the 16. of the same moneth of September, and had taken vp the pallace of Tancredus king of Sicily for his lodging: to whom king Richard after his arriuall eftsoones resorted, and when the two kings had communed together, immediately the French king tooke shipping and entred the seas, thinking to saile towards the land of Ierusalem: but after he was out of the hauen, the winde rising contrary against him, returned him backe againe to Messana. Then king Richard (whose lodging was prepared in the suburbs without the Citie) after he had resorted againe and talked with the French king, and also had sent to Tancredus king of Sicily, for deliuerance of Ioane his sister (who had beene somtimes Queene of Sicily) and had obtained her to be sent vnto him, the last day of September passed ouer the streight del Fare, and there getting a strong hold called de la Baguare, or le Bamare, and there placing his sister with a sufficient garrison, he returned againe to Messana.

The 2. of October king Richard wan another strong hold, called Monasterium Griffonum, situated in ỹ midst of the streight del Fare, betweene Messana & Calabria, from whence ỹ Monkes being expulsed, he reposed there all his store and prouision of victuals, which came from England or other places.

The Citizens of Messana seeing that the king of England had wonne the castle and Island de la Baguare, and also the Monasterie of the Griffons, and doubting least the king would extend his power further to inuade their Citie, & get if he could the whole Isle of Sicilie, began to stirre against the Kings armie, and to shut the Englishmen out of the gates, and

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kept their walles against them. The Englishmen seeing that, made to the gates, and by force would haue broken them open, insomuch that the King riding amongst them with his staffe, and breaking diuers of their heads, could not asswage their fiercenesse, such was the rage of the Englishmen agaynst the citizens of Messana. The King seeing the furie of his people to be such that hee could not stay them, tooke boate, and went to the pallace of king Tancred, to talke of the matter with the French king, in which meane time the matter was so taken vp by the wise handling of the ancients of the citie, that both parts laying downe their armour, went home in peace.

The fourth day of the sayd moneth of October, came to king Richard the Archbishop of Messana with two other Archbishops also with the French king, and sundry other Earles, Barons, and Bishops, to intreat of peace, who as they were together consulting, and had almost concluded vpon the peace, the Citizens of Messana issuing out of the towne, some went vp vpon the mountains, some with open force inuaded the mansion or lodging of Hugh Brune an English captaine. The noyse whereof comming to the eares of the King, hee suddenly breaking off talke with the French king and the rest, departed from them, and comming to his men, commanded them forthwith to arme themselues. Who then with certaine of his souldiours making vp to the top of the mountaine (which seemed to passe their power to climbe) there put the Citizens to flight, chasing them downe the mountaines, vnto the very gates of the citie, whom also certaine of the kings seruants pursued into the citie, of whom fiue valiant souldiers & twentie of the kings seruants were slaine, the French King looking vpon, and not once willing to rescue them, contrary to his othe, and league before made with the king of England: for the French king with his men being there present, rode in the midst of them safely, and without any harme too and fro, and might well haue eased the Kings partie, more then he, if it had so liked him.

This being knowen to the English hoste how their fellowes were slaine, and the Frenchmen permitted in the citie, and that they were excluded and the gates barred against them, being also stopped from buying of victuall, & other things, they vpon great indignation gathered themselues in armes, brast open the gates, and scaled the wals, and so winning the citie, set vp their flags with the English armes vpon the wals: which when the French King did see, he was mightily offended, requiring the King of England that the Armes of France might also be set vp, & ioyned with his: but King Richard to that would in no case agree, notwithstanding to satisfie his minde, he was contented to take downe his Armes, and to commit the custodie of the citie to the Hospitalaries and Templaries of Ierusalem, till the time that Tancred king of Sicily and he should agree together vpon conditions. Messana won by the English.

These things being done the fift and sixt day of October, it followed then vpon the eight day of the same, that peace was concluded among the kings. In which peace, first king Richard, & Philip the French king renewed againe their oth and league before made, concerning their mutual aide and societie, during the time of that peregrination.

Secondly, peace also was concluded betweene king Richard and Tancred king of Sicily aforesaide, with conditions, that the daughter of Tancrede in case king Richard should die without issue, should be married to Arthur Duke of Britaine the kings Nephew and next heire to his crowne, whereof a formall charte was drawen, and letters sent thereof to Pope Clement being dated the ninth of Nouember.

From this time vntill Februarie the next yeere these two kings kept still at Messana, either for lacke of winde and weather, or for the repairing of their shippes. And in the aforesayde Februarie, in the yeere 1191. King Richard sent ouer his gallies to Naples, there to meete his mother Elinore, and Berengaria the daughter of Zanctius king of Nauarre, whom he was purposed to marry, who by that time were come to Brundusium, vnder the conduct of Philip Earle of Flanders, and so proceeding vnto Naples, they found the kings shippes wherein they sayled to Messana.

In this meane space, king Richard shewed himselfe exceeding bounteous and liberall to all men: to the French king first he gaue diuers shippes, vpon others likewise he bestowed riche rewardes, and of his treasure and goods he destributed largely to his souldiers and seruants

about him, of whom it was reported, that he distributed more in one moneth, then any of his predecessors did in a whole yeere; by reason whereof he purchased great loue and fauour, which not onely redounded to the aduancement of his fame, but also to his singular vse and profite, as the sequele afterward prooued.

The first day of March following, he left the citie of Messana, where the French King was, and went to Cathneia, a citie where Tancredus king of Sicily then lay, where he was honorably receiued, and there remained with king Tancredus three dayes and three nights. On the fourth day when he should depart, the aforesaid Tancredus offred him many rich presents in gold and siluer, and precious silkes, whereof king Richard would receiue nothing, but one little ring for a token of his good will: for the which king Richard gaue againe vnto him a riche swerde. At length when king Richard should take his leaue, king Tancred would not let him so depart, but needes would giue him 4. great shippes, and 15. gallies, and furthermore hee himselfe would needes accompanie him the space of two dayes iourney, to a place called Tauernium.

Then the next morning when they should take their leaue, Tancredus declared vnto him the message, which the French King a little before had sent vnto him by the Duke of Burgundie, the contents whereof were these: That the King of England was a false Traytour, & would neuer keepe the peace that was betweene them: and if the sayd Tancredus would warre against him, or secretly by night would inuade him, he with all his power would assist him, to the destruction of him and all his armie. To whom Richard the King protested againe, that he was no traytour, nor neuer had bene: and as touching the peace begun betwixt them, the same should neuer be broken through him: neither could he beleeue that the French King being his good lord, and his sworne Compartner in that voyage, would vtter any such wordes by him. Which when Tancredus heard, he bringeth foorth the letters of the French King, sent to him by the Duke of Burgundie, affirming moreouer, that if the Duke of Burgundie would denie the bringing of the said letters, he was readie to trie it with him by any of his Dukes. King Richard receiuing the letters, and musing not a little vpon the same, returneth againe to Messana. The same day that King Richard departed, the French king came to Tauernium to speake with Tancred, and there abode with him that night, and on the morowe returned to Messana againe.

From that time King Richard mooued in stomacke against King Philip, neuer shewed any gentle countenance of peace & amitie, as he before was woont: whereat the French king greatly marueiling, and enquiring earnestly what should be the cause thereof, word was sent him againe by Philip earle of Flanders from king Richard, what words he had sent to the king of Sicily, and for testimony thereof the letters were shewed, which he wrote by the duke of Burgundie to the king of Sicily: which when the French king vnderstood, first he held his peace as guilty in his conscience, not knowing well what to answere. At length turning his tale to another matter, he began to quarrell with king Richard, pretending as though he sought causes to breake with him, and to maligne him: and therfore he forged (sayd he) these lies vpon him, and all because he by that meanes would auoid to marry with Alise his sister, according as he had promised. Adding moreouer that if he would so do, and would not marry the said Alise his sister according to his oth, he would be an enemy to him, and to his, while he liued.

To this king Richard sayd againe, that he could by no meanes marry that woman, forsomuch as his father had carnall copulation with her, and also had by her a sonne: for proofe whereof he had there presently to bring forth diuers & sundry witnesses to the kings face, to testifie with him.

In conclusion, through counsell and perswasion of diuers about the French king, agreement at last was made, so that king Philip did acquite king Richard from this bond of marrying his sister, and king Richard againe should be bound to pay to him euery yeere for the space of fiue yeeres, two thousand markes, with certaine other conditions besides, not greatly materiall for this place. And thus peace being betweene them concluded the 28 day of the sayd

sayd moneth of March, the French king lanching out of the hauen of Messana, the 22 day after in the Easter weeke, came with his armie to the siege of Achon.

After the departure of the French king from Messana, king Richard with his armie yet remaining behinde, arriued Queene Alinor the kings mother, bringing with her Berengaria the king of Nauars daughter, to be espoused to king Richard: which being done, king Richard in April following, about the 20 day of the sayd moneth, departed from the hauen of Messana with 150 great ships, and 53 great gallies well manned and appointed, and tooke his iourney toward Achon: who being vpon the Seas on Good friday about the ninth houre, rose a mighty South winde with a tempest, which disseuered and scattered all his Nauie, some to one place, and some to another. The king with a few ships was driuen to the Ile of Creta, and there before the hauen of Rhodes cast anker. The ships that caried the kings sister, queene of Sicily, and Berengaria the king of Nauars daughter, with two ships were driuen to the Ile of Cyprus.

The Nauie of King Richard.

The king making great mone for the ships of his sister, and Berengaria his wife that should be, not knowing where they were become, after the tempest was ouerblowen, sent forth his gallies diligently to seeke the rest of his Nauie dispersed, but especially the shippe wherein his sister was, and the maiden whom he should marry, who at length were found safe and merry at the port of Lymszem in the Ile of Cyprus, notwithstanding the two other ships, which were in their company before in the same hauen, were drowned with diuers of the kings seruants and men of worship, among whom was M. Roger, called Malus Catulus, the kings Vicechancellour, who was found with the kings seale hanging about his necke.

The king of Cyprus was then Isakius (called also the Emperour of the Gryffons) who tooke and imprisoned all Englishmen, which by shipwracke were cast vpon his land, also inuegled into his hands the goods and prises of them which were found drowned about his coastes, neither would suffer the ships wherein the two ladies were to enter within the port.

The tidings of this being brought to king Richard, he in great wrath gathering his gallies and ships together, boordeth the land of Cyprus, where he first in gentle wise signifieth to king Isakius, how he with his English men, comming as strangers to the supportation of the holy land, were by distresse of weather driuen vpon his bounds, and therefore with all humble petition besought him in Gods behalfe, and for reuerence of the holy crosse, to let go such prisoners of his as he had in captiuitie, and to restore againe the goods of them that were drowned, which he detained in his hands, to be employed for the behoofe of their soules. And this the king once, twise, and thrise desired of the Emperour: but he proudly answering againe, sent the king word, that he neither would let the captiues go, nor render the goods of them which were drowned.

When king Richard heard this, how light the Emperour Isakius made of his so humble and honest petition, & how that nothing could be gotten without violent force, eftsoones giueth commandement thorowout all his hoste to put themselues in armour and follow him, to reuenge the iniuries receiued of that proud and cruell king of Cyprus, willing them to put their trust in God, and not to misdoubt but that the Lord would stand with them, and giue them the victory. The Emperour in the meane time with his people stood warding the Sea coasts, where the English men should arriue, with swords, billes, and lances, and such other weapons as they had, setting boordes, stooles, and chestes before them as a wall: few of them were harnessed, and for the most part all vnexpert and vnskilfull in the feates of warre.

Then king Richard with his souldiers issuing out of their ships, first set his bowemen before, who with their shot made a way for others to folowe. The Englishmen thus winning the land vpon them, so fiercely pressed vpon the Gryffons, that after long fighting and many blowes, at last the Emperour was put to flight, whom king Richard valiantly pursued, and slue many, and diuers he tooke aliue, and had gone neere also to take the Emperour, had not the night come on and parted the battell. And thus king Richard with much spoyle, and great victory, returning to the port Towne of Lymszem, which the Townesmen had left for feare, found there great abundance of corne, wine, oyle, and victuals.

The day after the victory gotten, Ioanna the Kings sister, and Berengaria the mayden, entred the Porte and Towne of Lymszem, with 50. great ships, and 14. gallios: so that all the whole Nauie there meeting together, were 254. tall shippes, and aboue threescore galliots. Then Isakius the Emperour, seeing no way for him to escape by Sea, the same night pitched his tentes fiue miles off from the English army, swearing that the third day after, he would surely giue battell to king Richard: but he preuenting him before, suddenly the same morning before the day of battell should be, setteth vpon the tentes of the Gryffons early in the morning, they being vnawares and asleepe, and made of them a great slaughter, insomuch that the Emperour was faine to runne away naked, leauing his tentes and pauilions to the Englishmen, full of horses and rich treasure, also with the Imperial standerd, the lower part whereof with a costly streamer was couered, and wrought all with golde.

King Richard returning with victorie and triumph to his sister and Berengaria, shortly after in the moneth of May next following, and the 12. day of the said moneth, married the said Berengaria daughter of Zanctius, king of Nauarre, in the yle of Cyprus at Lymszem.

The king of Cyprus seeing himselfe ouermatched, was driuen at length to yeelde himselfe with conditions to giue king Richard 20000. markes in golde for amends of such spoyles as he had gotten of them that were drowned, also to restore all the captiues againe to the king: and furthermore, he in his owne person to attend vpon the king to the lande of Ierusalem, in Gods seruice and his, with 400. horsemen, and 500. footemen: in pledge whereof he would giue to his hands his castles, and his onely daughter, and would hold his kingdome of him.

This done, and the Emperour swearing fidelitie to king Richard before Guido king of Ierusalem, and the prince of Antioche (who were come thither to king Richard a little before) peace was taken, and Isakius committed to the warde of certaine keepers. Notwithstanding shortly after he breaking from his keepers, was againe at defiance with the King: whereupon king Richard besetting the Iland of Cyprus round about with shippes and gallies, did in such sort preuaile, that the subiects of the land were constrained to yeelde themselues to the King, and at last the daughter of the Emperour, and the Emperour himselfe, whom king Richard caused to be kept in fetters of gold and siluer, and to be sent to the citie of Tripolis.

The Lord Chamberlaine of King Richard left gouernour of Cyprus.

These things thus done, and all set in order touching the possession of the Ile of Cyprus, the keeping whereof he committed to Radulphe sonne of Godfrey Lord Chamberlaine, being then the first day of Iune vpon the fift of the saide moneth, king Richard departed from the Ile of Cyprus, with his shippes and gallies toward the siege of Achon, and on the next morrowe came to Tyrus, where by procurement of the French king he was restrained by the Citizens to enter. The next day after, which was the first day of Iune, crossing the seas, he met with a great carak fraught with souldiers and men of warre to the number of a thousand and fiue hundred, which pretending to be Frenchmen, and setting foorth their flagge with the French armes, were indeede Saracens, secretly sent with wilde fire and certaine barrels of vnknowen serpents to the defence of the towne of Achon, which king Richard at length perceiuing, eftsoones set vpon them and so vanquished them, of whom the most were drowned and some taken alive: which being once knowen in the citie of Achon, as it was a great discomfort to them, so it was a great helpe to the Christians for winning the citie.

A great ship of Saracens taken by King Richard.

King Richard arriued at Achon.

The next day after which was the seuenth of Iune, king Richard came to Achon, which at that time had bene long besieged by the Christians. After whose comming it was not long, but the Pagans within the citie, seeing their wals to be vndermined and towers ouerthrowen, were driuen by composition to escape with life and limme, to surrender the citie to the two kings.

Another great helpe to the Christians in winning the citie, was this. In the said city of Achon there was a secret Christian among the Saracens, who in time of the siege thereof vsed at sundry times to cast ouer the wals into the campe of the Christians, certaine bils written in Hebrue, Greeke, and Latine, wherein he disclosed to the Christians from time to time, the doings and counsels of the enemies, aduertising them how and what way they should worke, and what to beware, and alwayes his letters began thus. In nomine Patris, & Filij, & Spiritus sancti Amen. By reason whereof the Christians were much aduantaged in their proceedings:

but

but this was a great beauines vnto them, that neither he would vtter his name, nor when the citie was got did they euer vnderstand who he was.

To make of a long siege a short narration. Vpon the twelfth day of Iuly the yeere aforesaid, the Princes and Captaines of the Pagans, vpon agreement resorted to the tent of the Templaries to commune with the two kings touching peace, and giuing vp of their citie: the forme of which peace was thus.

The forme of peace concluded betweene the Kings and the Princes of Achon.

1 That the Kings should haue the citie of Achon freely and fully deliuered vnto them, with all which was therein.

2 That 500. captiues of the Christians should be restored to them, which were in Achon.

3 That the holy crosse should be to them rendred, and a thousand Christian captiues with two hundreth horsemen, whosoeuer they themselues would chose out of all them which were in the power of the Saladine.

4 That they would giue vnto the Kings two hundreth thousand Bysants, so that they themselues should remaine as pledges in the Kings hands, for the performance hereof, that if in fortie daies, the aforesayd couenants were not accomplished, they should abide the Kings mercie touching life and limme.

These couenants being agreed vpon, the Kings sent their souldiers and seruants into the citie, to take a hundreth of the richest & best of the city, to close them vp in towers vnder strong keeping, & the residue they committed to be kept in houses and in streetes, ministring vnto them according to their necessities: to whom notwithstanding this they premitted, that so many of them as would be baptized and receiue the faith of Christ, should be free to goe whither they would: wherupon many there were of the Pagans, which for feare of death pretended to be baptized, but afterward so soone as they could, reuolted againe to the Saladine: for the which it was afterward commanded by the Kings, that none of them should be baptized against their wils.

The thirteenth day of the said moneth of Iuly, King Philip of France, and king Richard, after they had obteined the possession of Achon, deuided betweene them all things therein conteined as well the people as golde and siluer, with all other furniture whatsoeuer was remaining in the citie: who in deuiding the spoyle, were so good caruers to themselues that the Knights and Barons had but litle to their share, whereupon they began to shew themselues somewhat discontented, which being knowen of the kings, they sent them answere that their wils should be satisfied.

The twentieth day of Iuly, king Richard speaking with the French King, desired him that they two with their armies, would binde themselues by othe to remaine there stil in the land of Ierusalem the space of 3. yeeres, for the winning and recouering againe of those countreys: but he sayd he would sweare no such othe, and so the next day after king Richard with his wife and sister entred into the citie of Achon, and there placed himselfe in the kings pallace: The French king remayning in the houses of the Templaries, where he continued till the end of that moneth.

About the beginning of the moneth of August, Philip the French king after that he and King Richard had made agreement betweene Guido & Conradus the Marques, about the kingdome of Ierusalem, went from Achon to Tyrus, notwithstanding king Richard & all the Princes of the Christian armie with great intreatie desired him to tary, shewing what a shame it were for him to come so farre, and now to leaue vndone that for which he came, and on the 3. day of August departed from Tyrus, leauing the halfe part of the Citie of Achon, in the hands of the aforesayd Conradus Marques.

The French kings shamefull returne home.

After his departure the Pagans refused to keepe their couenants made, who neither would restore the holy Crosse nor the money, nor their captiues, sending word to king Richard, that if he beheaded the pledges left with him at Achon, they would choppe off the heads of such captiues of the Christians, as were in their hands.

Shortly after this the Saladine sending great gifts to king Richard, requested the time limited for beheading of the captiues to be proroged, but the king refused to take his gifts, and to graunt his request, whereupon the Saladine caused all the Christian captiues within his

possession

possession forthwith to be beheaded, which was the 28. of August: which albeit king Richard vnderstood, yet would not he preuent the time before limitted for the execution of his prisoners, being the 20. day of August: vpon which day he caused the prisoners of the Saracens openly in the sight of the Saladines armie to loose their heads: the number of whom came to two thousand and fiue hundreth, saue onely that certaine of the principal of them he reserued for purposes and considerations, especially to make exchange for the holy Crosse, and certaine other of the Christian captiues.

The captiues of the Saracens slaine by King Richard.

After this king Richard purposed to besiege the Citie of Ioppe, where by the way betweene Achon and Ioppe, neere to a towne called Assur, Saladine with a great multitude of his Saracens came fiercely against the kings rereward, but through Gods mercifull grace in the same battell, the kings warriers acquited themselues so well, that the Saladine was put to flight, whom the Christians pursued the space of 3. miles, & he lost that same day many of his Nobles & Captaines, in such sort (as it was thought) that the Saladine was not put to such confusion 40. yeres before, and but one Christian Captaine called Iames Auernus in that conflict was ouerthrowen.

A notable victorie against the Saladine t

From thence king Richard proceeding further went to Ioppe, and then to Ascalon, where he found first the citie of Ioppe forsaken of the Saracens, who durst not abide the kings comming: Ascalon the Saladine threw downe to the ground, & likewise forsooke the whole land of Syria, through all which land the king had free passage without resistance: neither durst the Saracene Prince encounter after that with K. Richard. Of all which his atcheuances the sayd K. Richard sent his letters of certificate as well into England, as also to the Abbot of Clara valle in France, well hoping ỳ he God willing should be able to make his repaire againe to them by Easter next.

King Ricnard in possession of Syria.

Many other famous acts were done in this voyage by these two Kings, and moe should haue bene, had not they falling into discorde disseuered themselues, by reason whereof Philip the French king returned home againe within short space: who being returned againe eftsoones inuaded the countrey of Normandy, exciting also Iohn the brother of king Richard, to take on him the kingdome of Englande in his brothers absence: who then made league vpon the
1193. same with the French king, and did homage vnto him, which was about the fourth yeere of king Richard. Who then being in Syria, and hearing thereof, made peace with the Turkes for three yeeres: and not long after, king Richard the next spring following returned also, who in his returne driuen by distresse of weather about the parts of Histria, in a towne called Synaca, was there taken by Lympold, Duke of the same countrey, and so sold to the Emperour for sixtie thousand Markes: who for no small ioy thereof, writeth to Philip the French king, these letters here following.

King Richard returneth from Palestina.

The letter of the Emperour to Philip the French king, concerning the taking of King Richard.

HEnricus Dei gratia Romanorum Imperator, & semper Augustus, Dilecto & speciali amico suo, Philippo illustri Francorum Regi salutem, & sinceræ dilectionis affectum. Quoniam Imperatoria Celsitudo non dubitat Regalem Magnificentiam tuam lætiorem effici, de vniuersis quibus omnipotentia creatoris nostri nos ipsos, & Romanum Imperium honorauerit & exaltauerit, nobilitati tuæ tenore præsentium declarare duximus, quod inimicus Imperij nostri, & turbator Regni tui Rex Angliæ, quum esset in transeundo mare ad partes suas reuersurus, accidit vt ventus rupta naui sua, in qua ipse erat, induceret eum in partes Histriæ ad locum qui est inter Aquileiam, & Venetias. Vbi Rex, Dei permissione passus naufragium cum paucis euasit.

Quidam itaq; fidelis noster Comes, Maynardus de Grooxce, & populus regionis illius, audito quod in terra erat, & considerato diligentiùs, qualem nominatus Rex in terra promissionis proditionem & traditionem, & perditionis suæ cumulum exercuerat, insecuti sunt, intendentes eum captiuare. Ipso autem Rege in fugam conuerso, ceperunt de suis octo milites: Postmodum processit Rex ad Burgum in Archiepiscopatu Salsburgensi, qui vocatur Frisorum, vbi Fridericus de Betesow, Rege cum tribus tantum versus Austriam properante, noctu sex milites de

de suis cœpit: Dilectus autem Consanguineus noster Lympoldus Dux Austriæ, obseruata strata sæpè, dictum Regem iuxta Danam in villa viciniori in domo despecta captiuauit.

Cum itáq; in nostra nunc habeatur Potestate, & ipse semper tua molestauit, & turbationis operam præstiterit, ea quæ præmissimus, nobilitati tuæ insinuare curauimus: scientes ea dilectioni tuæ bene placita existere, animo tuo vberrimam importare lætitiam. Datum apud Ritheountum 5. Kalendas Ianua.

King Richard being thus traiterously taken, and solde to the Emperour by the Duke of Austridge for 60000. markes, was there kept in custodie a yeere and 3. moneths.

In some stories it is affirmed, that King Richard returning out of Asia, came to Italy with prosperous winde, where he desired of the Pope to be absolued of an othe made against his will and could not obteine it: and so setting out from thence towards England, passing by the Countrey of Conradus the Marques, whose death (he being slaine a litle before) was falsly imputed by the French king to the king of England, there traiterously was taken (as is aforesayde) by Limpoldus duke of Austridge.

Albeit in another storie I finde the matter more credibly set forth: which saith thus. That king Richard slewe the brother of this Limpoldus, playing with him at Chesse in the French Kings Court: and Limpoldus taking his vantage, was more cruel against him and deliuered him (as is sayde) to the Emperour. In whose custodie he was deteined during the time aboue mentioned, a yeere & 3. moneths. During which time of the kings endurance, the French king in the meane season stirred warre in Normandie: and Earle Iohn the Kings brother, made stirre and inuaded England, but the Barons and Bishops of the land mightily withstood him.

At length it was so agreed and concluded with the Emperour, that king Richard should be released for a hundreth and foure thousand pound: of which money part should remaine to the Duke of Austridge, the rest should be the Emperours. The summe of which money was here gathered and made in England of chalices, crosses, shrines, candlestickes and other Church place, also with publike contribution of Friers, Abbots, and other subiects of the Realme: whereof part was presently paid, and for the residue remaining, hostages and pledges were taken, which was about the fift yeere of his reigne: and then it was obteined of the Pope, that Priestes might celebrate with Chalices of latten and tinne.

At what time this aforesaide money was payde, and the hostages giuen for the ransome of the King, I haue in olde historie which saith, that the aforesaid Duke of Austridge was shortly after plagued by God, with 5. sundry plagues. The iust iudgment of God vpon the Duke of Austria.

First, with the burning of his chiefe Townes.

2. With drowning of tenne thousand of his men in a flood happening no man can tell how.

3. By turning all the eares of his corne fieldes into wormes.

4. By taking away almost all the Nobles of his land by death.

5. By breaking his owne leg falling from his horse, which leg he was compelled to cut off with his owne hands, and afterwards died of the same: who then at his death is reported to forgiue K. Richard 50000. marks, and sent home the hostages that were with him. And further a certaine booke intituled Eulogium declareth, that the sayd Limpoldus duke of Austrich fell in displeasure with the bishop of Rome, and died excommunicate the next yeere after, Anno 1196.

But thus, as you haue heard, Richard the King was ransomed & deliuered from the couetous captiuitie of the Emperor, and returning home made an ende of his voyage for Asia, which was both honourable to himselfe and to all Christian states, but to the Saracens the enemies of Christianitie, terrible and dishonourable.

This historie of King Richards voiage to Ierusalem is very excellently and largely written in Latine by Guilielmus Neobrigensis, and Roger Houeden.

Epitaphium

Epitaphium Richardi primi regis Anglorum apud fontem Ebraldi.

SCribitur hoc auro, rex auree, laus tua tot
aurea, materiæ conueniente nota.
Laus tua prima fuit Siculi, Cyprus altera, Dromo
Ciuitas Ioppe. tertia, Caruanna quarta, suprema Iope.
Retrusi Siculi, Cyprus pessundata, Dromo
mersus, Caruanna capta, retenta Iope.

Epitaphium eiusdem vbi viscera eius requiescunt.

VIscera Kareolum, corpus fons seruat Ebraldi,
& cor Rothomagus, magne Richarde, tuum.

The life and trauailes of Baldwinus Deuonius, sometime Archbishop of Canterbury.

BAldwinus Deuonius, tenui loco Excestriæ natus, vir ore facundus, exactus Philosophus, & d omne studiorum genus per illos dies aptissimus inueniebatur. Scholarum rector primùm erat, tum postea Archidiaconus, eruditione ac sapientia in omni negotio celebris: fuit præterea Cisterciensis Monachus, & Abbas Fordensis Cœnobij, magnus suorum æstimatione, ac vniuersæ eorum societati quasi Antesignanus: fuit deinde Wigorniensis præsul, fuit & mortuo demùm Richardo Cantuariorum Archiepiscopus, ac totius Angliæ Primas. Cui muneri Baldwinus sollicitè inuigilans, egregium se pastorem exhibuit, dominicum semen, quantum patiebatur eius temporis iniquitas, vbique locorum spargens. Richardus Anglorum rex, acceptis tunc regni insignijs, summo studio classem, ac omnia ad Hierosolymitanum bellum gerendum necessaria parauit. Secutus est illicò regem in Syriam, & Palæstinam vsque Baldwinus, vt esset in tam Sancto (vt ipse putabat) itinere laborum, dolorum, ac periculorum particeps. Præfuit Cantuariensi Ecclesiæ ferè 6. annis, & Richardum regem in Syriam secutus, anno Salutis nostræ 1190. Tyri vitam finiuit, vbi & sepultus est.

The same in English.

BAldwine a Deuonshire man borne in Exceter of mean parentage, was a very eloquent man, an exact Philosopher, and in those dayes very excellent in all kind of studies. He was first of all a Schoolemaster: afterwards he became an Archdeacon, very famous for his learning & wisedom in all his doings. He was also a Cistercian Monke and Abbot of Foord Monasterie, and the chiefe of all those that were of his order: he grew after this to be bishop of Worcester, and at last after the death of Archb. Richard he was promoted & made Archbishop of Canterbury, and Primate of all England. In the discharge of which place he being very vigilant, shewed himselfe a worthy Pastor, sowing the seed of Gods word in euery place as farre foorth as the iniquitie of that time permitted. In his time king Richard with all indeuour prepared a Fleet and all things necessary for waging of warre against the Infidels at Ierusalem, taking with him the standerd and ensignes of the kingdome. This Baldwine eftsoones folowed the king into Syria and Palestina, as one desirous to be partaker of his trauailes, paines, and perils in so holy a voyage. Hee was Archbishop of Canterburie almost sixe yeres: but hauing followed the king into Syria, in the yeere 1190. he died at Tyre, where he was also buried.

An annotation concerning the trauailes of the sayd Baldwine, taken out of Giraldus Cambrensis, in his Itinerarium Cambriæ, lib. 2. Cap. 14. Fol. 229.

INter primos Thomæ Becketi successor hic secundus, audita saluatoris & salutiferæ Crucis iniuria nostris (proh dolor) diebus per Saladinum irrogata, cruce signatus, in eiusdem obsequijs, tam remotis finibus quàm propinquis, prædicationis officium viriliter assumpsit. Et postmodùm iter accipiens, nauigióque fungens apud Marsiliam, transcurso tandem pelagi profundo, in portu Tyrensi incolumis applicuit: & inde ad exercitum nostrum obsidentem pariter & obsessum Aconem transiuit: vbi multos ex nostris inueniens, & ferè cunctos principum

pum defectu, in summa desolatione iam positos, & desperatione, alios quidem longa expectatione fatigatos, alios fame & inopia grauiter afflictos, quosdam verò aëris inclementia distemperatos, diem fœliciter in terra sacra clausurus extremum, singulos pro posse vinculo charitatis amplectens. sumptibus & impensis, verbis, & vitæ meritis confirmauit.

The same in English.

THis Baldwine being the second successor vnto Thomas Becket, after he had heard ỳ wrong which was done to our Sauiour, and the signe of the Crosse by Saladine the Sultan of Egypt, taking vpon him the Lords Character, he couragiously perfourmed his office of preaching in the obedience thereof, as well in farre distant Countreis as at home. And afterwards taking his iourney and imbarking himselfe at Marseils, hauing at length passed ỳ Leuant sea, he arriued safely in the Hauen of Tyrus, and from thence went ouer to Achon vnto our armie, besieging the Towne, and yet (as it were) besieged it selfe: where finding many of our Countreymen, and almost all men remaining in wonderfull pensiuenesse and despaire, through the withdrawing of the Princes, some of them tyred with long expectation, others grieuously afflicted with hunger and pouertie, and others distempered with the heate of the weather, being ready happily to ende his dayes in the Holy land, embracing euery one according to his abilitie in the bond of loue, he ayded them at his costes and charges, and strengthened them with his wordes and good examples of life.

A note drawen out of a very ancient booke remaining in the hands of the right worshipfull M. Thomas Tilney Esquire, touching Sir Frederike Tilney his ancestor, knighted at Acon in the Holy land for his valour, by K. Richard the first, as followeth.

PErtinuit iste liber priùs Frederico Tilney de Boston, in comitatu Lincolniæ militi facto apud Acon in terra Iudeæ anno Regis Richardi primi tertio. Vir erat iste magnæ staturæ & potens in corpore: qui cum patribus suis dormit apud Tirrington iuxta villam sui nominis Tilney in Mershland. Cuius altitudo in salua custodia permanet ibidem vsque in hunc diem. Et post eius obitum sexdecem militibus eius nominis Tilney hæreditas illa successiuè obuenit, quorum vnus post alium semper habitabat apud Boston prædictum: dum fratris senioris hæreditas hæredi generali deuoluta est, quæ nupta est Iohanni duci Norfolciæ. Eorum miles vltimus fuit Philippus Tilney nuper de Shelleigh in Comitatu Suffolciæ, pater & genitor Thomæ Tilney de Hadleigh in Comitatu prædicto Armigeri, cui modò attinet iste liber. Anno ætatis suæ 64. Anno Domini 1556.

The same in English.

THis booke pertained in times past vnto Sir Frederick Tilney of Boston in the Countie of Lincolne, who was knighted at Acon in the land of Iurie, in the third yeere of the reigne of king Richard the first. This knight was of a tall stature, and strong of body, who resteth interred with his forefathers at Tirrington, neere vnto a towne in Marshland called by his owne name Tilney. The iust height of this knight is there kept in safe custody vntill this very day. Also, after this mans decease, the inheritance of his landes fell successiuely vnto sixteene sundry knights called all by the name of Tilney, who dwelt alwayes, one after another, at the towne of Boston aforesayd, vntill such time as the possessions of the elder brother fell vnto an heire general, which was maried vnto Iohn duke of Northfolke. The last knight of that name was sir Philip Tilney late of Shelleigh in the Countie of Suffolke, predecessor and father vnto Thomas Tilney of Hadleigh in the Countie aforesayd Esquire, vnto whom the sayd booke of late appertained. In the yeere of his age 64. and in the yeere of our Lord, 1556.

The trauailes of one Richard surnamed Canonicus.

RIchardus Canonicus ad Trinitatis fanum Londini Regularis, ab ipsa pueritia, bonarum artium literas impensè amauit, excoluit, ac didicit. Qui ex continuo labore atque exercita-

tione longa, talis tandem euasit orator, & Poeta, quales ea ætas rarissimos nutriebat. Ob id Richardo Anglorum tunc Regi charus, longam cum eo peregrinationem in Palæstinam ac Syriam, dum expugnaret Turcas, suscepit. Vnde in Angliam tum demum reuersus, omnia quæ presens vidit in vrbibus, agris, ac militum castris, fideli narratione, tam carmine quàm prosa descripsit. Neque interim omisit eiusdem Regis mores, & formam, per omnia corporis lineamenta designare, addiditque præclaro suo operi hoc aptissimum pro titulo nomen, scilicet, Itinerarium Regis Richardi. Claruit anno redemptionis nostræ 1200. sub Ioanne Anglorum Rege.

The same in English.

RIchard surnamed Canonicus an obseruant Frier of Trinitie Church in London, was in great loue with the studies of good Artes, and tooke paines in them and learned them. And at last by his continuall endeuour and long exercise therein, hee grewe to bee such an Oratour and Poet, as fewe were in that age liuing, by reason whereof hee grew in fauour with Richard then King of England, and vndertooke that long voyage with him into Palestina and Syria agaynst the Turkes. From whence being returned againe into England, hee faithfully described both in Verse and Prose all such things as hee had seene in the Cities, fieldes and tentes of the souldiours, where hee was present, and omitted not to note the behauiour, forme, and proportion of body in the foresayd king, giuing to his notable worke this most apt name for the title, The Iournall of King Richard. He flourished in the yeere of our Redemption 1200. vnder Iohn king of England.

The trauailes of Gulielmus Peregrinus.

GVlielmus Peregrinus, Poeta quidem per eam ætatem excellens, genere Anglus florebat, literarum, vt multi tunc erant, amator maximus, & qui bona tempora melioribus impenderat studijs. Hic cum accepisset, expeditionem in Saracenos per Regem Richardum parari, accinxit se ad iter illud, non tantum vt miles, sed etiam peregrinus. Vidit ea quæ in Mari Hispanico fiebant, vidit quæ in Syria & Palæstina commissa fuerunt, in Sultanum Babyloniæ Regem, ac perfidos Sarracenos. Omnia hæc scripsit, & viuis depinxit coloribus, ita vt quasi præ oculis, totum poneret negotium, idémque Argumentum cum Richardo Canonico non infœliciter, Heroico pertractauit carmine, opúsq; iam absolutum Huberto Cantuariorum Archiepiscopo, & Stephano Turnhamo Capitaneo rerum bellicarum expertissimo dedicauit, addito hoc titulo, Odeporicon Richardi Regis. Multáque alia edidisse Poetam talem non dubito, sed num extent illa eius scripta, mihi non constat. Hoc tamen satis constat, eum fuisse in pretio, Anno à salutifero virginis partu 1200. sub Anglorum Rege Ioanne.

The same in English.

William the Pilgrime, a very excellent Poet in those dayes and an Englishman borne, was of great fame, being much giuen to good letters, (as many then were) and bestowed his good time in the best kinde of studies. Hee vnderstanding of the preparation of king Richard against the Saracens, prepared himselfe also for the same voyage, not onely as a Souldiour, but as a Pilgrime also. He sawe those things which happened in the Spanish Seas, and which were done in Syria and Palestina, against the Sultan the king of Babylon, and the trecherous Saracens. All which things he wrote and expressed them as it were in liuely colours, as if they had bene still in doing before his eyes, and handled the same Argument in Heroicall verse which the forenamed Richard Canonicus did. And hauing finished his worke he dedicated it to Hubert Archbishop of Canterburie, and to Stephen Turneham a most expert Captaine of the warres, giuing it this Title, The expedition of King Richard. And I doubt not but that so good a Poet as hee was published many other things, but whether they be extant yea or no, I know not: but this I know, that he was a man well accounted of, and flourished in the yeere after the birth of Christ 1200. vnder king Iohn.

The

The large contribution to the succour of the Holy land, made by king John king of England, in the third yeere of his reigne 1201. Matth. Paris and Holinsh. pag. 164.

AT the same time also the kings of France and England gaue large money towards the maintenance of the army which at this present went forth vnder the leading of the earle of Flanders and other, to warre against the enemies of the Christian faith at the instance of pope Innocent. There was furthermore granted vnto them the fortieth part of all the reuenues belonging vnto ecclesiasticall persons, towards the ayd of the Christians then being in the Holy land: and all such aswel of the nobility, as other of the weaker sort, which had taken vpon them the crosse, and secretly layed it downe were compelled eftsoones to receiue it now againe.

The trauailes of Hubert Walter bishop of Sarisburie.

HVbertus Walterus Sarisburiensis Episcopus, vir probus, ingenióq; ac pietate clarus, inter præcipuos vnus eorum erat, qui post Richardum regem expugnandorum Saracenorum gratia in Syriam proficiscebantur. Cum ex Palæstina rediens, audiret in Sicilia, quod idem Richardus in inimicorum manus incidisset, omisso itinere incœpto, ad eum cursim diuertebat: Quem & ille statim in Angliam misit, vt illic regij Senatus authoritate, indicto pro eius redemptione tributo pecuniam colligeret, quod & industrius fecit ac regem liberauit. Inde Cantuariorum Archiepiscopus factus, post eius mortem Ioanni illius fratri ac successori paria fidelitatis officia præstitit. Longa enim oratione toti Anglorum nationi persuasit, quod vir prouidus, præstans, fortis, genere nobilissimus, & imperio dignissimus esset: quo salutatus a populo fuit, atque in regem coronatus. Composuit quædam opuscula, & ex immenso animi dolore demum obijsse fertur, Anno salutis humanæ 1205. cum sedisset annos 11. Menses octo, & dies sex. Quum vidisset ex intestinis odijs, omnia in transmarinis regionibus pessùm ire, regnante Ioanne.

The same in English.

HVbert Walter bishop of Sarisburie, a vertuous man, and famous for his good wit and piety, was one of the chiefest of them that followed king Richard into Syria going against the Saracens. As he returned from Palæstina and came in his iourney into Sicilia, he there heard of the ill fortune of the king being fallen into his enemies handes, and thereupon leauing his iourney homewards, he went presently and in all haste to the place where the king was captiued, whom the king immediatly vpon his comming sent into England, that by the authority of the councell, a tribute might be collected for his redemption: which this Hubert performed with great diligence, and deliuered the king. After this he was made Archbishop of Canterburie, and after the death of king Richard he shewed the like dueties of fidelitie and trust to his brother Iohn that succeeded him. For by a long oration he perswaded the whole nation of the English men, that he was a very circumspect man, vertuous, valiant, borne of noble parentage, and most woorthy of the crowne. Whereupon he was so receiued of all the people and crowned king. He wrote certaine books, and died at the last with very great griefe of minde, in the yeere 1205. hauing beene archbishop the space of 11 yeres 8 moneths and sixe dayes, by reason of the ciuil discords abroad, whereby all things went topsie turuy, and in the reigne of king Iohn.

The trauailes of Robert Curson.

RObertus Curson ex nobili quodam Anglorum ortus genere, disciplinis tum prophanis, tum sacris studiosus incubuit, idque (quantum ex coniecturis colligo) in celebratissima Oxonij Academia. Præstantissimis illic institutoribus vsus, ex summa circa ingenuas artes industria, & assiduo literarum labore, famam sibi inter suos celeberrimam comparauit. Ampliora deinde meditatus Parisiorum Lutetiam, atque Romam ipsam petijt, illic Theologus Doctor, hic verò Cardinalis effectus. Vnde vterque Matthæus Parisius, ac Westmonasterius,

hoc de ipso testimonium adferunt: hic libro 2. ille 8. suorum Chronicorum. Anno Domini, 1218 (inquiunt) in captione Damiatæ Ægypti vrbis, sub Ioanne Brenno Hierosolymorum rege, fuit cum Pelagio Albanensi Magister Robertus de Curson, Anglus, Clericus celeberrimus, genere nobilis, ac Romanæ Ecclesiæ Cardinalis, &c. Bostonus Buriensis in suo Catalogo Cursonum aliquos libros composuisse narrat. Claruit anno superius numerato per prædictos testes in Anglia regnante Henrico tertio Ioannis regis filio: fuitque hic diebus Honorij tertij Romani pontificis in Angliam, Bostono teste, legatus.

The same in English.

RObert Curson descended of a noble family of England, vsed great diligence aswell in prophane as in diuine studies in the famous Vniuersity of Oxford (as I coniecture.) He had there the best scholemasters that were to be gotten, and was most industrious in the arts and continual exercises of learning: by meanes whereof he grew to be of great renowne where he liued. Afterward thinking of greater matters he went to Paris, and thence to Rome it selfe, and at Paris he proceeded doctor of Diuinity, at Rome he was made cardinall: whereupon both Matthew Paris & Matthew of Westminster produce this testimony of him, the one in his second booke, the other in his eight booke of Chronicles. In the yere of our Lord (say they) 1218, at the taking of Damiata a city of Egypt vnder Iohn Brenne king of Ierusalem, M. Robert Curson an English man, a most famous clearke of noble parentage, and cardinall of the church of Rome, was there with Pelagius Albanensis, &c. Boston of Burie in Suffolke in his catalogue reporteth, that he wrote diuers books. He flourished in the yeere aforesayd by the witnesses aforesayd. Henry the third sonne of king Iohn being then king of England: and by the further testimony of Boston, this Curson was legate into England in the dayes of Honorius the third, bishop of Rome.

The voyage of Ranulph earle of Chester, of Saer Quincy earle of Winchester, William de Albanie earle of Arundel, with diuers other noble men to the Holy land, in the second yere of K. Henry the third. Matth. Paris. Holensh. pag. 202.

IN the yeere 1218, Ranulph earle of Chester was sent into the Holy land by king Henry the third with a goodly company of souldiers and men of warre, to ayde the Christians there against the Infidels, which at the same time had besieged the city of Damiata in Egypt. In which enterprise the valiancy of the same earle after his comming thither was to his great praise most apparant. There went with him in that iourney Saer de Quincy earle of Winchester, William de Albanie earle of Arundel, besides diuers barons, as the lord Robert fitz Walter, Iohn constable of Chester, William de Harecourt, and Oliuer fitz Roy sonne to the king of England, and diuers others.

The voyage of Henry Bohun and Saer Quincy to the Holy land.

THis yere, being the sixt yere of Henry the third, deceased Henry de Bohun earle of Hereford, and Saer de Quincy earle of Winchester, in their iourney which they made to the Holy land. Matth. Paris. Holensh. pag. 202. col. 2.

The trauailes of Ranulph Glanuile earle of Chester.

RAnulphus Glanuile Cestriæ Comes, vir nobilissimi generis, & vtroque iure eruditus, in albo illustrium virorum à me meritò ponendus venit. Ita probè omnes adolescentiæ suæ annos legibus tum humanis tum diuinis consecrauit, vt non prius in hominem per ætatem euaserit, quàm nomen decúsque ab insigni eruditione sibi comparauerit. Cum profecti essent Francorum Heroes Ptolemaidem, inito cum Ioanne Brenno Hierosolymorum rege concilio, Damiatam Ægypti vrbem obsidendam constituebant, anno salutis humanæ 1218. Misit illùc Henricus rex, ab Honorio 3 Rom. Pontifice rogatus, cum magna armatorum manu Ranulphum, ad rem Christianam iuuandam. Cuius virtus, Polydoro teste, in eo bello miris omnium laudibus celebrata fuit. Quo confecto negotio, Ranulphus in patriam reuersus, scripsit, De legibus Angliæ librum vnum. Fertur præterea, & alia quædam scripsisse, sed tempus edax rerum,

rerum, ea nobis abstulit. Claruit anno à Seruatoris nostri natiuitate 1230 confectus senio, dum Henricus tertius sub Antichristi tyrannide in Anglia regnaret.

The same in English.

RAnulph Glanuile earle of Chester, a man of a very noble house, and learned in both the Lawes, deserues of duetie to be here placed by me in the catalogue of woorthy and notable men. He applied so well all the yeeres of his youth to the study of humane and diuine Lawes, that he came not so soone to the age of a man, as he had purchased to himselfe by reason of his singular learning, renowme and honour. When the noble men of France went to Ptolomais, vpon the counsell of Iohn Brenne king of Ierusalem, they resolued to besiege Damiata a city of Egypt, in the yeere 1218. And then Henry the king vpon the motion of Honorius the third, bishop of Rome, sent thither this earle Ranulph with a great power of armed souldiers, to further the enterprise of the Christians: whose valure in that warre (by the testimonie of Polidor Virgil) was marueilously commended of all men. After the end of which businesse, he being returned into his countrey, wrote a booke of the lawes of England. It is also reported that he wrote other books, but time the destroyer of many memorials, hath taken them from vs. He flourished in the yeere after the natiuity of Christ 1230, being very aged, and in the reigne of K. Henry the third.

The voyage of Petrus de Rupibus bishop of Winchester, to Ierusalem in the yere of grace 1231, and in the 15 of Henry the third.

ANno gratiæ 1231, mense verò Iulio, Petrus Wintoniensis episcopus, completo in terra sancta iam fere per quinquennium magnificè peregrinationis voto, reuersus est in Angliam, Kalendis Augusti; & Wintoniam veniens, susceptus est cum processione solenni in sua ecclesia cathedrali.

The same in English.

IN the yere of grace 1231, and in the moneth of Iuly, Peter bishop of Winchester hauing spent almost fiue whole yeres in fulfilling his vow of pilgrimage in the Holy land with great pompe, returned into England, about the Kalends of August, and coming vnto Winchester was receiued with solemne procession into his cathedrall church.

The honourable and prosperous voyage of Richard earle of Cornewall, brother to king Henry the third, accompanied with William Longespee earle of Sarisburie, and many other noble men into Syria.

IN the 24 yeere of king Henry the third, Richard earle of Cornwall the kings brother, with a nauy of ships sailed into Syria, where in the warres against the Saracens he greatly aduanced the part of the Christians. There went ouer with him the earle of Sarisburie, William Longspee, and William Basset, Iohn Beauchampe, Geoffrey de Lucie, Iohn Neuel, Geoffrey Beauchampe, Peter de Brense, and William Furniuall. 1240.

Simon Montfort earle of Leicester went ouer also the same time: but whereas the earle of Cornwall tooke the sea at Marseils, the earle of Leicester passed thorow Italy, and tooke shipping at Brindize in Apulia: and with him went these persons of name, Thomas de Furniual with his brother Gerard de Furniuall, Hugh Wake, Almerike de S. Aumond, Wiscard Ledet, Punchard de Dewin, and William de Dewin that were brethren, Gerard Pesmes, Fouke de Bangie, and Peter de Chauntenay.

Shortly after also Iohn earle of Albemarle, William Fortis, and Peter de Mallow a Poictouin, men for their valiancy greatly renowmed, went thither, leading with them a great number of Christian souldiors, Matth. Paris. Matth. West. Holensh. pag. 225. col. 2.

The comming of the Emperour of Constantinople called Baldwine into England in the yere 1247, out of Matth. Paris, & Holensh. pag. 239. vol. 2.

ABout the same time, Baldwine naming himselfe emperour of Constantinople, came againe into

into Englande, to procure some new ayd of the king towards the recouery of his empire, out of the which he was expelled by the Greeks.

‖ Or, Longsword.

The voyage of William ‖ Longespee Earle of Sarisburie into Asia, in the yeere 1248. and in the 32 yeere of the reigne of Henry the third, king of England.

LEwis the French king being recouered of his sickenesse which he fell into, in the yere 1234, vowed thereupon for a free will sacrifice to God, that he (if the Councell of his realme would suffer him) would in his owne person visit the Holy land: which matter was opened and debated in the Parliament of France held in the yeere 1247. Where at length it was concluded, that the king according to his vow should take his iourney into Asia, and the time thereof was also prefixed, which should be after the feast of S. Iohn Baptist the next yeere ensuing.

At which time William Longespee a worthie warrior, with the bishop of Worcester and certaine other great men in the Realme of England (mooued with the example of the Frenchmen) prepared themselues likewise to the same iourney.

It fell out in this enterprise, that about the beginning of October, the French king assaulted and tooke Damiata, being the principall fort or hold of the Saracens in all Egypt, Anno 1249. and hauing fortified the Citie with an able garrison left with the Duke of Burgundie, he remooued his tents from thence to goe Eastward. In whose armie followed William Longespee, accompanied with a piked number of English warriors retaining vnto him. But such was the disdaine of the Frenchmen against this William Longespee and the Englishmen that they could not abide them, but flouted them after an opprobrious maner with English tailes, insomuch that the French king himselfe had much adoe to keepe peace betweene them.

The originall cause of this grudge betweene them began thus. There was not farre from Alexandria in Egypt a strong fort or castle replenished with great Ladies and rich treasure of the Saracens: which hold it chanced the sayd William Longespee with his company of English soldiers to get, more by politique dexteritie then by open force of armes, wherwith he & his retinue were greatly enriched. When the Frenchmen had knowledge hereof (they not being made priuie hereto) began to conceiue an heart burning against the English souldiers, & could not speake well of them after that.

A fort won by the Englishmen.

It hapned againe not long after, that the sayd William had intelligence of a company of rich merchants among the Saracens going to a certaine Faire about the parts of Alexandria, hauing their camels, asses and mules, richly loden with silkes, precious iewels, spices, gold & siluer, with cart loades of other wares, beside victuall and other furniture, whereof the souldiers then stood in great need: he hauing secret knowledge hereof, gathered all the power of Englishmen vnto him that he could, and so by night falling vpon the merchants, some he slew with their guides and conducters, some hee tooke, some hee put to flight: the carts with the driuers, and with the oxen, camels, asses and mules, with the whole cariage and victuals he tooke & brought with him, loosing in all the skirmish but one souldier, and eight of his seruitors: of whom notwithstanding some he brought home wounded to be cured.

A rich bootie also gotten by the Englishmen.

This being knowen in the Campe, foorth came the Frenchmen which all this while loytered in their paulions, and meeting this cariage by the way, tooke all the foresayd praie whole to themselues, rating the said William and the Englishmen for aduenturing and issuing out of the Campe without leaue or knowledge of their Generall, contrary to the discipline of warre. William said againe he had done nothing but he would answere to it, whose purpose was to haue the spoyle deuided to the behoofe of the whole armie.

The iniurie of the Frenchmen to our English.

When this would not serue, hee being sore grieued in his minde so cowardly to be spoyled of that which he so aduenturously had trauailed for, went to the King to complaine: But when no reason nor complaint would serue by reason of the proude Earle of Artoys the Kings brother, which vpon spight and disdaine stood agaynst him, he bidding the King farewell, sayd hee would serue him no longer: and so William de Longespee with the rest of his company.

pany breaking from the French hoste went to Achon. Vpon whose departure the earle of Artoys sayd, Now is the army of French men well rid of these tailed people, which words spoken in great despight were ill taken of many good men that heard them. Will. Longspee lostly forsaketh ye French king.

But not long after, when the keeper of Cayro & Babylonia, bearing a good mind to the Christian religion, and being offended also with the Souldan, promised to deliuer the same to the French king, instructing him what course was best for him to take to accomplish it, the king hereupon in all haste sent for William Longespee, promising him a full redress of all his iniuries before receiued: who at the kings request came to him againe, and so ioyned with the French power.

After this, it happened that the French king passing with his armie towardes Cayro aforesayd, came to the great riuer Nilus, on the further part whereof the Soldan had pitched himselfe to withstand his comming ouer: there was at this time a Saracen lately conuerted to Christ, seruing the earle Robert the French kings brother, who told him of the absence of the Soldan from his tents, and of a shallow foord in the riuer where they might easily passe ouer. Whereupon the sayd earle Robert & the Master of the Temple with a great power, esteemed to the third part of the army issued ouer the riuer, after whom followed W. Longspee with his band of English souldiers. These being ioyned together on the other side of the water, encountred the same day with the Saracens remaining in the tents & put them to the worst. Which victory being gotten, the French earle surprised with pride and triumph, as though hee had conquered the whole earth, would needs forward, diuiding himselfe from the maine hoste, thinking to winne the spurres alone. To whom certain sage men of the Temple, giuing him contrary counsell, aduised him not to do so, but rather to returne and take their whole company with them, and so should they be more sure against all deceits and dangers, which might be layed priuily for them. The maner of that people (they sayd) they better knew, and had more experience thereof then he: alledging moreouer their wearied bodies, their tired horses, their famished souldiers, and the insufficiency also of their number, which was not able to withstand the multitude of the enemies, especially at this present brunt, in which the aduersaries did well see the whole state of their dominion now to consist either in winning all or losing all.

Which when the proud earle did heare, being inflated with no lesse arrogancy then ignorance, with opprobrious taunts reuiled them, calling them cowardly dastards, & betrayers of the whole countrey, obiecting vnto them the common report of many, which sayd, that the land of the holy crosse might soone be woon to Christendome, were it not for rebellious Templaries, with the Hospitalaries, and their followers.

To these contumelious rebukes, when the master of the Temple answered againe for him and his fellowes, bidding him display his ensigne when he would, and where he durst, they were as ready to follow him, as he to goe before them. Then began William de Longespe the worthy knight to speake, desiring the earle to giue eare to those men of experience, who had better knowledge of those countreyes and people then had he, commending also their counsell to be discreet and wholesome, and so turning to the master of the Temple, began with gentle wordes to mittigate him likewise. The knight had not halfe ended his talke, when the Earle taking his wordes out of his mouth, began to fume and sweare, crying out of those cowardly Englishmen with tailes: What a pure armie (sayde he) should we haue here, if these tailes and tailed people were purged from it, with other like words of villany, and much disdaine: whereunto the English knight answering againe, well, Earle Robert (said he) whersoeuer you dare set your foote, my step shall go as farre as yours, and (as I beleeue) we goe this day where you shall not dare to come neere the taile of my horse, as in deede in the euent it prooued true: for Earle Robert would needes set forward, weening to get all the glory to himselfe before the comming of the hoste, and first inuaded a litle village or castle, which was not farre off, called Mansor. The countrey Boores and Pagans in the villages, seeing the Christians comming, ranne out with such a maine cry and shout, that it came to the Soldans hearing, who was neerer then our men did thinke. In the meane time, the Christians inuading and entring into the munition incircumspectly, were pelted and pashed with stones The worthy answere of William Longspe to Earle Robert.

by

by them which stood aboue, whereby a great number of our men were lost, and the armie sore maymed, and almost in despaire.

Then immediatly vpon the same, commeth the Soldan with all his maine power, which seeing the Christian armie to be deuided, and the brother separated from the brother, had that which he long wished for, and so inclosing them round about, that none should escape, had with them a cruell fight.

Then the earle began to repent him of his heady rashnes, but it was too late, who then seeing William the English knight doughtily fighting in the chiefe brunt of the enemies, cried, vnto him most cowardly to flie, seeing God (saith he) doth fight against vs: To whom the Knight answering againe, God forbid (sayth he) that my fathers sonne should runne away from the face of a Saracene. The Earle then turning his horse, fled away, thinking to auoid by the swiftnes of his horse, and so taking the riuer Thafnis, oppressed with harnesse, was there sunken and drowned.

The cowardly flight of Earle Robert.

Thus the Earle being gone, the Frenchmen began to dispaire and scatter. Then William de Longespe bearing all the force of the enemies, stoode against them as long as he could, wounding and slaying many a Saracen, till at length his horse being killed, and his legges maymed, he could no longer stande, who yet notwithstanding as he was downe, mangled their feete and legges, and did the Saracens much sorrow, till at last after many blowes and wounds, being stoned of the Saracens, he yeelded his life. And after the death of him, the Saracens setting vpon the residue of the armie, whom they had compassed on euery side, deuoured and destroyed them all, insomuch that scarce one man remained aliue, sauing two Templaries, one Hospitaler, and one poore rascall souldier, which brought tidings hereof to the King.

The valiant ende of William Longespe.

And thus by the imprudent and foolish hardines of that French Earle, the Frenchmen were discomfited, and that valiant English Knight ouermatched, to the griefe of all Christian people, the glory of the Saracens, and the viter destruction and ruine of the whole French armie, as afterwards it appeared.

The Voyage of Prince Edward the sonne of king Henry the third into Asia, in the yeere 1270.

ABout the yeere of our Lord, 1267. Octobonus the Popes Legate being in England, prince Edward the sonne of king Henry, and diuers other Noble men of England tooke vpon them the crosse vpon S. Iohn Baptists day, by the sayd Legates hands at Northhampton, to the reliefe of the Holy land, and the subuersion of the enemies of the crosse of Christ. For which purpose, and for the better furnishing of the prince towards the iourney, there was granted him a subsidie throughout all the realme, and in the moneth of May, in the yeere of our Lord 1270. he began to set forward.

At Michaelmas following he with his company came to Eguemortes, which is from Marsilia eight leagues Westward, and there taking ship againe (hauing a mery and prosperous wind) within ten dayes arriued at Tunez, where he was with great ioy welcommed, and entertained of the Christian princes that there were to this purpose assembled, as of Philip the French King, whose father Lodouicus died a litle before, of Carolus the king of Sicilia, and the two kings of Nauarre and Arragon, and as this lord Edward came thither for his father the king of England, thither came also Henry the sonne of the king of Almaine for his father, who at his returne from the voyage was slaine in a chappell at Viterbium.

When prince Edward demanded of these kings and princes what was to be done, they answered him againe and sayd, the prince of this citie and the prouince adioyning to the same hath bene accustomed to pay tribute vnto the king of Sicily euery yere: and now for that the same hath bene for the space of seuen yeeres vnpaied and more, therefore we thought good to make inuasion vpon him. But the king knowing the same tribute to be but iustly demaunded, hath now according to our owne desire satisfied for the time past, and also paied his tribute before hand.

Then sayd he, My Lords, what is this to the purpose? are we not here all assembled, & haue taken vpon vs the Lords Character to fight against the infidels & enemies of Christ? What,

What meane you then to conclude a peace with them? God forbid we should do so, for now the land is plaine and hard, so that we may approch to ỹ holy city Ierusalē. Then said they, now haue we made a league with them, neither is it lawful for vs to breake the same. But let vs returne againe to Sicilia, and when the winter is past we may well take shipping to Acra. But this counsel nothing at all liked him, neither did he shew himselfe wel pleased therewith: but after hee had made them a princely banket, he went into his closet or priuy chamber from amongst them, neither would be partaker of any of that wicked money which they had taken. They notwithstanding continuing their purpose, at the next mery wind tooke shipping, and for want of ships left 200. of their men a shore, crying out, and pitiously lamenting for the peril and hazard of death that they were in: wherewith prince Edward being somewhat mooued to compassion, came backe againe to the land, and receiued and stowed them in his owne ships, being the last that went aboord.

Within seuen dayes after, they arriued in the kingdom of Sicilia, ouer agaynst the Citie Trapes, casting their ankers a league from thence within the sea, for that their shippes were of great burden, and throughly fraught: and from the hauen of the citie they sent out barges and boates to receiue and bring such of the Nobilitie to land as would, but their horses for the most part, and all their armour they kept still within boord.

At length towards the euening the sea began to be rough, & increased to a great tempest and a mightie: insomuch that their ships were beaten one against anothers sides, and drowned. There was of them at that tempest lying at anker more then 120. with all their armour and munition, with innumerable soules besides, and that wicked money also which they had taken before, lik wise perished, and was lost.

But the tempest hurt not so much as one ship of prince Edwards, who had in number 13. nor yet had one man lost thereby, for that (as it may be presupposed) he consented not to the wicked counsell of the rest.

When in the morning the princes and kings came to the sea side, and saw all their ships drowned, and saw their men and horses in great number cast vpon the land drowned, they had full heauie hearts, as well they might, for of all their ships and mariners, which were in number 1500. besides the common souldiers, there was no more saued then the mariners of one onely ship, and they in this wise.

There was in that ship a good & wise Matrone, a Countesse or an Erles wife, who perceiuing the tempest to grow, & fearing her selfe, called to her the M. of the ship, & asked him whether in attempting to the shoare it were not possible to saue thēselues: he answered, that to saue the ship it was impossible: howbeit the men that were therein by Gods helpe he doubted not. Then sayd the countesse, for the ship force no whit, saue the soules therein, and haue to thee double the value of the shippe: who immediatly hoising the sailes with all force, ran the shippe aground so neere the shore as was possible, so that with the vehemency of the weather & force he came withall, he brast the ship and saued all that was within the same, as he had shewed, and sayd before.

Then the kings and princes (altering their purpose after this so great a shipwracke) returned home againe euery one vnto their owne lands: onely Edward the sonne of the king of England, remained behinde with his men and ships, which the Lord had saued and preserued.

Then prince Edward renouating his purpose, tooke shipping againe, and within fifteene daies after Easter arriued he at Acra, and went aland, taking with him a thousand of the best souldiers and most expert, and taried there a whole moneth, refreshing both his men and horses, and that in this space he might learne and know the secrets of the land. After this he tooke with him sixe or seuen thousand souldiers, and marched forward twenty miles from Acra, and tooke Nazareth, and those that he found there he slew, and afterward returned againe to Acra. But their enemies following after them, thinking to haue set vpon them at some streit or other aduantage, were espied by the prince, and returning againe vpon them gaue a charge, and slew many of them, and the rest they put to flight.

The arriuall of prince Edward at Acra.

Nazareth taken by the prince.

After this, about Midsummer, when the prince had vnderstanding that the Saracens

A victorie against the Saracens, wherein 2000 of the were slaine.

began to gather at Cakow which was forty miles from Acra, he marching thither, set vpon them very earely in the morning, and slew of them more then a thousand, the rest he put to flight, and tooke rich spoiles, marching forward till they came to a castle named Castrum peregrinorum, situate vpon the sea coast, and taried there that night, and the next day they returned againe toward Acra.

In the meane season the king of Ierusalem sent vnto the noble men of Cyprus, desiring them to come with speed to ayd the Christians, but they would not come, saying they would keepe their owne land, and go no further. Then prince Edward sent vnto them, desiring that at his request they would come and ioyne in ayd with him: who immediatly thereupon came vnto him with great preparation & furniture for the warres, saying, that at his commandement they were bound to do no lesse, for that his predecessors were sometimes the gouernors of that their land, and that they ought alwayes to shew their fidelity to the kings of England.

The princes of Cypres acknowledge obedience to the kings of England.

Then the Christians being herewith animated, made a third voyage or road, and came as farre as the fort called Vincula sancti Petri, and to S. Georgius, and when they had slain certaine there, not finding any to make resistance against them, they retired againe from whence they came: when thus the fame of prince Edward grew amongst his enemies, and that they began to stand in doubt of him, they deuised among themselues how by some pollicy they might circumuent him, and betray him. Whereupon the prince and admirall of Ioppa sent vnto him, faining himselfe vnder great deceit willing to become a Christian, and that he would draw with him a great number besides, so that they might be honorably entertained and vsed of the Christians. This talke pleased the prince well, and perswaded him to finish the thing he had so well begun by writing againe, who also by the same messenger sent and wrote backe vnto him diuers times about the same matter, whereby no mistrust should spring.

This messenger (sayth mine author) was one ex caute nutritis, one of the stony hearted, that neither feared God nor dreaded death.

The fift time when this messenger came, and was of the princes seruants searched according to the maner and custome what weapon and armour he had about him, as also his purse, that not so much as a knife could be seene about him, he was had vp into the princes chamber, and after his reuerence done, he pulled out certaine letters, which he deliuered the prince from his lord, as he had done others before. This was about eight dayes after Whitsuntide, vpon a Tuesday, somewhat before night, at which time the prince was layed vpon his bed bare headed, in his ierkin, for the great heat and intemperature of the weather.

When the prince had read the letters, it appeared by them, that vpon the Saturday next following, his lord would be there ready to accomplish all that he had written and promised. The report of these newes by the prince to the standers by, liked them well, who drew somewhat backe to consult thereof amongst themselues. In the meane time, the messenger kneeling, and making his obeisance to the prince (questioning further with him) put his hand to his belt, as though he would haue pulled out some secret letters, and suddenly he pulled out an enuenomed knife, thinking to haue stroken the prince into the belly therewith as he lay: but the prince lifting vp his hand to defend the blow, was striken a great wound into the arme, and being about to fetch another stroke at him, the prince againe with his foot tooke him such a blow, that he feld him to the ground: with that the prince gate him by the hand, and with such violence wrasted the knife from him, that he hurt himselfe therewith on the forehead, and immediately thrust the same into the belly of the messenger and striker, and slew him.

Prince Edward vnaresonably wounded.

The princes seruants being in the next chamber not farre off, hearing the busling, came with great haste running in, and finding the messenger lying dead in the floore, one of them tooke vp a stoole, and beat out his braines: whereat the prince was wroth for that he stroke a dead man, and one that was killed before.

But the rumour of this accident, as it was strange, so it went soone thorowout all the Court, and from thence among the common people, for which they were very heauy, and greatly

greatly discouraged. To him came also the Captaine of the Temple, and brought him a costly and precious drinke against poison, least the venime of the knife should penetrate the liuely blood, and in blaming wise sayd vnto him: did I not tell your Grace before of the deceit and subtilty of this people? Notwithstanding, sayd he, let your Grace take a good heart, you shall not die of this wound, my life for yours. But straight way the Surgions and Physicians were sent for, and the prince was dressed, and within few dayes after, the wound began to putrifie, and the flesh to looke dead and blacke: wherupon they that were about the prince began to mutter among themselues, and were very sad and heauy.

Which thing he himself perceiuing, said vnto them: why mutter you thus among your selues? what see you in me, can I not be healed? tell me the trueth, be ye not afrayd. Whereupon one sayd vnto him, and it like your Grace you may be healed, we mistrust not, but yet it will be very painfull for you to suffer. May suffering (sayd he againe) restore health? yea sayth the other, on paine of losing my head. Then sayd the prince, I commit my selfe vnto you, doe with me what you thinke good.

Then sayd one of the Physicians, is there any of your Nobles in whom your Grace reposeth special trust? to whom the prince answered Yea, naming certeine of the Noble men that stood about him. Then sayd the Physician to the two, whom the prince first named, the Lord Edmund, and the lord Iohn Voisie, And doe you also faithfully loue your Lord and Prince? Who answered both, Yea vndoubtedly. Then sayth he, take you away this gentlewoman and lady (meaning his wife) and let her not see her lord and husband, till such time as I will you thereunto. Whereupon they tooke her from the princes presence, crying out, and wringing her hands. Then sayd they vnto her, Be you contented good Lady & Madame, it is better that one woman should weepe a little while, then that all the realme of England should weepe a great season.

This lord Edmond was the prince his brother.

Then on the morrow they cut out all the dead and inuenimed flesh out of the princes arme, and threw it from them, and sayd vnto him: how cheereth your Grace, we promise you within these fifteene dayes you shall shew your selfe abroad (if God permit) vpon your horseback, whole and well as euer you were. And according to the promise he made the prince, it came to passe, to the no little comfort and admiration of all his subiects.

When the great Souldan heard hereof, and that the prince was yet aliue, she could scarsely beleeue the same, and sending vnto him three of his Nobles and Princes, excused himselfe by them, calling his God to witnesse that the same was done neither by him nor his consent. Which princes and messengers standing aloofe off from the kings sonne, worshipping him, fell flat vpon the ground: you (sayd the prince) do reuerence me, but yet you loue me not. But they vnderstood him not, because he spake in English vnto them, speaking by an Interpreter: neuerthelesse he honourably entertained them, and sent them away in peace.

Thus when prince Edward had beene eighteene moneths in Acra, he tooke shipping about the Assumption of our Lady, as we call it, returning homeward, and after seuen weekes he arriued in Sicilia at Trapes, and from thence trauailed thorow the middes of Apulia, till he came to Rome, where he was of the Pope honorably entertained.

From thence he came into France, whose fame and noble prowesse was there much bruted among the common people, and enuied of the Nobility, especially of the earle of Chalons, who thought to haue intrapped him and his company, as may appeare in the story: but Prince Edward continued foorth his iourney to Paris, and was there of the French king honourably entertained: and after certaine dayes he went thence into Gascoine, where he taried till that he heard of the death of the king his father, at which time he came home, and was crowned king of Eugland, in the yere of our Lord 1274.

The trauaile of Robert Turneham.

RObertus Turneham Franciscanus, Theologiæ professor *insignis*, Lynnæ *celebri Irenorum* ad ripas Isidis emporio, collegio suorum fratrum magnificè præfuit. Edwardus Princeps, cognomento Longus, Henrici tertii filius, bellicam expeditionem contra Saracenos Assyriam in-

 colentes,

colentes, anno Dom. 1268. parabat. Ad quam profectionem quæsitus quoque Orator vehemens, qui plebis in causa religionis animos excitaret, Turnehamus principi visus vel dignissimus est, qui munus hoc obiret. Sic tanquam signifer constitutus Assyrios vna cum Anglico exercitu petijt, ac suum non sine laude præstitit officium. Claruit anno salutiferi partus, 1280. varia componens, sub eodem Edwardo eius nominis primo post Conquestum.

The same in English.

RObert Turneham Franciscan, a notable professor of Diuinitie, was with great dignitie Prior of the Colledge of his Order in the famous Mart Towne of Lynne, situate vpon the riuer of Isis in Norfolke. Prince Edward surnamed the Long, the sonne of Henrie the third, prepared his warlike voyage against the Saracens dwelling in Syria, in the yeere of our Lord, 1268. For the which expedition some carnest preacher was sought to stirre vp the peoples minds in the cause of religion. And this Turneham seemed to the Prince most worthy to performe that office: so that he being appointed as it were a standard bearer, went into Syria with the English army, and performed his duety with good commendation. He flourished in the yeere of Christ 1280. setting forth diuers workes vnder the same King Edward the first of that name after the Conquest.

The life of Syr Iohn Mandeuill Knight, written by Master Bale. Centur. 6.

IOannes Mandeuil, vir equestris ordinis, ex fano Albini oriundus, ita à teneris vt aiunt, vnguiculis literarum studijs assueuerat, vt in illis bonam fœlicitatis suæ partem poneret. Nam generis sui stemmata illustria, nulli vsui futura ducebat, nisi illa clariora doctis artibus redderet. Quare cum animum Euangelica lectione ritè instituisset, transtulit sua studia ad rem Medicam, artem imprimis liberali ingenio dignam. Sed inter alia, ingens quædam cupido videndi Africam, & Asiam, vastioris orbis partes, eius animum inuaserat. Comparato igitur amplo viatico, peregrè profectus est, anno à Christo nato, 1332. & domum tanquam alter Vlysses, post 34. annos rediens, à paucissimis quidem cognitus fuit. Interim Scythiam, Armeniam Maiorem & Minorem, Aegyptum, vtramque Lybiam, Arabiam, Syriam, Mediam, Mesopotamiam, Persiam, Chaldæam, Græciam, Illyrium, Tartariam, & alia spaciosi orbis regna, laborioso itinere visitauit. Denique linguarum cognitione præditus, ne tot ac tantarum rerum varietates & miracula quæ oculatus testis viderat, memoriæque mandauerat, obliuione premerentur, in tribus linguis, Anglica, Gallica, & Latina, graphicè scripsit Itinerarium 33. annorum. Reuersus in Angliam, ac visis sui seculi malis, vir pius dicebat, nostris temporibus iam verius quàm olim dici potest, virtus cessat, Ecclesia calcatur, Clerus errat, dæmon regnat, simonia dominatur, &c. Leodij tandem obijt, anno Domini 1372. die 17. Nouembris, apud Guilielmitas sepultus.

The same in English.

IOhn Mandeuil Knight, borne in the towne of S. Albons, was so well giuen to the studie of learning from his childhood, that he seemed to plant a good part of his felicitie in the same: for he supposed that the honour of his birth would nothing auaile him, except he could render the same more honourable by his knowledge in good letters. Hauing therefore well grounded himselfe in religion by reading the Scriptures, he applied his studies to the arte of Physicke, a profession worthy a noble wit: but amongst other things, he was rauished with a mightie desire to see the greater partes of the world, as Asia and Africa. Hauing therefore prouided all things necessarie for his iourney, he departed from his countrey in the yeere of Christ, 1332, and as another Ulysses returned home, after the space of 34. yeeres, and was then knowen to a very fewe. In the time of his trauaile he was in Scythia, the greater and lesse Armenia, Egypt, both Lybias, Arabia, Syria, Media, Mesopotamia, Persia, Chaldæa, Greece, Illyrium, Tartarie, and diuers other kingdomes of the world: and hauing gotten by this meanes the knowledge of the languages, least so many and great varieties, and things miraculous, whereof himselfe had bene an eie witnes, should perish in oblitiion, he committed his whole trauell of 33. yeeres to writing in three diuers tongues,

English,

English, French and Latine. Being arriued againe in England, and hauing seene the wickednes of that age, he gaue out this speach: In our time (sayd he) it may be spoken more truely then of olde, that vertue is gone, the Church is vnder foote, the Clergie is in errour, the deuill raigneth, and Simonie beareth the sway, &c.

He died at Leege, in the yeere 1372. the 17. day of Nouember, being there buried in the Abbie of the Order of the Guilielmites.

The Tombe and Epitaph of Sir Iohn Mandeuil, in the citie of Leege, spoken of by Ortelius, in his booke called Itinerarium Belgiæ, in this sort.

MAgna & populosa Leodij suburbia, ad collium radices, in quorum iugis multa sunt, & pulcherrima monasteria, inter quæ magnificum illud, ac nobile D. Laurentio dicatum, ab Raginardo Episcopo. Est in hac quoque regione, vel suburbijs Leodij, Guilielmitarum Cœnobium, in quo Epitaphium hoc Ioannis à Mandeuille, excepimus. Fol. 15, 16.

Hic iacet vir nobilis, D. Ioannes de Mandeuille, aliter dictus ad Barbam, Miles, Dominus de Campdi, natus de Anglia, Medicinæ professor, deuotissimus, orator, & pauperibus largissimus pauperibus erogator, qui toto quasi orbe lustrato, Leodij diem vitæ suæ clausit extremum. Anno Dom. 1371. Mensis Nouembris, Die 17. Epitaphium.

Hæc in lapide: in quo cælata viri armati imago, Leonem calcantis, barba bifurcata, ad caput manus benedicens, & vernacula hæc verba: Vos qui paseis sor mi, pour l'amour deix proies por mi. Clipeus erat vacuus, in quo olim fuisse dicebant laminam æream, & eius in ea itidem cælata insignia, Leonem videlicet argenteum, cui ad pectus lunula rubea in campo cæruleo, quem Limbus ambiret denticulatus ex auro. Eius nobis ostendebant, & cultros, ephipiáque, & calcaria quibus vsum fuisse asserebant, in peragrando toto ferè terrarum orbe, vt clariùs testatur eius Itinerarium, quod typis etiam excusum passim habetur.

Tabvla Præsentis Libri Ioannes Mandevil, singvla per ordinem capitula, & in eorum quolibet quid agitur, notificat euidenter.

Capvt. I.

COmmendatio breuis terræ Hierosolymitanæ.
2 Iter ab Anglia tam per terras quàm per aquas, vsque in Constantinopolim.
3 De vrbe Constantinopoli, & reliquijs ibidem contentis.
4 Via tam per terras quàm per aquas, à Constantinopoli vsque Acharon, vel Acon.
5 Via à Francia & Flandria, per solas terras vsque in Hierusalem.
6 Via de Cypro vel de Hierusalem, vsque in Babyloniam Egypti.
7 De Pallatio Soldani, & nominibus præteritorum Soldanorum.
8 De Campo Balsami in Egypto.
9 De Nilo fluuio, & Egypti territorio.
10 De conductu Soldani.
11 De Monasterio Sinay.
12 Iter per desertum Sinay, vsque in Iudeam.
13 De ciuitate Bethleem, & semita, vsque in Ierusalem.
14 De Ecclesia gloriosi sepulchri Domini in vrbe Ierusalem.
15 De tribus alijs Ecclesiis, & specialiter de Templo Domini.
16 De pluribus locis sacris extra vrbem.
17 De sacris locis extra muros ciuitatis.
18 De alijs locis notabilibus.
19 De Nazareth & Samaria.
20 De Territorio Galileæ & Samariæ.
21 De secta detestabili Sarracenorum.
22 De vita Mahometi.
23 De colloquio Authoris cum Soldano.
24 Per suasio ad non credentes terrarum diuersitates per orbem terræ.
25 De Armenia, & Persia.
26 De Ethiopia & diamantibus, ac de infima & media India.
27 De foresto piperis.
28 De Ecclesia beati Thomæ Apostoli.
29 De quibusdam meridionalibus insulis, & farina & melle.
30 De Regno Cynocephalorum, & alijs Insulis.
31 De multis alijs insulis Meridionalibus.
32 De bona regione Mangi.
33 De Pygmeis, & itinere vsq; prouinciã Cathay.

34 De

34 De pallacio Imperatoris magni Chan.
35 De quatuor solemnitatibus, quas magnus Chan celebrat in Anno.
36 De præstigijs in festo, & de comitatu Imperatoris.
37 Qua de causa dicitur magnus Chan.
38 De territorio Cathay, & moribus Tartarorum.
39 De sepultura Imperatoris magni Chan, & de creatione successoris.
40 De multis regionibus Imperio Tartariæ subiectis.
41 De magnificentia Imperatoris Indiæ.
42 De frequentia Palatij, & comitatu Imperatoris presbiteri Ioannis.
43 De quibusdam miris per Regiones Imperij Indiæ.
44 De loco & dispositione Vallis infaustæ.
45 De quibusdam alijs admirandis, per Indorum insulas.
46 De periculis & tormentis in valle infausta.
47 De Bragmannorum insulis, & aliorum.
48 Aliquid de loco Paradisi terrestris per auditum.
49 In reuertendo de Regnis Cassam, & Riboth, de Diuite Epulone, vel consimili.
50 De compositione huius tractatus in Ciuitate Leodiensi.

Liber Præsens, Cvivs Avthor est Ioannes Mandevill militaris ordinis, agit de diuersis patrijs, Regionibus, Prouincijs, & insulis, Turcia, Armenia maiore & minore, Ægypto, Lybia bassa & alta, Syria, Arabia, Persia, Chaldæa, Tartaria, India, & de infinitis insulis, Ciuitatibus, villis, castris, & locis, quæ gentes, legum, morum, ac rituum inhabitant diuersorum.

Dedicatio Libri.

PRincipi excellentissimo, præ cunctis mortalibus præcipuè venerando, Domino Edwardo eius nominis tertio, diuina prouidentia, Francorum & Anglorum Regi Serenissimo, Hiberniæ Domino, Aquitaniæ Duci, mari ac eius insulis occidentalibus dominanti, Christianorum encomio & ornatui, vniuersorumque arma gerentium Tutori, ac Probitatis & strenuitatis exemplo, principi quoque inuicto, mirabilis Alexandri Sequaci, ac vniuerso orbi tremêdo, cum reuerentia non qua decet, cum ad talem, & tantam reuerentiam minùs sufficientes extiterint, sed qua paruitas, & possibilitas mittentis ac offerentis se extendunt, contenta tradantur.

Pars prima, continens Capita 23.

Capvt. I.

Commendatio breuis terræ Hierosolimitanæ.

CVm terra Hierosolimitana, terra promissionis filiorũ Dei, dignior cũctis mundi terris sit habẽda multis ex causis, & præcipuè illâ, quod Deus conditor cœli & mundi, ipsam tanti dignatus fuit æstimare, vt in eo proprium filium saluatorem mundi, Christum exhiberit generi humano per incarnationem ex intemerata Virgine, & per eius conuersationem humillimâ in eadem, ac per dolorosam mortis suæ consummationem ibidem, átque indè per eius admirandam resurrectionem, ac ascensionem in cœlum, & postremò quia creditur illic in fine seculi reuersurus, & omnia iudicaturus: certum est, quòd ab omnibus qui Christiano nomine à Christo dicuntur, sit tanquam à suis proprijs hæredibus diligenda, & pro cuiúsque potestate ac modulo honoranda. A principibus quidem, & potentibus vt ipsam conentur de infidelium manibus recuperare, qui eam iam pridem à nobis, nostris exigentibus meritis, abstulerunt, & per annos heu plurimos possederunt: a mediocribus autem & valentibus, vt per peregrinationem deuotam loca tam pia, & vestigia Christi ac discipulorum tam Sancta, principaliter in remissionem visitent delictorum. Ab impotentibus verò, & impeditis, quatenus supradictos vel hortentur, vel in aliquo modo iuuent, seu certè fideles fundant orationes. Verum quia iam nostris temporibus verius quàm olim dici potest,

Loquitur secundum tempora in quibus vixit.

Virtus, Ecclesia, Clerus, dæmon, symonia,
Cessât, calcatur, errat, regnat, dominatur,

ecce

ecce iusto Dei iudicio, credita est terra tam inclyta, & sacrosancta impiorum manibus Saracenorũ, quòd non est absq; dolore pijs mentibus audiendum, & recolendum. EGO Ioannes Mandeuill militaris ordinis saltem gerens nomen, natus & educatus in terra Angliæ, in villa sancti Albani, ducebar in Adolescentia mea tali inspiratione, vt quamuis non per potentiam, nec per vires proprias possem præfatam terram suis hæredibus recuperare, irem tamen per aliquod temporis spacium peregrinari ibidem, & salutarem aliquantulum de propinquo. Vnde in anno ab Incarnatione Domini 1322. imposui me nauigationi Marsiliensis maris & vsque in hoc temporis, Anni 1355. scilicet, per 33. annos in transmarinis partibus mansi, peregrinatus sum, ambulaui, & circuiui multas, ac diuersas patrias, regiones, prouincias, & insulas, Turciam, Armeniam maiorem, & minorem, Ægyptum, Lybiam bassam & altam, Syriam, Arabiam, Persiam, Chaldeam, Æthiopiæ partem magnam, Tartariam, Amazoniã, Indiam minorem, & mediam, ac partem magnam de maiori, & in istis, & circum istas regiones, multas insulas, Ciuitates, vrbes, castra, villas, & loca, vbi habitant variæ gentes, aspectuum, morum, legum, ac rituum diuersorum: Attamen quia summo desiderio in terra promissionis eram, ipsam diligentius per loca vestigiorum filij Dei perlustrare curaui, & diutius in illa steti. Quapropter & in hac prima parte huius operis iter tam peregrinandi, quam nauigandi, à partibus Angliæ ad ipsam describo, & loca notabiliter sancta, quæ intra eandem sunt breuiter cõmemoro & diligenter, quatenus peregrinis tam in itinere quam in prosentione valeat hæc descriptio in aliquo deseruire.

Ioannis Mandeuilli peregrinatio, per tres & triginta annos continuata.

CAPVT. 2.

Iter ab Anglia tam per terras quam per aquas vsq; in Constantinopolim.

QVi de Hybernia, Anglia, Scotia, Noruegia, aut Gallia iter arripit ad partes Hierosolymitanas potest saltem vsq; ad Imperialem Græciæ Ciuitatem Cõstantinopolim eligere sibi modum proficiscendi, siue per terras, siue per aquas. Et si peregrinando eligit transigere viam, tendat per Coloniam Agrippinam, & sic per Almaniam in Hungariam ad Montlusant Ciuitatem, sedem Regni Hungariæ. Et est Rex Hungariæ multum potẽs istis temporibus. Nam tenet & Sclauoniam, & magnam partem Regni Comannorum, & Hungariam, & partem Regni Russiæ. Oportet vt peregrinus in finibus Hungariæ transeat magnum Danubij flumen, & vadat in Belgradum; Hoc flumen oritur inter Montana Almaniæ, & currens versus Orientem, recipit in se 40. flumina, antequam finiatur in mare. De Belgrade intratur terra Bulgariæ, & transitur per Pontem petrinum fluuij Marroy, & per terram Pyncenarꝝ, & tunc intratur Græcia, in Ciuitates, Sternes, Asmopape, & Andrinopolis, & sic in Constantinopolim, vbi communiter est sedes Imperatoris Græciæ. Qui autem viam eligit per aquas versus Constantinopolim nauigare, accipiat sibi portum, prout voluerit, propinquum siue remotum, Marsiliæ, Pisi, Ianuæ, Venetijs, Romæ, Neapoli, vel alibi: sicque transeat Tusciam, Campaniam, Italiam, Corsicam, Sardiniam, vsque in Siciliam, quæ diuiditur ab Italia per brachium maris non magnum. In Sicilia est mons Ætna iugiter ardens, quibidem appellatur Mons Gibelle, & præter illum habentur ibi loca Golthan vbi sunt septem leucæ quasi semper ignem spirantes: secundum diuersitatem colorum harum flammarum estimant Incolæ annum fertilem fore, vel sterilem, siccum vel humidum, calidum, vel frigidum: hæc loca vocant caminos Infernales, & à finibus Italiæ vsque ad ista loca sunt 25. miliaria. Sunt autem in Sicilia aliqua Pomeria in quibus inueniuntur frondes, flores, & fructus per totum annum, etiam in profunda hyeme. Regnum Siciliæ est bona, & grandis insula habens in circuitu ferè leucas 300. Et ne quis erret, vel de facili reprehendat quoties scribo leucam, intelligendum est de leucа Lombardica, quæ aliquantò maior est Geometrica; & quoties pono numerum, sub intelligatur fere, vel circiter, siue citra, & dietam intendo ponere, de 10. Lombardicis leucis: Geometrica autem leuca describitur, vt notum est, per hos versus.

Regis Hungariæ olim potentia.

Mons Ætna.

Æolides insulæ.

Temperies Siciliæ Insulæ.

Leuca Lombardica. Quid sit dicta.

Quinq; pedes passum faciunt, passus quoq; centum
Viginti quinque stadium, si millia des que
Octo facis stadia, duplicatum dat tibi leuca.

Post-

Postquam magnus peregrinus se credidit Deo & mari, si prospera sibi fuerit nauigatio, non ascendet in terram, donec intret aliquem portum Græciæ, scilicet, Myrroyt, Valonæ, Durase, siue alium prout Diuinæ placuerit voluntati, & exhinc ibit Constantinopolim prædictam, quæ olim Bysantium, vel Vesaton dicebatur. Hic autem notãdum est, quòd a portu Venetie, vsq; ad Cõstantinopolim directè per mare octingentæ leucæ, & 80. communiter computantur ibi contentæ.

Portus Græciæ.

Capvt. 3.

De vrbe Constantinopoli, & reliquijs ibidem contentis.

COnstantinopolis pulchra est Ciuitas, & nobilis, triangularis in forma, firmitérque murata, cuius duæ partes includũtur mari Hellesponto, quèd plurimi modò appellant brachium sancti Georgij, & aliqui Buke, Troia vetus. Versus locum vbi hoc brachium exit de mari est lata terræ planities, in quâ antiquitus stetit Troia Ciuitas de qua apud Poetas mira leguntur, sed nunc valdè modica apparent vestigia Ciuitatis. In Constantinopoli habentur multa mirabilia, ac insuper multæ sanctorum venerandæ relliquæi, ac super omnia, preciosissima Crux Christi, seu maior pars illius, & tunica inconsutilis, cum spongia & arundine, & vnò clauorum, & dimidia parte coronæ spineæ, cuius altera medietas seruatur in Capella Regis Franciæ, Parisijs. Nam & ego indignus diligenter pluribus vicibus respexi partem vtrámque: dabatur quóque mihi de illa Parisijs vnica spina, quam vsque nunc preciose conseruo, & est ipsa spina non lignea sed velut de iuncis marinis rigida, & pũgitiua. Ecclesia Cõstantinopolitana in honorem sanctæ Sophiæ, id est, ineffabilis Dei sapientiæ dedicata dicitur, & nobilissima vniuersarum mundi Ecclesiarum, tam in schemate artificiosi operis, quàm in seruatis ibi sacrosanctis Relliquijs: nam & continet corpus sanctæ Annæ matris nostræ Dominæ translatum illuc per Reginam Helenam ab Hierosolymis: & corpus S. Lucæ Euangelistæ translatum de Bethania Iudeæ; Et Corpus beati Ioannis Chrysostomi ipsius Ciuitatis Episcopi, cum multis alijs reliquijs preciosis; quoniam est ibi vas grande cum huiusmodi reliquijs velut marmoreum de Petra Enhydros; quod iugiter de seipso desudans aquam, semel in anno inuenitur suo sudore repletum. Ante hanc Ecclesiam, super columnam marmoream habetur de ære aurato opere fusorio, magna imago Iustiniani quondam Imperatoris super equum sedentis: fuit autem primitus in manu imaginis fabricata sphæra rotunda, quæ iam diu è manu sua sibi cecidit, in signum quòd Imperator multarum terrarum dominium perdidit. Námque solebat esse Dominus, Romanorum, Græcorum, Asiæ, Syriæ, Iudeæ, Ægypti, Arabiæ, & Persiæ, at nunc solum retinet Greciam, cum aliquibus terris Greciæ adiacentibus, sicut Calistrum, Cholchos, Ortigo, Tylbriam, Minos, Flexon, Melos, Carpates, Lemnon, Thraciam, & Macedoniam totam: Sántq; sub eo Caypoplij, & alti Pyntenardi, ac maxima pars Communorum. Porrò imago tenet manum eleuatam & extentãm in orientem, velut in signum cominationis ad Orientales infideles. De prædicta terra Thraciæ fuit Philosophus Aristoteles oriundus in Ciuitate Stageres, & est ibi in loco tumba eius velut altare, vbi & singulis annis certo die celebratur à populo festum illius, ac si fuisset sanctus. Temporibus ergò magnorum consiliorum conueniunt illuc sapientes terræ, reputantes sibi per inspirationem immitti consilium optimum de agendis. Item ad diuisionem Thraciæ & Macedoniæ sunt duo mirabiliter alti montes, vnus Olympus, alter Athos, cuius vltimi vmbra oriente sole apparet ad 76. miliaria, vsque in insulam Lemnon. In horum cacumine montium ventus non currit, nec aer mouetur, quod frequentèr probatum est per ingenium Astronomorum, qui quandóque ascendentes scripserunt literas in puluere, quas sequenti anno inuenerunt quasi recentèr scriptas, & quia est ibi purus aer sine mixtione elementi aquæ, necesse est vt ascendentes habeant secum spongias aquæ plenas pro anhelitus respiratione: In prædicta autem sanctæ sophiæ Ecclesia, (sicut ibidem dicitur,) voluit olim quidam Imperator corpus cuiusdam sui defuncti sepelire cognati: cuius cum foderetur sepulchrum, ventum est ad mausoleum antiquum in quo, super incineratum corpus iacebat discus auri puri, & erat sculptum in eo literis Græcis, Hebraicis, & Latinis sic. Iesus Christus nascetur de Virgine, & ego credo in eum. Et erat simul inscripta data defuncti secundùm modum

Ecclesia sanctæ Sophiæ.

Regina Helena Britannia.

Imago Iustiniani.

illius

illius temporis, quæ continebat duo millia annorum ante incarnationem ipsius Christi de Maria Virgine. Seruatur quóque hodierno tempore eadem patina in Thesaurario eiusdem Ecclesiæ, & dicitur illud corpus fuisse Hermetis sapientis. Omnes quidem, terrarum, regionum, & insularum homines, qui isti Greco obediunt Imperatori sunt Christiani, & baptizati, tamen variant singuli in aliquo articulo fidem suam a nostra vera fide Catholica, & diuersificant in multis suos ritus à ritibus Romanæ Ecclesiæ, quia iamdiu omiserunt obedire Pontifici Romano, dicentes, quoniam beatus Petrus Apostolus habuit sedem in Antiochia, quamuis passus fuit in Roma: Idcirco patriarcha Antiochenus habet in illis Orientalibus partibus similem potestatem, quàm Pontifex Romanus in istis Occidentalibus. Imperator etiam Constantinopolitanus creat eorum patriarcham, & instituit pro sua voluntate Archiepiscopos, & Episcopos, & confert dignitates, & beneficia, similiter inuenta occasione destituit, deponit, & priuat. Patriarchæ Antiocheni authoritas.

Capvt. 4.

Via tam per terras quam per aquas à Constantinopoli vsque Acharon. * Vel Achon.

A Constantinopoli qui voluerit ire pedes, transibit statim nauigio Brachium Sancti Georgij iod satis est strictum, ibique ad Ruphinal quod est forte castrum, inde ad Puluereal, & hinc ad castrū Synopolū. Ex tunc intrat Cappadociam, terram latam sed plenam altis montibus, deinde Turciam ad portum Theueron, & ad Ciuitatem ita dictam, nunc munitam firmis turribus, ac muris, per quam transit fluuius Reglay. Postea transitur sub Alpibus Noyremont, & per valles de Mallenbriuis in districto Rupium, ac per villam Doronarum, & alias villas adiacentes fluuijs Reglay, & Granconiæ, sícque peruenitur ad Antiochiam minorem super Reglay, quæ vocatur nobilior Ciuitas Syriæ: Notandum autem quòd Regnum olim dictum Syria, modò communiter vocatur Suria. Ista verò Antiochia, est magna, pulchra, ac firma, licet quandóque maior, pulchrior, ac fírmior fuerit. Tunc autem transitur per Ciuitates Laonsam, Gibellam, Tortusiam, Toruplam, & Berythum super mare vbi sanctus Georgius fertur occidisse Draconem. Hinc pergitur in Ciuitatem nunc dictam Acon, quondam Ptolomaidem, antiquitùs Acharon, quæ tempore quo eam vltimò Christiani tenebant circa annū incarnationis Domini 1280. erat Ciuitas valdè fortis, sed modò apparent eius magnæ ruinæ. Porrò a Constantinopoli poterit peregrinus faciliùs versus Hierosolymorū partes per mare nauigare quā per terras peregrinare prædictas, si deus illi propitius fuerit, & mare fidē cōseruauerit. Qui ergò a Cōstantinopoli iter trāsire nauigando disponit, tendat ad Ciuitatem Myrnam vbi nunc ossa Sancti Nicholai venerantur, & sic procedendo per multa maritima loca veniet ad Insulam Sio vbi crescit gummi mastix lucidum: Inde ad Insulam Pathmos Sancti Ioannis Euangelistæ, & ad Ephesum vbi idem noscitur sepultus: hanc totam minorem Asiam tenent nunc pessimi Turci, & eam appellant minorem Turciam. Post Ephesum nauigatur per plures Insulas vsq; Pateram Ciuitatem, vndè oriundus fuit beatus Nicholaus, ac per Myrrheam vbi stetit Ephesus, vbi nascuntur fortia vina valdè, deinde ad Insulam Cretæ, hinc Coos postea Lango, vndè Hypocrates Medicus dicitur natus: tuncq; ad grandem Insulam Rhodum; & sciendū quod a Constantinopoli vsq; Rhodū, per mare dicuntur ducētæ octuaginta leucæ. Hanc insulam totam tenent, & gubernant Christiani Hospitalarij nunc tēporis, quæ quondam Colosse dicebatur: nam & multi Saracenorum adhuc eam sic appellant, vnde & Epistola, quam beatus Paulus ad habitatores huius Insulæ scripsit, intitulabatur ad Colossenses. Ab hoc loco nauigando in Cyprum, aspicitur absorptio Ciuitatis Sathaliæ, quæ sicut olim Sodoma dicitur perijsse, propter vnicum crimen contra naturam a quodam luuene petulante commissum. Sciendum quod a Rhodo ad Cyprum feruntur plenè quingentæ quinquaginta leucæ: Cyprus magna, & pulchra est Insula habens Archiepiscopatū, cum quinque Episcopatibus suffraganeis: Illuc Famogosta, est vnus de principalibus portibus mundi, in quo ferè omnium mercatores conueniunt nationum, tam Christianorum, quam multorum Paganorum, & similiter apud portum Limechon. Est ibi & Abbatia ordinis sancti Benedicti, in monte sanctæ Crucis, vbi dicitur saluati latronis seruari crux, qui in eadem cruce audiuit à Christo, Hodiè mecum eris in Paradiso. Corpus etiam sancti Hylarionis seruatur ibi in castro Damers quod Rex Antiochia. * Vel Smyrnam. Sio. Rhodus Insula. Cyprus Insula.

Fortis Cypri vina.

Cypri facit diligentissimè custodiri: Vltrà modum fortia vina nascuntur in Cypro, quæ primo rubra, post annum albescunt, & quo vetustiora, eo albiora, ac magis odorifera, ac fortia efficiuntur. Vlteriùs paucissimæ villæ, aut Ciuitates sunt Christianorum, sed ferè omnia Saraceni possident infideles: et proh dolor, ab Anno 1200. incarnationis Domini aut circà, pacificè tenuerunt. Qui autem a Cypro prospere legit spacia maris, poterit in duobus naturalibus diebus peruenire in portum Ioppæ, qui Iaffe nunc nuncupatur, & proximus est a Ierusalem, distans 16. tantum leucas, hoc est dicta cum dimidia. Et sciendum quod circa medium, inter Cyprum, & Iaffe est portus Tyri quondam munitissimæ Ciuitatis, hanc dum vltimo Saraceni à Christianis ceperunt turpissimè destruxerunt, custodientes iam curiosè portum, timore Christianorum. Iste portus non vocatur modò Tyrus, sed Sur. Nam & ab illa parte est ibi introitus terræ Suriæ. Ante istam Ciuitatem Tyrum habetur quidam lapis, super quem dominus noster Iesus Christus sedendo suis discipulis vel populis prædicauit. Vnde, & Christiani olim super hoc locum construxerunt Ecclesiam in nomine Saluatoris. Peregrinus vero qui ab hoc loco vult peregrinari, morosè sciat, quod ad octo leucas à Tyro in orientem est Sareptana Sydoniorum, vbi olim Elias Propheta filium viduæ suscitauit a morte. Itemq; sciat, quod a Tyro in vnica dieta pergere potest in Achon, siue Acharon supra scripta. Circa Acon versùs mare, ad 120. stadia, quorum 16. leucam constituunt, est mons Carmeli, vbi morabatur præfatus Elias, & super alium montem Villa Saffra vbi sanctus Iacobus, & Ioannes germani Apostoli nascebantur, & in quorum natiuitatis loco pulchra habetur Ecclesia. Item propè Acon ad ripam dictam Beleon, est fossa multum vtilis, & mirabilis quæ dicitur fossa Meunon, hæc est rotunda circumferentia, cuius diameter continet prope 100. cubitos, plena alba & resplendente arena, & munda ex qua conficitur mundum & perlucidum vitrum. Pro hac arena venitur per aquas, & per terras, & exportatur manibus & vehiculis propè & procul, & quantumcunque de die exhauritur, repleta manè altero reperitur: Et est in fossa ventus grandis & iugis, qui mirabiliter arenam commouere videtur. Si quis autem vitrum de hac arena factum in fossa reponeret, conuerteretur iterum in arenam, & qui imponeret frustum metalli, verteretur in vitrum: nonnulli reputant hanc fossam esse spiraculum maris arenosi, de quo mari aliquid loeuturussum in sequentibus. Ab Acon via versus Ierusalem bifurcatur: nam qui tenet vnum latus potest ire secus Iordanem fluuium, in Ciuitatem Damascum, qui verò aliud, ibit in tribus aut quatuor dietis Gazam, de qua olim fortis Samson asportauit nocte fores portarum: deinde in Cæsaream Philippi, & Ascalonem, & Ioppam portum supradictum, Hincque in Rama, & Castellum Emaus, & sic in Ierusalem vrbem sacrosanctam.

Ioppe, vel Iaffe.

Portus Tyri, aliàs Sur.

Achon, olim Acharon. Mons Carmeli.

Fossa Beleon.

Capvt. 5.

Via à Francia aut Flandria per solas terras vsque Ierusalem.

ITineribus, quæ per terras, & per mare a nostris partibus ducunt in terram promissionis descriptis, restat breuiter dicendum de alia via, per quam omnino mare transeundum non est, videlicet per Almaniam, per Bohemiam, per Prussiam, & hinc per terram Paganorum regni Lituaniæ, & sic per longam, & pessimam terram primæ Tartariæ vsque in Indiam: Dico autem Tartariæ primæ, quoniam de hac exijt primus Imperator totius Tartariæ, qui semper vocatur Grand Can, quo vix maiorem mundus habet terrenum Dominum, excepto Imperatore superioris Indiæ, de quibus in secunda & tertia huius tractatus partibus, aliquanto est diffusius narrandum. Cuncti principes huius primæ Tartariæ, quorum summus semper vocatur Bachu, & moratur in Ciuitate Herda, reddunt Imperatori Grand Can, magna tributa. Est autem hæc prima Tartaria terra misera & sabulosa, & infructuosa: hoc enim scio, quòd per aliquod tempus steti in ea, & perambulaui Insulas, regiones, & terras circumiacentes, scilicet, Russiæ, Inflau, Craco, Latton, Restau, & alias nonnullas: crescunt námque in ista Tartaria modica blada, pauca vina, & fructuum, ac frugum parua copia, exceptis herbis pro pastu Bestiarum, quarum ibi est abundantia: nam carnibus illarum vescuntur pro omnibus cibarijs, ius earum sorbentes, & pro potu bibentes lac de omni genere bestiarum. Quin etiam pauperiores manducant canes, lupos, catos, ratos, talpas, ac mures, ac huiusmodi bestiolas omnes: sed nec aliquis Princeps aut prælatus comedit vltra semel in die, & hoc parcè, vel parcissimè: & sunt homines valdè immundi, quia non nisi benè diuites vtuntur mappis, linteaminibus

Fortis Cypri vina.

Horda est multitudo viuens in agris.

aminibus, aut lineis indumentis: sed nec habent copiam lignorum, vnde & fimum boum, ac omnium bestiarum desiccatum ad solem accipiunt pro ignis materia, vbi sibi alefaciunt, & coquendo coquunt. Aestiuo tempore, cadunt ibi frequenter tempestates toniţruorum, fulminū, & grandinum, quibus domus, arbores, bestiæ, & homines, comburuntur, euelluntur, & occiduntur. Nam & quandoque subrepentè oritur ibi calor immoderatus, & improuiso frigus immoderatum. Deníque cum terra illa, se multum inclinet ad polum Septentrionalem, fortius ibi gelare solet, & frequentius, ac diutius quàm ad partes nostras, vnde & quasi omnes habent ibi stupas, in quibus manducant, & operantur. Nec valet à nostris partibus ingredi ad illam nisi tempore gelicidij, quod ad introitum eius sunt tres dietæ, de via molli, aquatica, & profunda, in qua dum viator putaret se stare securum, profunderetur in lutum ad tibias, ad genua, ad femora vel ad renes: hoc ergo sciendum quòd paucissimi tendunt per hanc viam in terram promissionis: Nam iter est graue, distortum, longum, & periculosum sicut audistis, imò periculosius quàm scribo.

Mores Tartarorum.

Hyeme præcipue iter fiunt per terram.

CAPVT. 6.

Via de Cypro vel Ierusalem vsque in Babyloniam Ægypti.

DEscripto sicut potui tripliciter itinere in terram sanctam, restat videre de duabus alijs vijs, quæ incidenter solent contingere peregrinis: Multi námque illorum ex speciali deuotione desiderant visitare ossa beatissimæ Virginis Catharinæ in monte Sinay: Cum igitur ipsis sit necessarius Soldani Babyloniæ conductus eo quod Imperator sit, & dominus omnium illarum terrarum, quidam postquam peruenium in Cyprū tendunt primò in Babyloniam Ægypti, pro impetrando conductu securo, átque indè pergentes in Sinay vadunt in Ierusalem. Quidam verò postquam perfecerunt peregrinationem Hierosolymitanam, pergunt per terras ad Soldanum pro conductu, & tum in Sinay, propter quòd vtramque viam breuiter describo. De Cypro in Ægyptum itur per mare relinquendo Hierosolymorum terram ad manum sinistram, & accipitur primus portus Ægypti, dictus Damiata: ibi quondam fuit Ciuitas valdè munita, sed quod Christiani illam, primi & altera vice ceperunt, Sarraceni vltimò destruxerunt, & aliam remotius à mari eiusdem nominis Ciuitatem ædificauerunt: Hinc venitur in portum Alexandriæ Ægypti, quæ est Ciuitas magna, pulchra, & fortis valde, sed ábsq; aquis potabilibus. Adducit tamen sibi per longos ductus aquam Nili fluminis in cisternis ad potandum. Alexandria nobilis 30. stadia habet longitudinis decémque in latum. In ea restant adhuc plures Ecclesiæ à tempore Christianorum, sed Sarraceni non sustinentes picturas Sanctorum omnes parietes albauerunt. De Alexandria per terras venitur in Babyloniam Ægypti, quæ etiã fundata iacet supra prædictum Nilum fluuium: Dicitur autem Hæc Babylonia minor ad differentiam magnæ Babyloniæ, siue Babel, vbi Deus linguas confudit olim, quæ tendendo inter Orientem & Septentrionem distat ab ista dietas circiter 40. nec est sub potestate Soldani, sed Imperatoris Persarum, qui illam tenet in homagio ab Imperatore Cathay, dicto, Grand Can. Hæc autem Babylonia Ægypti est Ciuitas grãdis & fortis, tamen valdè prope eam est alia maior dicta Cayr, in qua vt sæpiùs residet Soldanus, quanquam Babylonia nomen per seculum diffusius est cognitum. Altera autem via peregrinorum de Hierosolymis pro conductu tendentium ad Soldanum talis esse potest. Primò tendant de Ierusalem in suprà dictam Gazam Palestinorum, inde ad Castellum Dayre, átque ex tunc exitur de terra Syriæ, & intratur à superiori parte in desertum longum arenosum, & sterile, propè ad septem dietas, quod lingua eorum vocatur Abilech: tamen per illud inueniantur plura hospitia, vbi haberi possunt ad victum necessaria. Et qui in eundo rectum iter tenet, veniet in Ciuitatem dictam, Balbes, quæ est ad finem Regni Halapiæ: Síceque expleto Deserto, intratur terra Ægypti, quam ipsi Canopat vocant, & aliqui Mersur, átque ex tunc in Babyloniam, & Cayr præfatam: In ista verò Babylonia habetur pulchra Ecclesia Mariæ virginis, in loco vbi morabatur cum filio suo, & Ioseph tempore suæ fugæ, & creditur ibi contineri corpus Virginis Barbaræ.

Babylonia Ægypti.

Damiata portus Ægypti.

Alexandria.

Cayr ciuitas.

Abilech desertum.

Capvt. 7.

De Pallatio Soldani, ac numero, & nominibus præteritorum Soldanorum.

CAyr ciuitas Imperialis & Regalis est valdè munita, & grandis, decorata sede propria Sarracenorum Regni, vbi dominus eorum Soldanus cõmuniter residere solet, in suo Calahelick, id est, castro forti, & lato, ac in euecta rupe *statuto*. Siquidem Soldanus eorum lingua sonat nomen similis maiestatis, quo nos in Latino dicimus Cæsarem, aut Imperatorem. Pro custodia huius Castri sunt ibidem omni tempore morantes sex millia personarũ, & pro seruiendo, dum ibi residet, ipsi Soldano, qui omnes de Curia eadem accipiunt necessaria, & donatiua. Iste Imperator Soldanus, est Rex, Dominúsque quínque Regnorum magnorum: Canopat, hoc est, Ægypti; totius Iudeæ, sicut olim Dauid, & Salomon; Halapiæ, in terra Machsyriæ, cuius ciuitas Damascus olim erat principalis; Arabiæ, quod est regnum valdè protensum, & cũm his possidet dominatus omnium Caliphorum: ad quod sciendum, quòd quandóquè fuerunt tres Caliphorum dominatus: Ex quibus primus Caliphus qui dicebatur Chaldæorum, & Arabum, cuius erat sedes in Ciuitate Baldac. Alter Barbarorum & Affricorum, cuius erat sedes in Maroco super Mare Hispaniæ. Tertius Aegypti: Est autem Caliphus inter eos, velut inter nos Imperator, & Papa simul, scilicet, Dominus temporalium, & spiritualium. Exactis igitur Caliphis circa annum incarnationis Christi 1150, primus Soldanorum fuit nominatus Saracon: secundus filius eius, Saladin, qui anno 1190. cum Turcis totam ferè terram promissionis abstulit à Christianis. Et sub quo Richardus Rex Angliæ cum alijs principibus Christianis custodiebat passum Rupium, ne ille sicut proposuerat transire, profecisset vltra. Tertius Melachsala, à quo sanctus Ludouicus rex Franciæ captiuabatur in bello. Quartus Turquenã, qui Regem prædictũ redimi dimisit pro pecunia. Quintus Meleth. Sextus Melethemes. Septimus Melec dayr, sub quo Edwardus Rex Angliæ intrauit cum nostris Syriam, damnificans plurimum Sarracenos. Octauus Melec salle. Nonus Elphi, qui Anno Incarnationis Domini 1289. destruxit in illis partibus enormiter Christianos, & penitus omnes inde fugauit, átque recepit Tripolim Ciuitatem. Decimus Melethasseras: hic cepit Anno Domini 1291. in octaua paschæ Accharon, fugatis vel occisis ex ea omnibus Christianis. Exinde amissis succedentium nominibus, sextus decimus dicebatur vel dicitur Melec Mandibron: sub isto steti ego per aliquod tempus stipendiarius in guerris suis contra Bedones, qui ei tunc temporis rebellabant. Horum etiam mores, & continentiam populorum, in sequentibus declarabó: sicut veraciter fateri possum, ipse ad filiam cuiusdam sui Principis me obtulit vxorare, & magnis dotare possessionibus, dummodò Christianitati resignassem: Eámque dimisi Soldanum, quando de partibus illis recessi. Soldanus præter homines ad sua castra seruanda deputatos, potest educere quoties velit in exercitum de hominibus de ipsius stipendijs viuentibus, & ad eius iugitèr mandata paratis, 20. millia armatorum, ex sola Ægypto: Et ex Syria, & Turcia, & alijs terris, 50. millia exceptis ruralibus, & Ciuitatum comitatibus, qui sunt velut innumerabiles. Miles quidem stipendiarius recipit de Curia pro anni Tempore 121. aureos, & sub tali stipendio seruit cum tribus equis & vno Camelo. Quadringenti, vel Quingenti horum militum ordinati sunt sub vno rectore, qui vocatur Admirabilis: Et ille solus recipit de curia tantum, sicut omnes sibi subditi: Notandum quod nunquam extraneus Nuncius ire permittitur ad Soldanum nisi auratis indutus vestibus, vel panno Tartarico aut camoleoto ad modum nobilium Sarracenorum: & oportet vt vbicũque primum nuncius Soldanum aspiciat, siue ad fenestras, siue alibi, vt cadat ad genua, vel protinus osculetur terram, quia talem reuerentiam facere, signum est quòd ille desiderat ei loqui. Quamdiu autem tales loquuntur sibi, aut literas ostendunt, circumstant Apparitores extensis brachijs, leuatos tenentes mucrones, gladios, gezas, & mackas ad feriendum, & occidẽdum, si quid dictum vel nunciatum fuerit, quod Imperatori displiceat, quàm citò ille signauerit trucidari. Veruntamen sciendum est, quòd nullius hominis personaliter ab ipso quidquam petentis consueuit repellere preces rationabiles, & contra eorum leges aut mores non venientes. Porrò ego in Curia manens, vidi circa Soldanum vnum venerabilem, & expertum medicum, de nostris partibus oriundum: solet namque circa se retinere diuersarum medicos nationum, & quos nominandæ audierit esse famæ: Nos tamen rarò inuicem

Caliphus quid sit.

Series Soldanorũ Aegypti.

Richardus Rex Angliæ.

Edwardus princeps Angliæ, Regis Henr. 3. filius.

Dominus Mandeuil stipendiarius Soldani contra Arabes.

Potentia Soldani Aegypti.

Reuerentia exhibita Soldano.

Cuius nomen erat M. Ioannes ad Barbam.

inuicem conuenimus ad colloquium, eò quòd meum seruitium cum suo modicum congruebat: longo autem posteà tempore, & ab illo loco remotè, videlicet in Leodij ciuitate, composui hortatu & adiutorio eiusdem venerabilis viri hunc tractatum, sicut in fine operis totius enarrabo. Itémque in Cayr ciuitate ducuntur ad forum communiter tam viri quàm mulieres aliarum legum, & nationum venales, & ad modum bestiarum venduntur pro pecunia ad seruiendum in suis artificijs. Habetur quoque ibi domus plena furnis paruis, in quibus per custodes domus tam hyeme quàm æstate fouentur oua gallinarum, anatum, aucarum, & columbarum, vsque ad procreationem suorum pullorum, & hijs intendunt, pro certo pretio accipiendo à mulierculis illic oua ferentibus. Mos oua furnis fouendi.

CAPVT 8.

De Campo Balsami in Egypto.

EXtra hanc ciuitatem Cayr, est campus seu ager Balsami: circa quod sciendum, quòd optimum totius mundi Balsamum in magno crescit Indiæ deserto, vbi Alexander Magnus dicitur quondam locutus fuisse arboribus Solis & Lunæ, de quo in sequentibus aliquid est scribendum. Illo itaque Indiæ Balsamo duntaxat excepto, non est liquor in vniuerso orbe, qui huic creditur comparari. Has arbores seu arbusta Balsami fecit quondà quidam de Caliphis Aegypti de loco Engaddi inter mare mortuum, & Iericò, vbi Domino volente excreuerat, eradicari, & in ágro prædicto plantari: Est tamen hoc mirandum, quod vbicunque alibi siue propè, siue remotè plantantur. quamuis fortè virent, & exurgant, non tamen fructificant. Et è contrario apparet hoc miraculo-um, quod in hoc agro Cayr non se permittunt coli per Sarracenos, sed solummodò per Christianos, vel aliter non fructificarent: Et dicunt ipsi Sarraceni hoc sæpiùs se tentasse: sunt autem arbusta trium vel quatuor pedum altitudinis, velut vsque ad renes hominis, & lignum eorum aspiciendum, sicut vitis syluestris. Folia non marcescunt, quin priùs marcescant fructus, cernitur ad formam Cubebæ, & gummi eorum est Balsamum. Ipsi appellant arbores, Enochkalse, fructum Abebilau, & liquorem gribalse. Extrahitur verò gummi de arbusculis per hunc modum: De lapide acuto, vel de osse fracto dant scissuras per cortices in ligno, & ex vulneribus Balsamum lachrymatur, quod in vasculis suscipiunt, cauentes quout possunt, ne quid de illo labatur in terram: Nam si de ferro, vel alio metallo fieret incisura, liquor Balsami corrumperetur à sua virtute. Veri Balsami virtutes sunt magnæ quidem, & innumerosæ: nam vix aliquis mortalium scire potuit omnes, quamuis inter Physicos quinquaginta scribantur. Rarò vtique Sarraceni vendunt Christianis purum & verum Balsamum, quin priùs commisceant, & falsificant sicut ego ipse frequenter vidi. Nam aliqui tertiam, seu quartam partem immiscent terrebynthinæ. Alii ramusculos arbustarum, & fructus eorum coquunt in oleo, quod vendunt pro Balsamo: & quidam (quod pessimum est) nil Balsami habentes, distillant oleum, per clauos gariophillos, & spicum nardum, & similes odoriferas species, hoc pro Balsamo exponentes, atque aliis pluribus modis deludunt ementes. Sed & Mercatores inuicem nonnunquam sophisticant altera vice: probatio autem veri Balsami potest haberi pluribus modis, quorum aliquos hic describo. Est enim Citrini coloris, valdè clarum, & purum, & fortissimum in odoris fragrantia: si ergò apparet alterius quàm Citrini coloris, sciatur non simplicis, sed cuiuscunque commixtæ substantiæ, vel ita spissum, vt non possit fluere, scitote sophisticatum. Item si posueris modicum veri Balsami in manus palma, non poteris sustinere eam linialiter in feruore splendentis Solis ad spacium recitandæ Dominicæ orationis. Item si in clara flamma ignis vel candelæ cereæ miseris punctum cultelli cum gutta puri Balsami, ipsa gutta de facilè comburetur. Item si in scutella munda cum puro lacte caprino posueris modicum veri Balsami, statim, miscebit se, & vnietur cum lacte, ita vt Balsamum non cognoscetur. Item è contrà, si posueris verum Balsamum cum aqua Lympida, nunquam miscebit se aquæ, etiamsi aquam moueris vehementer, imò Balsamum semper tendit ad fundum vasis, nam est in sui quantitate valdè ponderosum, & iuxta quod minùs ponderosum inueneris, ampliùs falsificatum noueris. Balsamum. Virtutes veri Balsami. Sophisticationes Balsami. Probatio veri Balsami.

Capvt. 9.

De Nilo fluuio, & Aegypti territorio.

NIlus supràdictus fluuius Aegypti appellatus est alio nomine Gyon, cuius origo est à Paradiso terrestri. Hic venit currens per deserta Indiæ Maioris, hincque per meatus subterraneos transit plures terras: exiens sub Monte Aloth, inter Indiam, & Aethiopiam, & Mauritaniam intra deserta Aegypti, irrigans totam longitudinem Aegypti vsque ad Alexandriam, ibique se perdit in mare. Sole intrante signum Cancri omni anno, hoc est, ad quindenam ante Festum Natiuitatis Ioannis Baptistæ incipit paulatim fluuius crescere, & inundare, quousque sol intret Virginem, quod est circa Festum Laurentij, atque ex tunc decrescere, & minui, donec Sole veniente in Lybram intra suos alueos se conseruet: Dúmque per inundationem nimis effluit, damnificat terræ culturas, & fit Charistia in Aegypto. Et similiter dum parùm exundat, ingruit esuries, quoniam in Aegypto rarissimè pluit, aut apparent nubes, quoniam si quandoque pluerit in æstate, terra muribus adimpletur. Terra Aegypti continet in longitudine dietas quindecim, in latitudine ferè tres, & habet triginta dietas deserti: à finibus Aegypti vsque Nubiam, duodecim sunt dietæ. Hi Nubij sunt Christiani, sed nigri, velut Aethiopes, vel Mauri.

Inundatio Nili.

Rara in Aegypto pluuia.

Nubia.

Phœnix auis, de qua dicitur, quod semper vnica sit in mundo, viuens per annos quingentos, quæ & seipsam eomburit, ac de cineribus eius, siue per naturam, siue per miraculum alia creatur, hæc interdum apparet in Aegypto, & sicut mihi monstrabatur, vidi duabus vicibus. Modicùm est maior Aquila, cristam in capite maiorem pauonis, collum habens croceum, dorsum Indicum, alas purpureas, caudam duobus coloribus, per transuersum, croceo & rubeo regulatam, qui singuli colores sunt ad splendorem Solis delectabiliter videntibus resplendentes. In Aegypto multæ habentur arbores, sexcies aut septies in anno fructificantes, ibique frequenter inueniuntur in terra Smaragdi, & circa oram Nili alij lapides pretiosi. A Babylonia Aegypti, vsque ad ciuitatem Meccam, (quam Pagani ibidem appellant Iacrib, & est in magnis desertis Arabiæ) sunt triginta dnæ dietæ. In ea veneratur detestandum cadauer Machon siue Machometi honorabiliter & reuerenter in Templo eius, quod ibi vocatur Musket, de cuius vita aliquid infrà narrabo. Per prædicta itaque apparet, quod Imperator Sarracenorum Soldanus Babyloniæ, valdè potens est Dominus.

Phœnix vita a Mandeuille.

Mecha

Capvt. 10.

De conductu Soldani, & via vsque in Sinay.

PRiùs dictum est de reuerentia Soldani, quandò ad ipsum intratur exhibenda. Sciendum ergò, cùm ab eo petitur securus conductus, nemini denegare consueuit, sed datur petentibus communiter sigillum eius, in appenditione absque literis: hoc sigillum, pro vexillo in virga aut hasta dum peregrini ferunt, omnes Sarraceni videntes illud flexis genibus in terram se reuerenter inclinant, & portantibus omnem exhibent humanitatem. Verumtamen satis maior fit reuerentia literis Soldani sigillatis, quod & Admirabiles, & quicunque alij Domini, quando eis monstrantur, antequam recipiant, se multùm inclinant: Deinde ambabus manibus eas capientes ponunt super propria capita, posteà osculantur, & tandem legunt inclinati cum magna veneratione, quibus semel aut bis perlectis, offerunt se promptos ad explendum quicquid ibi iubetur, ac insuper exhibent deferenti, quicquid possint commodi, vel honoris: sed talem conductum per literas Soldani vix quisquam peregrinorum accipit, qui non in Curia illius stetit, vel notitiam apud illum habuerit. Ego autem habui in recessu meo, in quibus etiam continebatur ad omnes sibi subiectos speciale mandatum, vt me permitterent intrare, & respicere singula loca, pro meæ placito voluntatis, & mihi exponerent quorumcunque locorum mysteria distinctè & absque vllo velamine veritatis, ac me cum omni sodalitate mea benignè reciperent, & in cunctis rationalibus audirent, requisiti autem si necesse foret de ciuitate conducerent in ciuitatem. Habito itaque peregrinis conductu, ad Montem Sinay potest à Cayr vnam duarum incipere semitarum, vsque vallem Helim, vbi adhuc sunt duodecim fontes aquarum. Nam vna viarum est, vt pertranseat passagium maris rubri, non longè

Litere Soldani in gratiam Mandeuilli concesse.

longè ab eodem loco, vbi olim populus Israel Duce Mose, Deo iubente, siccis pedibus transijt idem mare. Quod quidem, licèt aqua sit satis clara, dicitur ibi Rubrum propter lapillos, & arenas subrufi coloris: & continet ibi nunc temporis passus maris in latitudine ferè sex leucas. Transmissóque mari, ibit super hanc longè ab oris eiusdem per dietas quatuor, atque ex tunc relinquens mare, tendit per deserta sex aut septem dierum, vsque in vallem præfatam. Alia est autem via, vt de Babylonia intret Dyrcen deserta, tendens ad quendam fontem, quem dicitur Moses fecisse: & hinc ad riuulum Marach, qui quondam, Mose imponente lignum, ab amaritudine dulcescebat, & sic tandem in premissam vallem perueniant. Et restat via grandis dietæ ad Montem Sinay ab hac valle. Nam à Babylonia vsque in Sinay, æstimatur esse via duodecim dietarum, quamuis nonnulli citiùs perueniunt. Hoc verè sciendum, neminem peregrinorum per hæc deserta sine ductore posse tendere, cui notæ sunt viæ, sed nec equi valent transire, præcipuè quòd non inuenirent in desertis quid bibere. Aliquo tamen modo transitur per Camelos, eò quòd se continere possunt de potu duobus aut tribus diebus: Et oportet vt itinerantes ferant secum per viam necessaria ad victum proprium, & Camelorum, nisi quòd interdum fortè Cameli aliquid sibi abrodere possunt circa cortices arbustorum, & folia ramusculorum.

Ratio, cur Rubrum mare sic appellatur.

Vel Masse.

Abstinentia Caenobitarum ab aquis.

CAPVT. II.

De Monasterio Sinay, & reliquijs beatæ Catherinæ.

MOns Sinay appellatur ibi desertum Syn: quasi in radice montis istius habetur Cœnobium Monachorum pergrande, cuius clausura in circuitu est firmata muris altis, & portis ferreis, pro metu bestiarum deserti. Hi Monachi sunt Arabes, & Græci, & in magno conuentu, multùm Deo deuoti: viuunt in magna abstinentia, vtentes simplicibus cibariis, de lotis & dactylis, & huiusmodi, nec vinum potantes, festis exceptis. Illic in Ecclesia Beatæ Virginis & matris Catherinæ semper lampades plurimæ sunt ardentes, nam habetur ibi plena copia olei oliuarum. A posteriori parte magni altaris monstratur locus, vbi Moysi apparuit Dominus in rubo ardente, ipsum rubum adhuc seruans, quem dum monachi intrant, semper se discalceant gratia illius verbi, quo Deus iussit Moysi ibidem, Solue calciamentum de pedibus tuis, locus enim in quò stas, terra sancta est: hunc locum appellant Bezeleel, id est, vmbra Dei. Et propè altare tribus gradibus in altitudine, habetur capsa, seu Tumba Alabastri, sanctissima continens ossa Virginis. Christiani qui ibidem morantur, cum magna reuerentia aduenientibus peregrinis, à Monachorum prælato, seu ab alio in hoc instituto, excipiuntur. Is quodam instrumento argenteo consueuit ossa defricare, siue linire, vt ex iis exeat modicū olei, velut parumper sudoris, quod tamen non apparet in colore sui tanquam olei seu Balsami, sed aliquantulum pluris magnitudinis. Et ex isto traditur interdum aliquid petentibus peregrinis, sed parùm, quia nec multùm exudat. Ostendere solent & caput ipsius Catherinæ cum inuolumento sanguinolento, & multas prætereà sanctas, & venerabiles reliquias, quæ omnia intuitus sum diligenter & sæpè, oculis indignis. Habent quoque in ista Ecclesia propriam Lampadem quilibet Monachorum, quæ imminente illius discessu lumen per diuinum miraculum variat vel extinguit. Ego etiam curiosiùs super vno dubio quod priùs audieram, plures interrogationes feci ab aliquibus Monachorum, vtrum scilicet prælato eorum decedente semper successor per diuinum signum eligeretur: & vix tandem ab eis recepi responsum, quòd per vnum istorum miraculorum habetur successor, videlicet in missa sepultura defuncti omnibus Monachorum lampadibus extinctis, illius sola Dei nutu reaccenditur, quem fieri vult prælatum, vel de cœlo inuenitur missus breuiculus super altare, inscriptum habens nomen prælati futuri. Intra hanc Ecclesiam nunquam muscæ, vel aranea, aut huiusmodi immundi vermiculi nascuntur, quod similiter per diuinum accidit miraculum: nam antè replebatur Ecclesia talibus immunditijs, & totus conuentus recederet ad construendam Ecclesiam in alio loco. Et ecce Dei genetrix virgo beata eis visibiliter obuiauit, iubens reuerti, & dicens nunquam Ecclesiam similibus infestari. In cuius obuiationis loco, in ascensu procliuo huius montis per multos gradus construxerunt Ecclesiam, ædificium excellens, in honorem eiusdem virginis. Et aliquantò altiùs, per eiusdem montis ascensum est vetus

Monachorum sophismata.

Capella,

Capella, quam vocant Eliæ Prophetæ, & locum specialiter appellant Horeb. A cuius latere in montis appendentia colitur vinea, quam nominant Iosuæ scophis, de qua quidam putare volunt, quod Sanctus Ioannes Euangelista eam primò plantauit. In superiori verò montis vertice, est Capella, quam dicunt Moysis, & illic rupis seruans adhuc corporis eius formam impressam dum se abscondit, veritus dominum respicere in facie. Locus quoq; ibi ostenditur, in quo Deus tradidit ei decem mandata, siue legem proprio digito scriptam, & sub rupe cauerna, in qua mansit ieiunus diebus 40. Ab hoc monte qui vocatur Mosi, restat via producta ad quartam Leucæ, vsque in montem qui dicitur Sanctæ Catherinæ per vallem speciosam, ac multùm frigidam. Circa eius medium habetur Ecclesia, nomine 40. Martyrum constructa, vbi interdum veniunt Monachi cantare missam. Hic mons est satis altior Monte Moysis, in cuius vertice Angeli Dei piè creduntur attulisse, & sepeliisse corpus sanctissimæ Martyris Catharinæ cum inuolumento capitis suprà dicto. Attamen in ipso certo sepulturæ loco, licèt quandoque stetit Capella, modò non est habitaculum, sed modicus acerus petrarum. Notandum, quòd vterque horum montium potest vocari mons Sinay, eò quòd totus circumiacens locus deserti Sin appellatur. Sur desertum inter mare Rubrum, & solitudinem Sinay. Desertum Sur idem Scriptura quod & Cades. Visitatis igitur à peregrinis his sacrosanctis memorijs, & valefacto Monachis, recommendant se eorum orationibus, & meritis: tùncque solet aliquid victualium offerri peregrinis, pro inchoanda via deserti Syriæ versus Ierusalem. Et sicut dixi de priori deserto, sic nec istud securè est peragrandum absque Drogemijs, id est, semitarum ductoribus, propter vastitudinem deserti.

CAPVT. 12.

Iter à deserto Sinay vsque ad Iudæam.

PEr istud latum & longum desertum, moratur vel potiùs vagata maxima multitudo malorum, & incompositorum hominum, qui non manent in domibus, sed sub pellium tabernaculis, quemadmodum & olim filij Israel in eodem deserto ambulauerunt, quoniam aquæ non manent ibi diu in locis certis: & ideò mutant tabernacula sequentes aquas: non colunt terras, rarò manducant panem, sed tantùm carnes bestiarum deserti quas venantur, coquentes super petras calefactas ad Solem: fortes sunt & feroces, & vélut desperati de vita propria non curantes, qui licèt non habeant arma præter lanceam, & tarchiam, & caput grandi albo linteolo inuolutum, tamen non verentur exercere guerras, & inire prœlia contra Dominum suum Soldanum: nam & ego stipendiarius in expeditione Soldani contra eos sæpiùs fui. Isti sunt quidem Arabes, sed notiori nomine appellantur Bedoyns & Acopars, & quamuis plurima mala agunt per desertum, rarò tamen nocent peregrinis beatæ Virginis Catharinæ. Itaque peregrinus qui debitum tenuit iter, veniat à finibus deserti in primam ciuitatem Iudeæ, quæ dicitur Berseba: est vicus grandis Hebron inde miliario vergens ad Austrum: Hieronymus. Notandum, Theros Mons Dei in regione Maglaw iuxta Montem. Notandum similiter, Arabiam in deserto esse, cui iungitur Mons, & desertum Sarracenorum, quod vocatur Phaaran. Mihi autem videtur, quod duplici nomine, nunc Mons Sinay, nunc Oreb vocatur. Hieronymus. Phaaran nunc oppidum trans Oreb, iam iunctum Sarracenis, qui in solitudine vagi pererrant. Hos interfecerunt filij Israel, cùm de Monte Sinay castra mouissent. Est ergo, vt dixi, trans Iordanem contra Australem plagam, & distat ab Helyn, contra Orientem, itinere dierum trium. In deserto autem Phaaran, Scriptura commemorat habitasse Ismaelem, vnde & Ismaelitæ, qui nunc Sarraceni. Legimus quoque Chederlaomer percussisse eos qui erant in deserto Phaaran quod nunc dicitur Ascalon, & circa eam Regio Palestinorum. Hieronymus. Hæc Bersheba erat bona & spectabilis, vltimo tempore Christianorum, & adhuc ibi restant nonnullæ Ecclesiæ.

Ioannes Mandeuil militans contra Arabes. Bersheba.

Hinc ad Leucas duas venitur in ciuitatem Hebron, & Hebron ab Helyn distat ad Meridiam plagam millibus circiter 39. de qua legitur, quòd primis temporibus fuerit habitatio maximorum Gigantium, Regúmque, postèa Dauidis. In hac est illa spelunca duplex, quæ seruat ossa sanctorum Patriarcharum, Abrahæ, Isaac, & Iacob, Saræ, & Rebeccæ, consistítque ad radicem montis, & habetur super istam cum propugnaculis ad modum castri constructa pulchra Ecclesia,

Ciuitas Hebron.

Ecclesia. Sarraceni appellant istam speluncam Kariackaba, custodientes locum diligenter ac reuerenter propter honorem Patriarcharum, & non permittentes quenquam Christianorum aut Iudæorum ingredi, nisi ostenderit super hæc specialem gratiam à Soldano. Nam ipsi communiter reputant tam Christianos quàm Iudæos pro canibus, & quando despectiùs eos volunt appellare, dicunt Kylp, id est, canis.

Ab Hebron incipit vallis Mambræ, quæ protenditur ferè vsq; Ierusalem: haud remotè ad Hebron est mons Mambre, & in ipso monte arbor quercus aridæ, quæ pro antiquitate sui, speciale sibi nomen meruit in mundo vniuerso, vt vocetur arbor sicca: Sarraceni autem eam dicunt Dirp: hæc creditur stetisse ante tempora Abrahæ, tamen quidam volunt putare à mundi initio, virens donec passionis Christi tempore siccaretur. Hoc autem certum est, haberi eam ob omnibus nationibus in veneratione. Vallis Mambræ. Quercus arida.

In quodam loco præfatæ vallis est planicies, vbi per plures fossas effodiunt homines Gambil, quod comeditur loco specierum anomaticarum, & per villas defertur venale. Sed & hoc audiui, quòd nulla ibi fossa ita valet exhauriri, si dimittatur per annum, quin inueniatur de prædicta Gambil impleta. Gambil species Aromatis.

Ad duas leucas de Hebron, monstratur sepultura Loth filii fratris Abrahã. Itẽ de ciuitate Hebrõ per quinque leucas amoeni itineris, hoc est, in media die, venitur in Bethleem Iudeæ. Notandũ, Arbe, id est, quatuor, primùm dicam de eo quod ibi tres Patriarchæ Abraham, Isac, & Iacob sepulti sunt, & Adam magnus, vt in Iudæorum libro scriptum est, licèt eum quidam conditum in loco Caluariæ suspicentur. Corruptè in nostris codicibus Arboth scribitur, alibi erat arbor cùm in Hebræis legatur Arbe, hæc est autem eadem Hebron olim Metropolis Philistinorum, ab vno filiorum Caleb sortita vocabulum. Kiriath-Arbe.

Capvt. 13.

De ciuitate Bethleem, & semita vsque in Ierusalem.

BEthleem Ciuitas longa sed parua, firmata est vndique fossatis fortibus: cuius modò habitatores quasi omnes sunt Christiani. In illa ad orientem honesta, & placida habetur Ecclesia: (nescio an aliquam eiusdem quantitatis viderim placentiorem,) extrinsecus habens turres saltaturas, pinnacula, & propugnacula nobili artificio fabricata. & intrinsecus 44. de marmore decoro columnas. Ad principalis autem turris dextram in descensu 16. graduum, est diuersorij locus, vbi ex intacta & benedicta Virgine nascebatur Christus homo Deus. Hic locus est multùm artificiosè operatus marmore, & generosè depictus auro & argento, varióque colore, cui propè ad tres passus est præsepe in quo reclinabatur natus Dominus, ibíque videtur puteus quidam, in quo aliqui putare volunt cecidisse stellam ductricem trium Magorum, post eius peractum officium.

Est etiam ante præsepe Domini, tumba beati Interpretis Hieronymi, & extra Ecclesiam mõstratur cathedra, in qua residere solebat. Sub clausura huius ecclesiæ ad dextram, per 18. gradus apparet fossa, quæ dicitur ossium innocentium causa Christi ab Herode impio occisorum. Hinc ad quingentos, vel citra pedes habetur alia Ecclesia nomine Sancti Nicholai, in quo scilicet loco, post recessum Magorum beata Virgo tempus sui puerperij obseruauit. Ibíque monstrantur rubra saxa albis respersa maculis, quòd simpliciores narrant saxis enenisse de abundantia lactis virginis ab vberibus eiecti. In via Bethleem ab Helya miliario contra meridianam plagam iuxta viam quæ ducit Ebron, Christiani de Bethleem colunt circa ciuitatem multam copiam vinearum, ad potum sui ipsorum. Nam Sarraceni non colunt vineas, nec vina vendunt neque in manifesto bibunt, eò quòd liber legis Mahomet, facit super hoc prohibitionem, & interpretatur maledictionem. Tetat simplicitatem vulgi. Sarraceni non bibunt vinum in manifesto.

De Bethleem in Austrum duabus leucis habetur claustrum Sanctæ Charitatis, ibidem suo tempore Abbatissæ. A Bethleem tendendo Ierusalem inuenitur ad dimidiam leucam Ecclesia, in cuius loco Angelus dixit pastoribus, Annuncio vobis gaudium magnum, quod natus est nobis Saluator qui est Christus Dominus. Est & tumba Rachel Patriarchæ, vbi etiam coaeruata iacent 12. saxa magna, quæ quidam autumant illic tumulasse Iacob, eò quòd Beniamin duodecimus sibi filius nascebatur ibidem. Sícque venitur in Sanctam Ciuitatem Ierusalem. Notandum, Bethel vicus est 12. ab Helya ad dextram euntibus Neapoli, quæ primùm Luza vocabatur. Sed ex eo tempore quo ibat ad Ieroboam filium Nebat, vituli aurei fabricati sunt, Sancta Charitas.

Bethel. & à decem tribubus adorata, vocata est Bethauen, id est, Domus Idoli, quæ antè vocabatur Domus Dei. Ieroboamus. Sed & Ecclesia ædificata est vbi dormiuit Iacob, pergens Mesopotamiam, vbi & ipsi loco Bethel, id est, domus Dei nomen imposuit.

Caput 14.

De Ecclesia gloriosi Sepulchri Domini in vrbe Ierusalem.

IErusalem cum tota terra promissionis, est quasi vna de quinque prouincijs vel pluribus, quibus Regnum Syriæ distinguitur. Iungitur autem Iudæa ad Orientem Regno Arabiæ, ad meridiem Aegypto, ad Occidentem mari magno, & ad Aquilonem Regno Syriæ. Iudææ terra per diuersa tempora à diuersis possessa fuit nationibus, Cananæorum, Iudæorum, Assyriorum, Persarum, Medorum, Macedonum, Græcorum, Romanorum, Christianorum, Sarracenorum, Barbarorum, Turcorum, & Tartarorum. Cuius rei causa meritò potest æstimari, quod non sustinuit Deus magnos peccatores longo tempore permanere in terra sibi tam placita, & tam sancta.

Templum Sepulchri. Itaque peregrinus veniens in Ierusalem primò expleat suam peregrinationem, ad reuerendum & sacrosanctum Domini nostri Iesu Christi sepulchrum: cuius Ecclesia est in vltima ciuitatis extremitate, ad partem aquilonarem, cum proprio sui ambitus muro ipsi ciuitati adiuncto. Ipsa verò Ecclesia est pulchra & rotundæ formæ cooperta desuper cum tegulis plumbeis, habens in Occidente turrim altam & firmam, in pauimenti Ecclesiæ medio ad figuram dimidij compassi habetur nobili opere Latonico ædificatum paruum Tabernaculum quasi 15. pedum tam longitudinis quàm latitudinis, & altitudinis miro artificio intus extráque compositum, ac multùm diligenter diuersis coloribus ornatum. Hoc itaque in Tabernaculo seu Capella, ad latus dextrum, continetur incomparabilis thesaurus gloriosissimi sepulchri, habentis octo pedes longitudinis, & quinque latitudinis. Et quoniam in toto habitaculo nulla est apertura præter paruum ostium, illustratur accedentibus peregrinis pluribus lampadibus, (quarum ad minus vna coram sepulchro iugiter ardere solet) ingressus.

Sciendum, quòd ante breue tempus solebat sepulchrum esse ingressis peregrinis accessibile, ad tangendum & osculandum, sed quia multi vel effringebant, vel conabantur sibi effringere aliquid de petra sepulchri, iste Soldanus Melech Mandybron fecit illud confabricari, vt nec osculari valeat, nec adiri, sed tantummodo intueri. Et ob illam causam in sinistro pariete in altitudine quinque pedum immurari effracturam petræ sepulchri ad quantitatem capitis humani, quod tanquam pro sepulchro ibi ab omnibus veneratur, tangitur, & osculatur.

Melech Mandybron Soldanus.

Dicitur ibi quoque communiter præfatam lampadem coram sepulchro singulis annis in die Sanctæ Parascheues, hora nona extingui, & in media nocte Paschæ sine humano studio reaccendi. Quod (si ita est) euidens diuini beneficij miraculum est. Et quamuis id plurimi Christiani simpliciter in magno pietatis merito credant, plerisque tamen est in suspicione. Fortè talia Sarraceni custodes sepulchri fingentes diuulgauerunt, pro augendo emolumenta tributi, quod inde resultaret, seu oblationum quæ dantur.

Mandeuillus de hoc dubitat.

Singulis autem annis in die cœnæ Domini in Parascheue, & in vigilia Paschæ, tribus his diebus manet Tabernaculum hoc apertum continuè, & patet omnibus Christianis gentibus accessus, aliàs verò non per annum sine redditione tributi. Intra Ecclesiam, propè parietem dextrum. est Caluariæ locus, vbi crucifixus pependit Christus Dominus. Per gradus ascenditur in hunc locum, & est rupis velut albi coloris, cum aliqua rubedine per loca commixta, habens scissuram, quam dicunt Golgotha, in qua maior pars preciosi sanguinis Christi dicitur influxisse: vbi & habetur altare constructum, ante quod consistunt tumbæ Godefridi de Bullion, & aliorum Regum Christianorum, qui circa annum incarnationis Domini, 1100. debellauerunt & obtinuerunt sanctam vrbem cum tota patria ex manibus Sarracenorum, & per hoc conquisierunt sibi magnum nomen, vsque in finem sæculi duraturum. Propè ipsius crucifixionis locum continetur literis Græcis hoc scriptum: ὁ θεὸς βασιλεὺς ἡμῶν πρὸ αἰῶνος εἰργάσατο σωτηρίαν ἐν μέσῳ τῆς γῆς. hoc est dicere, Deus Rex noster ante secula operatus est salutem in medio terræ. Item directè in loco, vbi crux sancta stetit cum Christo rupi infixa, habetur hoc exaratum in saxo rupis: ὁ τόπος ἐπὶ βάσει τῆς πίστεως τοῦ κόσμου, hoc est, quod vides fundamentum est fidei mundi.

Tumba Godefridi de Bullion.

Psal. 74. 12.

Haud

Haud remotè ab hoc Caluariæ monte, habetur & aliud altare, vbi iacet columna flagellatiõnis Domini, cui stant de propinquo & aliæ columnæ quatuor de Marmore aquam iugiter resudantes, & (secundùm opinionem simplicium) passionem innocentem Christi deflentes. Est sub isto altari crypta, 42. graduum profunda, vbi sancta Helena Regina reperit tres cruces, videlicet Christi, & latronum cum eo crucifixorũ, ac etiam clauos crucis Domini in cryptæ pariete. Iterum taxat ignorantiam vulgi. Regina Helena Angla.

In medio autem chori huius Ecclesiæ, est locus pauimenti stratus mirè & pulchrè, ad integrã cõpassi figuram, vbi depositũ corpus Christi de cruce Ioseph ab Aramathia cum suis adiutoribus lauit & cõdiuit aromatibus. Itẽ infra Ecclesiam à septentrionali parte ostenditur locus, vbi Christus Magdalenæ apparuit post suam resurrectionẽ, quando eum credidit hortulanum.

A dextro autem latere ad ingressum Ecclesiæ, habentur gradus 18. sub quibus est Capella Indorum, vbi soli peregrini de India per sacerdotes suos cantant iuxta ritum suum Missas, celebrántque diuina. Missam faciunt quidem breuissimam, conficientes in principio verbis debitis sacramentum corporis & sanguinis Christi de pane & vino, ac posteà paucis orationibus additis, totum orationc Dominica concludunt officium. Hoc autem verum est, quod cum maxima attentione, reuerentia, humilitate, & deuotione se gerunt, & continent diuinis. Indorum Capella siue subditorum præsbiteri Ioannis.

Porrò illud, quod quidam peruulgauerunt, aut opinati sunt, Iudæam aut Ierusalem, vel Ecclesiam istam consistere in medio totius mundi, propter prædictam scripturam, (in medio terræ) hoc intelligi non potest localiter ad mensuram corporis terræ: Nam si ad terræ latitudinem, quam æstimant inter duos polos, respiciamus, certum est Iudæam non esse in medio, quod tunc esset sub circulo Aequatoris, & esset ibi semper æquinoctium, & vtrumq; polorum staret iis in horizõte. Quod vtiq; nõ est ita, quod existẽtibus in Iudæa eleuatur multùm polus arcticus. An Ierusalem sit in medio mundi.

Rursus si ad terræ longitudinem spectemus, quæ æstimari potest à Paradiso terrestri, scilicet à digniori & latiori terræ loco, versus eius Nadir, scilicet versus locum sibi in Sphæra terræ oppositum, tunc Iudæa esset ad Antipodes paradisi, quod apparet ita non esse, quod tunc esset viatori de Iudæa ad Paradisum tendentis æqua itineris mensura, siue tenderet versus Orientem, siue versus Occidentem. Sed hoc non est verisimile nec verum, sicut probatum constat per experientiam multorum. Mihi autem videtur, quod præfata Prophetæ scriptura, potest exponi, in medio terræ, id est, circa medium nostri habitabilis, videlicet vt Iudæa sit circa medium inter Paradisum & Antipodes Paradisi, distans tantum ab ipso Paradiso in oriente 96. gradibus, prout ego ipse per viam orientalem tentaui: quanquam de hoc non videtur de facili plena certitudo haberi; eo quòd in longitudine cœli nullæ stellæ manent immobiles, sicut in latitudine manent poli sempèr fixi. Vel potest ita exponi, quòd Dauid qui erat Rex Iudææ, dixit in medio terræ, hoc est, in principali ciuitate terræ suæ Ierusalem, quæ erat ciuitas regalis, siue sacerdotalis terræ Iudææ: vel fortè spiritus sanctus, qui loquebatur per os prophetæ in hoc verbo vult intelligi non corporeum aut locale, sed totum spirituale, de quo intuitu nihil ad præsens est scribendum.

Capvt. 15.

De tribus alijs Ecclesijs, & specialiter de templo Domini.

VLtrà duo stadia ab Ecclesia ad Meridiem sancti sepulchri habetur magnũ hospitale sancti Ioannis Hierosolymitani, qui caput & fundamentum esse dignoscitur ordinis hospitaliorum modò tenentium Rhodum insulam: in quo recipi possunt omnes Christiani peregrini cuiuscunque sint conditionis, seu status, vel dignitatis. Nam Sarraceni pro leui cura anxij rumoris, prohibent ne apud quenquam suorum Christianus pernoctet. Ad sustentationem ædificij huius hospitalis, habentur in eo 124. columnæ marmoreæ, & in parietibus distincti 54. pilarij. Satis propè hunc locum in orientem, est Ecclesia quæ dicitur, de Domina nostra magna: & indè non remotè alia, quæ dicitur nostræ Dominæ latinorũ, ædificata super locum, vbi Maria Magdalene, & Maria Cleophæ cum alijs pluribus, dum Christus cruci affigebatur, flebant & dolores lamentabiles exercebant.

Item ab Ecclesia Sancti Sepulchri in orientem ad stadium cum dimidio habetur ædificium mirabile, ac pulchrum valdè, quod templum Domini nominatur, quod constructum est in

forma rotunda, cuius circumferentiæ diameter habet 64 cubitos, & altitudo eius 126, & intrinsecus pro sustentatione ædificij, multi pilarij. In medio autem templi est locus altior 14. gradibus, qui & ipse columnis vndíq; est stipatus: & secundum quatuor mundi plagas habet templum quatuor introitus per portas Cypressinas artificiosè compositas, nobilitérq; sculptas, & excisas. Et ante portam aquilonarem intra templum fontem aquæ mundæ, qui quamuis olim exundabat, tamen nunc minimè fluit. In toto circuitu ædificij extrinsecus est valdè pro atrio latum spacium loci, stratum per totum pauimentum marmoribus. Hoc templum non ducitur stare in eodem loco vbi templum Dei stetit in tempore Christi, quo post resurrectionem a Romanis destructo, istud longo post tempore Adrianus Imperator extruxit, sed non ad formam templi prioris: prædictum tamen excelsum in medio templi locum vocant Iudæi sanctum sanctorum.

Sciatis itáq; quòd Sarraceni magnam exhibent huic templo reuerentiam, & honorem, sæpius illud discalceati intrantes, & positis genibus deuotè Deum omnipotentem exorantes, nulla enim ibidem habetur imago, sed multæ lampades relucentes. Neminem Christianorum seu Iudæorum ingredi sinunt hoc templum, reputantes eos indignos ad hoc, & nimium immundos, vndè nisi virtutè literarú quas habui a Soldano, nec ego fuissem ingressus. Ingrediens autem cum meis sodalibus deposuimus calciamenta, recogitantes cum multa cordis deuotione, nos magis id facere debere, quàm incredulos Sarracenos.

Literæ Soldani traditæ Mandiuillo.

Et verè meritò est iste locus in magna reuerentia habendus: dum enim Rex Salomon primùm in illo templo per Dei iussionem, & Dauidis patris sui commissionem ædificasset, exorauit præsente cuncto populo Israel, vt quicúnque illic Deum pro iusta causa rogaret audiretur; & Dominus monstrauit exauditionis signum per nebulam de cœlo emissam, proùt narrat historia veritatis 3. Regum libro.

Porrò in eo loco vbi statuerat idem Rex ante templum altare holocausti, videlicet extra portam templi occidentalem, habetur & nunc altare, sed non ad instar, nec ad vsum primi. Nam Saraceni, quasi nihil curantes, traxerunt ea eo lineas tanquam in astrolabio figentes in linearum centro batellum, ad cuius vmbram per lineas discernuntur diei horæ.

Etiam in hac atrij parte apparent adhuc vestigia portæ speciosæ, vbi Petrus Apostolus, cum Euangelista Ioanne dixit contracto, In nomine Christi Iesu Nazareni surge, & statim consolidabantur illi plantæ.

Caput. 16.

De pluribus locis sacris iuxta vrbem.

Templarij à templo Salomonis dicti.

Vlturo ad dextram satis de propinquo habetur & alia Ecclesia, quæ nunc appellatur schola Salomonis: rursusq; ad Meridiem est & aliud templum siue Ecclesia, quæ vocatur Templum Salomonis, quòd olim fuit caput, & fundamentum totius ordinis Templariorum.

A claustro huius tẽpli extrinsecus in Aquilonem habetur decora Ecclesia beatæ Annæ, in cuius loco creditur virgo Maria in eiusdem matris suæ vtero fuisse genita, & concepta, parentũq; illius, scilicet, Ioachim & Annæ; tumba saxea mõstratur in descensu Ecclesiæ, per 22. gradus, vbi & adhuc patris eius ossa putantur quiescere, sublato inde per reginam Helenam corpore sanctæ Annæ, & recondito (vt prædictum est) in Ecclesia Constantinopoli sanctæ Sophiæ.

Regina Helena, Angla.

Probatica piscina.

Est & intra hanc Ecclesiam probatica piscina, vbi quondam post motionem Angeli, omnes accedentes primi, a quocúnq; languore sanabantur infirmi, quæ tamen nunc temporis ita neglecta iacet, & deformata, vt videtur immunda cistrina. Habetur & ante Ecclesiam arbor grandis, & antiqua, de qua nonnulli fabulantur, quod ad beatæ Mariæ natiuitatem principium accepit, & ortum.

Mons Sion.

Mons Sion est excelsior locus in vrbe ad cuius radicem, est castrũ spectabile constructum per aliquem Soldanorum. In montis autem cacumine videntur multæ sepulturæ regum Iudeæ, videlicet Dauid, Salomonis, & quorundam de successoribus suis. Ad introitum montis habetur capella, & in illa lapis monumenti quem Ioseph de Arimathea obuoluit ad ostiũ sepulchri est valde magnus, & est ibidem aliqua pars columnæ flagellationis, ac pars mensæ super quam Dominus vltimò cænauit cum Apostolis, & instituit noui Testamenti sacramentũ

tũ sui venerandi corporis, & sanguinis. Sub hac capella ad aliquos gradus monstratur locus eiusdem cænationis, videlicèt cænaculi magni, & in eo vas aquarij, in quo Christus lauabat pedes Apostolorum: iuxta quod vas, à Gamaliele, & alijs viris timoratis primus sepultus fuit protomartyr Stephanus.

In eo quóq; loco intrauit post resurrectionẽ suam Dominus ianuis clausis ad discipulos dicens pax vobis, & agens alia, quæ plenius Euãgelica pandit Historia, ac tandẽ in die Pentecostes ijsdem spiritũ sanctũ, in linguis igneis misit ibidem. Ab hoc mõte Sion versus ciuitatem habetur Ecclesia dedicata sancto saluatori, in quo nunc dicuntur seruari ossa S. Stephani supradicti, & sinistrũ brachium S. Ioannis Chrisostomi, cuius corpus vt dictũ est requiescit Constantinopoli.

Item ab hoc monte versus Austrum ab opposito plateæ, est pulchra Ecclesia nostræ Dominæ, in cuius loco diu morabatur post ascensionem filij sui, quamuis pro parte eiusdem temporis in valle Iosaphat manserit: nam in ista defungebatur, & in illo ab Apostolis honorificè sepulta fuit. Itemque ab hoc monte in vico eundi versus vallem Iosaphat inuenitur fons aquæ dictus Natatoria Siloe, vbi cæcus natus à Christo missus lauabat oculos, & regressus est videns. Et dicunt quidam ibidem sepultum Isaiam Prophetam. Natatoria Siloe.

Porro mons olim dictus Moria de quo loquitur Scriptura sacra est rupis haud longè a supradicto templo Domini in ipsius meridie, in cuius rupis loco excelso vehit eminenti sed edito Dominus noster Iesus Christus frequentèr instruebat suos discipulos, & populos, magnáque miracula exhibebat, atque deprehensæ mulieri in adulterio omnia peccata dimittebat. Iohan. 8.

Ab opposito autem prædicti fontis natatorij habetur imago lapidea, rudi & vetusto opere sculpta, deformitérque detrita, quæ manus Absalon nuncupatur, cuius ratio lib. 2. Regum monstratur. Vbi de propè vidi Arborem Sambucum, ad quam vel citrà cuius locum (vt dicitur) Iudas traditor per se suspensus crepuit medius, & diffusa sunt viscera eius.

Præterea à monte Sion versus Meridiem vltrà vallem ad iactum lapidis est locus Aceldema, in quo emptus ager 30. denarijs proditionis est, Et in quo sunt plures sepulturæ peregrinorum, & vestigia cellularum, de quondam illic commorantibus Heremitis.

CAPVT. 17.

De sacris locis extra muros Ciuitatis.

EXtra muros ciuitatis Ierusalem ad plagam orientalem, est vallis Iosaphat cõtigua, ac si esset fossata muris ipsius ciuitatis, & Ecclesia vbi sanctus Stephanus lapidabatur, & obdormiuit in Domino. Hinc non longè est porta ciuitatis, quæ dicitur aurea, quæ nunc semper obfirmata seruatur. Per hanc intrauit Christus sedens asino, & adhuc ostenditur rupis seruare vestigia animalis in tribus aut pluribus sui locis. Statim vltrà vallem Iosaphat aspicitur mons Olineti, sic dictus à pluribus, quia ibi süt oliuarum Arbores. In planicie huius vallis decurrit riuulus dictus torrens Cedron, secus quem habetur pulchra, & honorificata Ecclesia sacrosanctæ sepulturæ beatæ, & gloriosæ matris Christi: descenditur autem in Ecclesiam per gradus 44. quòd extrinsecus est vallis inculta per fluxum fortassè torrentis, seu per alios euentus propter Antiquitatem temporis. Ibique monstratur sepulchrum eius vacuum. Habentur iuxta sepulchrum duo altaria, sub vno est fons Aquæ quæ putatur exire de vno Paradisi fluminę. Vallis Iosaphat. Mons oliuarum. Torrens Cedron.

Satis propè ab hac Ecclesia ad rupem Gethsemane habetur capella, vbi scilicet Iudæis traditus fuit Christus à Iuda. In ipsa quóque rupe ostendebatur mihi figura impressæ manus ad digitorum extensionem, quæ artificiosius humano studio sculpi non posset, quam referunt Christũ sua venerabili manu inclinando ad rupem efficisse dum Iudæi impuras manus ad capiendum iniecerunt in eum. Hic ad iactum lapidis in meridie orauit ad suum patrem, & pro vehementi orationis intentione sanguineum exudauit sudorem: atque ibi non remotè videtur tumba regis Iudææ Iosaphat, à quo & vallis sibi nomen assumpsit: & credimus in hanc vallem Christum venturum ad nouissimum, & generalissimum iudicium, vbi (Iohele prophetã testante) disceptabit de omni actione mortalium. Ad tractum sagittæ de hac tumba, est Ecclesia vbi sanctus Iacobus maior Apostolus primò post martyrium fuit sepultus, cuius modò sacrata ossa venerantur Compostellæ in Galizia. S. Iacobi sepultura.

Vltra

Vltra vallem in supremo montis Oliueti apice discipulis cernentibus, Dominus noster Iesus Christus eleuatis manibus ascendit in cœlum, & super eundem locum digna habetur Ecclesia, in qua eiusdem Ascensione tale seruatur in rupe pauimenti indicium, quod sinistri pedis Christi videtur vltimum vestigium.

Hinc satis propè habetur & capella *medio montis*, vbi Christus sedens prædicauit octo beatitudines, vbi & creditur docuisse discipulos orationem Dominicam, *scilicet*, Pater noster, &c. Ab eo quóq; loco non distat multum Ecclesia beatæ Mariæ Ægyptiacæ, in qua & eius tumba videtur: & haud procul inde est vicus Bethphage, vbi Christus misit ante passionis suæ tempus duos de discipulis pro asina & pullo eius. In cliuo verò huius mõtis Oliueti versus ciuitatem, monstratur locus, de quo videns Dominus Ierusalem, *fleuit super illam, dicens*, quòd si cognouisses & tu, &c. Atq; vltrà montem in discensu eius in orientem est villa siue castellum Bethaniæ, distans quasi ad leucam ab vrbe vbi in domo cuiusdam Symonis inuitatus Christus condonauit omnia peccata Mariæ Magdalenæ. Et in ipso castello, quod erat sororis Marthæ, & Mariæ rescuscitauit fratrem earum Lazarum quatriduanum mortuum.

Bethania.

Ierico.

De Bethania in Ierico sunt 5. leucæ, quæ quondam fuit *ciuitas speciosa sed* iam est villa modica: ibi Dives Zacchæus ascendit in arborem Sycomorum, vt videret transeuntem Dominum, & restituens fraudata quadruplum, obtinuit peccatorum remissionem omnium.

Item de Bethania ad flumen Iordanis est iter ferè octo leucarum, per montes, ac valles deuiõs, & desertos. Porrò de Bethania in orientem ad 6. leucas venitur in montem magnum, vbi Christus expleto 40. dierum, ac noctium ieiunio temptatus est à diabolo, fuitq; in eodem loco quandóq; Ecclesia, sed modo habetur ibi quasi cœnobiũ quorũdam Christianorum, qui Georgici vocantur. Sciendum enim est, quod vbiq; intra terram Saracenorum, & similiter multorum Paganorum inueniuntur Christiani dispersi, habitantes sub tributo, qui licet sint baptizati omnes, & beatissimam Trinitatem credentes, diuersificantur tamen nominibus, moribus, ritibus, fide, & opinionibus: ita vt semper vel in multis vel in aliquibus dissentiant à Romanæ Ecclesiæ consuetudinibus.

Christiani Georgici.

Iacobitæ. Syrij. Georgici. Cordelarij. Indi. Nubij. Nestorini. Arriani.

Aliqui námque eorũ dicuntur Christiani Iacobitæ: hij errant circa peccatorum remissionem, dicentes, non debere confiteri homini sed soli Deo. Alij Syrij, Isti in fermentato pane conficiunt Sacramentum altaris ritu Græcorum. Alij Georgici, hi omnes ferunt in *capite* tonsuras: clerici rotundas, laici quadratas, sequentes etiam in multis mores Græcorum. Alij Cordelarij eo quod se cingunt desuper corde. Alij Indi, Nubij, Nestorini, & Arriani.

Præfatus autem mons magnus, vocatur hortus Abrahæ, ex eo quod Abraham patriarcha ibi dicitur commoratus, & currit propè montem riuulus, in cuius aqua vel fonte Deus sal per Helizeũ prophetam mitti iussit, vt sanaretur sterilitas, id est, amaritudo aquæ. Nec distat hic mons à Ierico vltra grandem leucam.

Capvt. 18.

De notabilibus alijs locis, & mari mortuo.

RVrsum de ciuitate sanctæ Ierusalem versus Occidentem itinere leucæ, habetur pulchra satis Ecclesia, in loco vbi dicitur creuisse arbor crucis salutiferæ. Arbor excelsa, digno stipite sacra Christi mẽbra tangere. Tenetur istud quidẽ pro certa veritate: nam & hoc satis testatur constructio tãtæ, & talis Ecclesiæ, quãuis multa aliena, & incerta scripta de crucis arbore ferãtur per orbẽ. Hinc ad duas leucas est & alia Ecclesia, vbi obuiauerũt sibi Maria virgo, & Elizabeth eius cognata, & ad salutationem Mariæ Christi baiulæ exultauit Iohannes in vtero Elisabeth grauidæ.

Mons.

Emaus castellum.

De isto quoque ad leucam est Emaus castellum, distans in spacio stadiorũ 60. ab Ierusalem, vbi discipuli in cœna die resurrectionis Domini cognouerant eum in fractione panis. Porrò ab Ierusalem ad alium exitum, ad duo stadia videtur spelunca grandis de qua dicitur quòd tempore Cosdri Imperatoris Persarum, fuerunt circa Ierusalem 12. mille martyrum occisi, quorum omnium corpora leo habitans in spelunca congregauit ibidem voluntate diuina, tanquam pro singulorum sepultura obsequiosa.

Cosdrus Imperator.

Item ab vrbe ad leucas duas habetur in monte tumba sepulturæ sancti Samuelis prophetæ, qui

qui mons nunc vocatur exultationis vel lætitiæ, eò quod peregrinis ab illa parte intrãtibus reddit primum sanctæ ciuitatis aspectum. Ab oppido autem Ierico in 30. stadiorum spacio venitur ad Iordanis fluuij locum, vbi beatus Iohannes Baptista Christum sacri baptismatis merebatur tingere lymphis. Et in cuius reuerendi mysterij veneratione habetur ad dimidiam leucam à fluuio ædificium honestæ Ecclesiæ consecratum in nomine eiusdem venerabilis baptistæ ministri. Ab hac Ecclesia de propè vidi domum de qua patiebar mihi narrari, quòd in eodem loco olim fuerit Ieremiæ sancti habitatio prophetæ. Mons exultationis.

Notandum est. Iordanis fluuius quamuis grandis non sit, bonorum tamen piscium copiam nutrit, ortum accipiens sub monte Libanon ex duobus fontibus, scilicet Ior, & Dan, quæ nomina simul mixta nomen Iordanis efficiunt. Decurrit autem per quendam locum dictum Maron, ac secus stagnum quod dicitur Mare Tyberiadis, ac subter montes Gylboe per amœnissima loca, átque in subterraneis meatibus per longum spacium se occultans tandem exit in planitie, quæ dicitur Meldam, id est, forum, quod certis temporibus ibi Nundinæ exercentur, & ad extremum se iactat in mare mortuum. Iordanis descriptio.

Hoc stagnum quod vocatur mare mortuũ habet longitudinis 600. ferè stadia, & latitudinis 150. & appropinquat aliqua pars huius maris ad quatuor leucas propè Ierico, videlicet ad latus camporum Engadi, ex quibus (vt suprà dictum est) eradicatæ fuerunt arbores Balsami, quæ modò sunt in agro Cayr Ægypti. Istud mare dicitur mortuum. Mare mortuum. Nota.

Primò quidem quòd non viuidè currit, sed est quasi lacus. Cur mare mortuum dicatur.

Secundò quod amara est eius aqua, & fœtidum reddit odorem.

Tertiò quòd propter eius amaritudinem terra adiacens littori nil viride profert.

Quartò (prout dicitur) si cadat in ea bestia, vel aliud quid viuens, vix poterit plenè mori siue submergi in octo diebus, nec nutrit in se pisces aut quid simile:

Littora quóque sua variant quam sæpè colorem, & sine vlla agitatione ventorum eijcit in quibusdam locis se aqua, extra proprios terminos. Per huiusmodi aquam dicitur Deus pro indicibili vitio Pentapolim submersisse, Sodomam, Gomorram, Adamam, Seboim, & Segor.

Quidam vocant hoc mare lacũ Asphaltidis, alij fluuium Dæmonũ, aut flumen Putre. Quod autem olim propheta interprerans dixit, montes Gilboe, nec ros nec pluuia veniat super vos, magis spiritualitèr quàm literalitèr videtur intelligendum. Nam ibi crescunt altissimi cedri, & arbores poma ferentes, ad capitis quantitatem humani, ex quibus valdè saporosus fit potus. Nota.

Mare istud mortuum determinat fines terræ promissionis, & Arabiæ. Ideóq; vltra ipsum mare condidit quondam, vnus successorum Godfridi de Bollion forte & spectabile castrum, ponens illic copiosam Christianorum militiam ad terram promissionis custodiendum. Nunc verò temporis, est Soldani, & appellatur Caruth, id est mons Regalis. Sub hoc monte est villa dicta Sobal: habitat in illis partibus magna Christianorum multitudo.

CAPVT. 19.

De Nazareth, & Samaria.

NAzareth in prouincia Galileæ in qua nutritus, & de qua cognominatus est Dominus vniuersorum, distans ab Hierosolymis ad tres circiter dietas, erat quondã ciuitas, quæ nunc est dispersa, & rara domorum, quod vix villæ sibi competit nomen: & in loco Annunciationis, vbi Angelus ad Mariam dixit, Aue gratia plena, Dominus tecum, habebatur olim bona Ecclesia, pro qua paruum Saraceni restituerunt habitaculum, in colligendas peregrinorum offerendas.

A Nazareth redeundo per terram Galileæ, transitur per Ramathaym Sophim, vbi nascebatur fidelis Samuel propheta Domini, & per Sylo, vbi locus orationis erat antequam in Ierusalem: & per Sichem magnæ vbertatis vallem, itur in prouinciam Samariæ, vbi habetur & bona ciuitas nunc dicta Neapolis, distans, à sancta vrbe spacio solius dietæ, ac per fontem Iacob, super quem Iesus fatigatus ab itinere colloquebatur Samaritanæ, vbi & apparet ruina destructæ Ecclesiæ quondam illic habitæ. Et est ibi villa adhuc vocata Sychem, & in ea est mausoleum Ioseph patriarchæ filij Iacob: ad cuius ossa visitanda sub deuotione non minus peregrini Iudæi aduenient, quàm Christiani.

Hinc

Samaria, nunc Sebaste.

Hinc satis propè est mons Garizin cum vetusto templo orationis Samaritanorum: ex tunc intratur Samaria, quæ modò appellatur Sebaste, & est illius principalis ciuitas prouinciæ. In qua fuit primum terræ mandatum corpus beati Ioannis Baptistæ, inter sacra corpora Heliæi, & Abdiæ Prophetarum, vt quorum assimilibatur virtutibus in vita, corporibus iungeretur in sepultura. Hæc quoque distat ab Hierosolymis, fortassis 2. dietas.

Habetur & alius puteus aut fons intra illa montana, quem plerique similiter fontem Iacob appellant, cuius aqua secundum quatuor anni tempora variatur à suo colore, vt sit quandóq; clara, quandóque turbida, nunc viridis, & nunc rubra. Certum est autem tempore Apostolorù cum Samaria recepisset verbum Dei, illos fuisse conuersos, & baptizatos, in nomine Domini Iesu, & tamen postea per quendam Caliphorum peruersos, Ogerus dux Danorum per Templariorù virtutem rursum subiugauit Christianitati: sicq; post plures euentus, & variationes, illi qui nùc sunt Samaritæ, finxerunt sibi hæresim propriam, & ritù ab omnibus nationibus singularem.

Nota.

Ogerus Dux Danus.

Fatentur autem se credere in Deum, qui cuncta creauit: recipiúntque pentateucum scripturæ, cum Psalterio Dauidis, acerrimè contendentes, se solos dilectissimos Dei filios: qui etiam pro nobili differentia inuoluunt capita linteo rubeo, Saraceni autem albo, Indi croceo, & Christiani ibi manentes Indico, hoc est, aereo, seu hiacynthino.

Tegumenti capitis differentia.

Porro à Nazareth quatuor leucis, est ciuitas olim dicta Naym, in 2. miliario Thabor montis contra Meridiem iuxta Endor. Icronimus *Ante* cuius portam resuscitauit Christus defunctum filium vnicum matris suæ, præsentibus duabus turmis hominum copiosorum. Hinc quoque ad leucas duas, est ciuitas Israel, vbi olim morabatur pessima regina Iezabel, quam Dei iudicio equorum vngulis conculcatam, canes ferè vsque ad caluariam comederunt.

CAPVT. 20.

De territorio Galileæ, & Samariæ, & de villa Sardenay.

ITem à Nazareth ad leucæ dimidium, monstrantur in rupe vestigia pedum, quæ dicuntur esse Domini nostri Iesu Christi vbi de manibus Iudæorum, ipsum de alta rupe præcipitare volentium desiluit in istam. De quo saltu quidam intelligunt illud scriptum Euangelicum, Iesus autem transiens per medium illorum ibat.

Ad quatuor autem leucas de Nazareth, est Cana Galileæ, vbi Christus ad vrbanas matris preces, mutauit vndam in vinum optimum.

Mons Thabor.

Ad distantiam quatuor leucarum à Nazareth, venitur in Thabor, montē spectabilē, vbi transfigurabatur Christus, coram quibusdam suis Apostolis, apparentibus ibidem, Mose, & Helia, prophetis, vocéq; dilapsa à magnifica Patris gloria, & videbatur Petro bonum ibi esse: quondam in hoc monte habebatur ciuitas, cum pluribus Ecclesijs, quarum nunc sola restant vestigia, excepto quod ille locus transfigurationis est inhabitatus, qui est Schola Dei nominatus.

Obstruerentur.

Notandum. Thabor est in medio Galileæ, campus mira iucunditate sublimis, distans à * Diotesaria 3. milliaribus contra Orientem.

Item de Nazareth in tres leucas est villa, seu castrum * Zaffaré, de quo recolo me supradixisse capite 4. Et inde venitur in Mare Galileæ, quod quamuis dicatur mare, est lacus aquæ dulcis longus.

Mare Tyberiadis.

Vltra centum 60. forsitan stadia est lacus, bonorum piscium ferax & vber, qui etiam in alio loco sui vocatur mare Tyberiadis, & in alia mare Genezareth, varians sibi nomen, secundum ciuitates, & terras propinquas. Circa hoc mare Christus frequentèr, & libentèr ambulasse videtur: hic vocauit ad sui discipulatum, Petrū, & Andream, Iacobum, & Ioannem: hic super vndā siccis ambulabat vestigijs, & præcipitem Petrū filiū tentantem, verbo increpationis releuat ne mergatur, hic denique rediuiuus à morte replenit discipulorum rete magnis piscibus 153.

Item in ciuitate Tiberiade, quæ est propè hoc mare habetur in veneratione mensa illius cœnæ, quam in Emaus castello Christus cænauit, cum ab oculis commensalium euanuit. Hic de propè monstratur mons ille fertilis, mons ille pinguis, in quo de paucis panibus, & de paucioribus piscibus iussu Christi fuerunt saturati, quinque millia hominum.

Ad

Ad initium autem prædicti maris iuxta villam Capernaum habetur fortius castrum totius terræ promissionis, in quo dicitur nata fuisse sancta Anna mater Virginis Mariæ.

Prædictis itaq; Christi vestigijs, & terræ sanctæ locis à peregrino cum deuotione cordis & reuerentia debita visitatis, si desiderat reuerti, posit illud facere per Damascum, quæ est ciuitas longa, nobilis, & grandis, ac plena omnium rerum mercimonijs, cum tamen distat à portu maris tribus plenè dictis, per quod spacium itineris, cuncta traijciuntur à suis equis, Dromedarijs, & Camelis: & putatur à plerisque narrantibus fundata in loco vbi Cain protoplaustorum filius Abel fratrem suum occidit. Damascus.

A Damasco de propinquo est mons Seyr, ciuitas grandis fumata duplicibus muris ac populosa nimis, in qua sunt multi in arte Physica famosi professi. Item à Damasco haud remotè distat castrum satis munitum, & firmum, quod Derces est nominatum. Habent autem in illis, & vlterioribus partibus hunc vsum: si quando castrum ab hostibus fuerit sic obsessum, quòd Dominus eius non possit emittere nuncium amico suo remotè moranti, recipit columbam olim in castro, vel domo amici natam, vel educatam, quam hic sibi per certam prouisionem allatam detinuit incaueatam, & scriptas quas vult literas alligans collo columbæ, dimittit liberam volare, quæ protinus festinat ad locum propriæ natiuitatis. Sicque videtur cognosci in illo castro quid agatur in isto.

Cæterum peregrinus à Damasco reuertendo, in quinque leucis venit Sardenay, quæ est villa in alta rupe, cum multis Ecclesijs religiosorum Monachorum, & sanctarū monialiū fidei Christianæ. In quarum vna coram maiori altari in tabula lignea erat olim imago beatissimæ virginis Mariæ non sculpta sed depicta in plano spacio. Ex hoc reditur per valles Bokar fertiles & pro pascendis pecorum gregibus exuberantes: & intratur in montana vbi copiositas est fontium qui effluunt impetu de Libano. Ibique decurrit fluuius Sabbatayr, sic dictus quod diebus Sabbatis euidentèr rapidius transit, quàm alijs sex diebus. Villa Sardenay.

Peruenitur hinc ad satis altum montem, propè Tripolim ciuitatem, in qua ad præsens plures Christiani Catholicæ fidei habitant iugo infidelitū nimis oppressi. Ex hoc loco sibi deliberet peregrinus, quem sibi maris portū accipiat ad repatriandū, videlicet Beruth, an Sur vel Tyrū. Sur, vel Tyrus.

Postremò sciendum, quod terra promissionis in totali longitudine sui à Dan qui est sub Libano vsq; ad Berseba in Austrum continet circiter centum, & 80. leucas Lombardicas, & ab Hierico in totali latitudine circiter 60. Notandum, Dan est viculus in quarto à Pennea de Miliario euntibus, contra Septentrionem: vsque hodiè sic vocatur terminus Iudeæ, contra Septentrionem est etiam & fons Ior, de quo & Iordanis fluuius erumpens alterū sortitus nomen Ior. Termini Iudeæ terræ à Bersabe incipiunt vsque ad Dan, qui vsque Peneaden terminatur, Ieronimus.

Capvt. 21.

De secta detestabili Saracenorum & eorum fide.

IAm restat vt de secta Saracenorū aliquid scribam vel compendiosè, secundum quòd cum ijs frequentèr colloquendo audiui, & liber Mahometi, quem Alcaron, vel Mesahaf, vel Harmè vocant, ijs præcipit, sicut illum sæpè inspexi, & studiosè perlegi. Diligentia Mandeuilli.

Credunt itaq; Saraceni in Deū creatorem cœli & terræ, qui fecit omnia in ijs contenta, & sine quo nihil est factum. Et expectant diem nouissimum iudicij, in quo mali cum corpore & anima descensuri sunt in infernū perpetuò cruciandi, & boni equidem cum anima & corpore intraturi Paradisum fœlicitatis æternæ. Et hæc quidē fides pœnè inest omniū mortaliū nationibus, lingua & ratione vtentibus. Verumtamen de qualitate Paradisi est magna diuersitas inter credentes. Fides Saracenorum.

Nam & Saraceni & Pagani, & omnes sectæ præter Iudæos & baptizatos Christianos sentiunt bonorum Paradisum fore terrestrem illum de quo fuit expulsus Adam propter inobedientiam protoplaustus: qui (vt putant) fluit, vel tunc fluet pluribus riuis lactis & mellis, & vbi in domibus & mansionibus nobiliter iuxta meritum vniuscuiusq; ædificatur auro, & argento & gemmis, perfruentur omnibus corporalibus delicijs, in oblectatione animæ æternaliter

sine fine. Illi ergò qui fidē sanctæ Trinitatis carent, & Christum qui est vera lux ignorant, in tenebris ambulant. Iudæi verò & omnes baptizati rectè sentiunt Paradisum cœlestem & spiritualem, vbi quilibet secundum meritum Diuinitati vnietur, per cognitionem, & amorem. Attamen Iudæi quod contra Scripturas suas sanctæ Trinitati contradicunt, & Christo obloquuntur, qui est vera via, nesciunt quo vadunt. De baptizatis autē, qui firmitèr fidē Catholicam in humilitate cordis sub Ecclesiæ præceptis seruauerunt, hi soli filij sunt lucis, & in via veniendi ad cœlestē Paradisum quē Christus verbo prædicauit, & ad quē corpore & anima, videntibus discipulis, de facto cōscendit.

Credunt etiam Saraceni, omnia esse vera, quæ Deus ore prophetarum est locutus, sed in diuersitate, quia nesciunt specificari, imò specificanti contradicerent defacili, vel negarent. Inter omnes prophetas ponunt quatuor excellentiores, quorum supremum & excellentissimū fatentur Iesum Mariæ Virginis filiū, quem & asserunt, sermonē, vel loquelam, vel spiritū Dei, & pronunciatorē sententiarū Dei, in iudicio generali futuro, & missū à Deo ad Christianos docendos.

Secundo loco Abrahamum dicunt fuisse verum Dei cultorem, & amicum.

Tertium dant Mosi locum tanquam prolocutori Dei Missō specialiter, ad instruendos Iudæos.

Quartum volunt esse Mahomet, sanctum, & verum Dei nuncium ad seipsos missum, cum legē diuina in dicto libro plene contenta. Tenent itáq; indubitatè, quod beata Maria Iesum peperit, & cōcepit virgo manens intacta, ac libētèr loqui audiunt de incarnatione in ipsa facta per annunciationem Gabrielis Archangeli. Nam & Alcharō eorum dicit, ad salutationem Angeli virginem expauisse, quòd tunc erat in partibus Galileæ incantator, Turquis nomine, qui per susceptam sibi formam Angeli plures virgines defloruerat, & beatam Virginem conuenisse Angelum, an esset Turquis. Refert quóq; eam peperisse sub palma Arbore, vbi habebatur præsepe bouis, & asinæ, & illic præ confusione puerperij, & verecundia ac dolore, fuisse in proximò desperatam, & infantulum in consolationem matris dixisse, materne timeas, Deus in te effudit secreta ad saluationem Mundi. Hæc & his similia multa ibi scribuntur figmenta, & isti plura inter se narrando componunt, quæ hoc loco ventilanda non sunt.

Et dicit liber Iesum sanctissimum omnium Prophetarum fuisse veracem in dictis & factis, benignum, pium, iustum, & ab omni vitio penitus alienum: Sanctum quóque Ioannem Euangelistam post prædictos Prophetas fuisse alijs Sanctiorem, cuius & Euangelium fatentur esse plenum salutari, ac veraci doctrina, & ipsum Sanctum Ioannem illuminasse cæcos, leprosos mundasse, suscitasse mortuos, & in cœlum volasse viuentem. Erat enim (prout dicit) plus quàm Propheta, & absque omni peccato, contradicente eodem de seipso, si dixerimus quòd peccatum non habemus, veritas in nobis non est: vnde & si quando Sarraceni tenent scriptum Euangelij Sancti Ioannis, aut illud beati Lucæ, missus est Angelus Gabriel, eleuant ambabus manibus pro reuerentia super caput & super oculos id ponentes, & osculantur quàm sæpè cum summa deuotione. Nonnulli etiam eorum in Græco, aut Latino literati consueuerunt cum deuotione cordis id lectitare.

Idem liber dicit Iudæos perfidos fuisse, quòd Iesu eis primùm misso à Deo, & multa miracula facienti credere noluerunt, quódque per ipsum tota gens Iudæorum fuit dignè decepta, & meritò illusa hoc modo. Iesus in hora dum Iudas eum pro signo traditionis osculabatur, posuit per Metamorphosin figuram suam, in ipsum Iudam, sicque Iudæi in ambiguo lumine nocturni temporis, pro Iesu Iudam capientes, ligantes, trahentes, deridentes, in fine crucifixerunt, putantes se omnia facere Iesu, qui protinus capto & ligato Iuda, viuus ascendit in cœlum, descensurus iterum viuus ad iudicium in die finali.

Et addit, Iudæos falsissimè vsque hodie nos Christianos suo mendacio decipere, quo dicunt se Iesu crucifixisse, quem non tetegerunt. Hinc errorem tenent Sarraceni obstinati: & quoddam argumentum inire conantur. Nam si Deus (aiunt) permisisset Iesum, innocentem, & iustum ita miserabiliter occidi, censuram suæ summæ iustitiæ minuisset. Sed cùm ipsi, vt supradictum est, in tenebris ambulant, idcircò ignorantes Dei iustitiam, statuere volunt iustitiam, imò iniustitiam quam fabricant in corde suo, quia nos de cruce Christi scriptum nouimus, benedictum est lignum per quod fit iustitia. Isti tamen quod in aliquibus appropinquant veræ fidei, multi quandoque eorum inuenti sunt conuersi, & plures adhuc de facili con-

Conuersio Saracenorum non desperanda.

conuerterentur, si haberent prædicatores, sincerè eis verbum tractantes, quippe càm iam fateantur legem Mahometi quandoque defecturam, sicut nunc periit lex Iudæorum, & legem Christianorum vsque in finem seculi permansuram.

CAPVT 22.

De vita, & nomine Mahometi.

PRomisi in superioribus aliquid narrare de vita Mahometi legislatoris Sarracenorum, prout vidi in scriptis, vel audiui in partibus illis. Itaque Machō siue Machon, vtrum in secunda syllaba scribatur N, litera, vel non idem refert: & si tertia syllaba addatur, & dicatur Machomet, vel etiam quarta, Machometus, nihil differt, quòd semper idem nomen representat. Ipsi tamen illum sæpiùs nominant Machon. Putatur autem istum Mahomet habuisse generationis ortum de Ismael Abrahæ filio naturali de concubina Agar, vnde & vsque hodie quidam Sarracenorum dicuntur Ismaelitæ, alij Agareni: sed & quidam Moabitæ, & Ammonitæ, à duobus Loth filijs Moab & Amon, genitis per incestum de proprijs filiabus.

Hic verò Machon, circa annum incarnationis Domini sexcentissimum natus, in Arabia pauper erat gratis pascens camelos, & interdum sequens Mercatores in Aegyptum fordellos illorum proprio collo deferens pro mercede. Et quoniam tunc temporis tota Aegyptus erat Christianæ fidei, didicit aliquid de fide nostra, quòd diuertere solebat ad cellulam Heremitæ commorantis in deserto. Et quodammodo fabulantur Sarraceni, quod illo quandoque ingrediente cellulàm, cellulæ ostium mutatum in ianuam valdè patentem, velut ante palatium, & gloriantur hoc primum miraculum. Qui ex tunc conquerendo sibi pecunias, & discendo seculi actus diues est effectus, & prudens ab omnibus reputatus, in tantum, vt postmodum in terræ gubernatorem Corrozaen, (quæ est vna prouinciarum regni Arabiæ) assumeretur, ac deinde defuncto principe Codige per coniugium illius relictæ in eiusdem prouinciæ principem eleuaretur. Erat autem satis formosus, & valens, & vltra modum in verbis & factis maturus, & principalis, & satis diligebatur à suis, magis tamen metuebatur, & erat epilepticus, nemine tamen sciente. Sed tandem ab vxore comperto contristabatur, se tali morbido nuptam, qui versutus fefellit, & consolabatur mœstam figmento mendacij excogitati, dicens sanctum Dei Archangelum Gabrielem ad colloquendum & inspirandum sibi, quædam arcana & diuina interdum venire, & pro virtute aut claritate veniente se subitò cadere & iacere ad intendendum inspirationem. Tempus Natiuitatis Mahometi. Fabulæ Sarracenorum.

Post hoc autem, mortuo etiam Rege Arabiæ, tanta egit per simulationem sanctitatis, per donorum effusionem, & copiam promissionum, quod electus est & assumptus, in totius Arabiæ Regem. Incrementum authoritatis Mahometi.

Confirmato igitur Mahometo in regnationis suæ maiestate suprema, transactis à conceptione Domini nostri Iesu Christi annis solaribus 612. in die Iouis feria quinta Hebdomadæ promulgauit præfatum detestandæ legis suæ librum, plenum perfidiæ & erroris, & à subditis tempore vitæ suæ seruari coegit, qui & vsque hodie in tanto æuo, & tot populis non sine iusto Dei iudicio colitur & seruatur, quamuis miserabile, & miserandum videtur, quòd tot animæ in illo perduntur. Erat quoque tempore regni eius, & alius Heremita in deserto Arabiæ, quem etiam quasi pro deuotione frequentare solebat, ducens secum aliquos de principibus & familia. Super quo plures eorum attediati tractabant occidere Heremitam. Accidit tandem vna noctium, vt rex Heremitam & seipsum inebriaret, & inter loquendum ambo consopiti dormirent. Et ecce habita occasione comites gladio de latere Regis càm extracto Heremitam interfecerunt, iterum càm condentes cruentum gladium in vagina: ac ille euigilans virum videns occisum, magno furore succensus imposuit familiæ factum, volens omnes per iustitiam condemnari ad mortem. Cúmque coram iudicibus & sapientibus ageretur, hi omnes pari concordia, simili voce, & vno ore testabantur tam diuisim quàm coniunctim, Regem in ebrietate sua hominem occidisse, quamuis fortassis esset facti oblitus. Et in plenariam rei probationem, dixerunt ipsum reposuisse mucronem in loculo nudum intersum, sed calido cruore madentem. Quo ita inuento, ac tantis rex obrutus testificationibus, nimiùm erubuit, plenè obmutuit, & confusus recessit. Et ob hoc omnibus diebus suis vina bibere Tempus promulgationis Alcharani. Occasio vinu inebriendi Sarracenis.

bibere renunciauit: & in lege sua à cunctis bibi vetuit, ac vniuersis bibētibus, colentibus, & vendentibus maledixit. Cuius maledictio cōuertatur in caput eius, & in verticē ipsius iniquitas eius descēdat, cùm de vino scriptum cōstet, quòd Deum & homines lætificet. Igitur de eo Sarraceni in sua superstitione deuoti vinum non bibunt, quanquam plures eorum quòd timent in publico non verentur in secreto.

Potus Sarracenorum.

Est autem communis potus eorum dulcis, delectabilis, & nutritiuus de Casaniel confectus, de qua & Saccarum fieri solet.

Mahometus iste post mortem suam pessimam (mors enim peccatorum pessima) conditus fuit honorificè in capsa, ditissimo auro, & argento, & saxis perornata in vna ciuitate regni sui Arabiæ, vbi & pro sancto, & vero Dei nuncio incepit deuotè coli à suis per annos ducentos sexaginta, atque ex tunc circa annum Domini nongentissimum cum veneratione multa cadauer eius translatum est, in digniorem ciuitatem dictam Merchuel Iachrib, vbi iam longè latéque pro maximo sanctorum, à cordibus à diabolica fraude deceptis colitur, requiritur & adoratur.

Alias Mecca.

In ipsius translatione ipsa ciuitas restaurabatur, & firmabatur multò honorificentiùs, & fortiùs destructione sua, quæ per Carolum magnum Regem Franciæ anteà fuit plenè annihilata, dū Ogerus dux Danorum præfatus in ea tenebatur captiuus, quem Templarij ad filios Brehir Regis Sarracenorum cum traditione vendiderant, eò quòd ipse Ogerus dictum Brehir in prœlio occiderat, iuxta Lugdunum Franciæ ciuitatem. Et si quando nationis alterius quis ad legem conuertitur Sarracenorum, dum à flamine eorum recipiendus est, dicit & facit eum Dei nuncium, & repetit sic: Laellech ella alla Mahomet zoyzel alla heth: quod valet tantum; Non est Deus nisi vnus, & Mahomet fuit eius nuncius.

Ogerus a Templariis proditus.

Capvt 23.

De colloquio Authoris cum Soldano.

FInaliter Sarraceni ponunt Iudæos malos, eò quòd legem Dei violauerunt sibi missam, & cōmissam per Mosem. Et à simili probant Christianos malos, quòd non seruant legē Euāgelij Christi, quam seruandam susceperint. Inest enim ijs falsa persuasio ita vt putent vnūquemq; in ea qua natus est secta posse beari, si susceptam seruauerit illibatè: ideóq; probant ab opposito se esse bonos, quia, sicut dicunt, obseruant scripta legis præcepta & ceremonias sancti libri sui à Deo sibi transmissi per beatū nunciū suū Mahomet. Vnde & ego non tacebo quid mihi cōtigit.

Error eorum qui putant vnumquemque in sua religione posse beari.

Dominus Soldanus quodam die in castro, expulsis omnibus de camera sua, me solùm retinuit secum tanquam pro secreto habēdo colloquio. Consuetū enim est ijs eijcere omnes tēpore secretorum: qui diligenter à me interrogauit qualis esset gubernatio vitæ in terra nostra, breuiter respondebā, bona, per Dei gratiam, qui recepto hoc verbo dixit ita non esse. Sacerdotes (inquit) vestri, qui seipsos exhibere deberent alijs in exemplū, in malis iacent actibus, parùm curant de Templi seruitio: habitu & studijs se conformant mundo: se inebriant vino, continentiā infringentes, cum fraude negotiantes, ac praua principibus consilia ingerentes. Cōmunis quóq; populus, dum festis diebus intēdere deberent deuotioni in templo, currit in hortis, in spectaculis, in tabernis vsq; ad crapulam, & ebrietatem, & pinguia manducans & bibens, ac in bestiarum morem, luxuriam prauam exercens. In vsura, dolo, rapina, furto, detractione, mendacio & periurio viuunt plures eorum euidenter, ac si qui talia non agant, vt fatui reputantur, & pro nimia cordis superbia nesciunt ad libitum excogitare, qualiter se velint habere, mutando sibi indumenta, nunc longa, nunc curta nimis, quandóq; ampla, quandóq; stricta vltra modum, vt in his singulis appareant derisi potiùs quàm vestiti: pileos quoque, calceos, caligas, corrigias sibi fabricant exquisitas, cùm etiam è contra deberent secundùm Christi sui doctrinam simplices, Deo deuoti, humiles, veraces, inuicem diligentes, inuicē concordantes, & iniuriam de facili remittentes. Scimus etiam eos propter peccata sua perdidisse hanc terram optimam quam tenemus, nec timemus eam amittere, quamdiu se taliter gubernant. Attamen non dubitamus, quin in futurum per meliorem vitæ conuersationem merebuntur de nostris eam manibus recuperare.

Colloquium Soldani cum Mandeuillo.

Reprehensio Sacerdotum.

Reprehensio vulgi iustissima.

Vestimentorum varietas reprehensa.

Ad

Ad hoc ego vltra confusus & stupefactus, nequiui inuenire responsum; verebar enim obloqui veritati, quamuis ab Infidelis ore prolatæ, & vultu præ rubore demisso percunctatus sum, Domine, salua reuerentia, qualiter potestis ita plenè hoc noscere? De hominibus (ait) meis interdum mitto ad modum Mercatorũ per terras, & regiones Christianorũ, cum Balsamo, gemmis, sericis, ac aromatibus, ac per illos singula exploro, tam de statu Imperatoris, ac Põtificum, Principum, ac Sacerdotum, quàm Prælatorum, nec non æquora, prouincias, ac distinctiones earum.

Igitur peracta collocutione nostra satis producta, egressos principes in cameram reuocauit, ex quibus quatuor de maioribus iuxta nos aduocans, fecit eos expressè ac debitè, per singulas diuisiones in lingua Gallicana destinguere per partes, & singularum nomina partium, omnem regionem terræ Angliæ, ac alias Christianorum terras multas, acsi inter nostros fuissent nati, vel multo tempore conuersati.

Nam & ipsum Soldanum audiui cum ijs bene & directè loquentem idioma Francorum. Itaque in omnibus his mente consternatus obmutui, cogitans, & dolens de peccatis singulis, rem taliter se habere.

Nunc piè igitur (rogo) consideremus, & corde attendamus, quantæ sit confusionis, & qualis opprobrij, dum Christiani nominis inimici nobis nostra exprobrant crimina. Et studeat quilibet in melius emendare, quatenus (Deo propitio) possit in breui tempore, hæc de qua loquimur, terra Deo delecta, hæc sacrosancta terra, hæc filijs Dei promissa, nobis Dei adoptiuis restitui: vel certè, quod magis exorandum est, ipsi Sarraceni ad fidem Catholicam, & Christianam obedientiam, Ecclesiæ filijs aggregari, vt simul omnes per Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum consubstantialem Dei filium perueniamus ad cœlestem Paradisum.

Insignia Mandeuilli peroratio.

Explicit prima pars huius operis.

Secunda pars.

CAPVT. 24.

Persuasio ad non credentes terrarum diuersitates per orbem terræ.

MIrabilis Deus mirabilia propter semetipsum creauit, vt scilicet ab intellectualibus creaturis suis intelligeretur, & per hoc diligeretur, atque in hoc ipse creator, & creatura se mutuò fruerentur. Mirabilis est ergo Deus maximè in illo, quòd ipse solus sufficit sibi: & mirabilis in altis Dominus, hoc est, in cœlo & in cœlestibus: sed & mirabilis in terris, & in terrestribus: tamen si verum indicauerimus, nihil est mirabile, quod mirũ videri non debet, si ille qui omnipotens est, fecit quæcunque voluit in cœlo & in terra. Sed ecce dum nobis contingit videre rem quam prius non vidimus, miratur noster animus, non quòd simpliciter mirum est, sed quod nobis id mirum & nouum. Deus vnus, simplex quidem est, vt creaturæ cœlestes quòd Deo magis de propinquo sunt eò simpliciores existunt. Terrestres autem quòd in situ remotiori sint, idcircò magis diuersæ, magis contrariæ inter se sunt.

Reprehensio incredulorũ, qui nihil credunt, nisi quod ipsi viderint.

Ergo quicunque sapiens est non stupet animo, dum in terrenis respicit res varias, & diuersas, vel dum diuersa contingunt, seu inueniuntur in partibus terræ diuersis: sed qui intellectum super sensum non eleuant, & magis credunt oculo suo corporeo, quàm spirituali, & qui nunquam à natiuitatis suæ loco recesserunt, isti vix volunt credere, seu possunt alijs vera narrantibus de mundi diuersitatibus.

Attamen tales, si vellent, de facili videre possint suum errorem. Quia quicunque natus in vna ciuitate, vel patria, si tantummodò moueat se ad proximam ciuitatem, inueniet ibi procul dubio aliquam differentiam, vel diuersitatem in idiomate linguæ, vel in modo loquendi, in moribus hominum, in occupationibus, in legibus, in consuetudinibus, vel etiam in agrorum fructibus, in arborum frugibus, seu in his quæ gignuntur in terra, in aere, & in aquis.

Si ergo aliqualiter inueniri possit differentia in proximo, quantò maior sit distantia, tantò maior differentia æstimandi est in remoto, vel in remotiori, seu remotissimo loco. Vnde ego, quia in præcedente parte tractatus narrare cœpi aliqua, quæ in his, & in peregrinatione mea vsque in terram promissionis sanctam vidi, de quibus etiam potest, & poterit constare multis, qui in partibus nostris eadem peregrinatione me præcesserunt, & secuti sunt, procedam in

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in describendo aliqua illorum, quæ vidi & percepi in deambulatione mea, qua peragraui multas alias terras, & perlegi multas vndas, vsque in multorum hoc tempus annorum, & propter insipientes, & discredentes non tacebo. Sed nec propter credentes nec sapientes satis mouebor; tamen vt diuersa Dei opera qui respicere non possunt oculo, saltem legant, vel audiant ex hoc scripto. Pauca vtique vidi horum quæ sunt, sed pauca horum quæ vidi, narrabo.

Capvt. 25.

De Armenia, Persia, & Amazonia.

DE regionibus quæ Iudeæ contiguantur, scilicet Arabia, Aegypto & Syria, statui modicum vltra narrare, relinquens hunc locum narrandi alijs peregrinis. Et festinans ad terras remotiores, Armeniam minorem, non per singulas ciuitates, sed celeriter transiens, vidi à remotis amplum castrum vocatum Del espoyer, de quo mihi sustinui dici, quod sit vastum, & à nemine, habitatum, nisi à fantastica quadam Domina, seruante in medio maioris aulæ super perticam, volucrem rapacem, quæ dicitur Latinè accipiter, vel huiusmodi: quam auem, si aliquis hominum ingrediens se custodire perunigil absq; vlla somnolentia per septem continuos dies & noctes posset, ipsa Domina in fine facti apparens concederet illi quantamcunque faceret petitionem terræ, commodi, vel honoris, sed si obdormiret, periret. Huic tamen dicto parùm curaui accommodare aurem, nisi quòd communiter dicebatur, in bene transacto tempore prædicta fuisse tentata per duas personas, vnum Regem, & alterum Pastorem. Et Regi quidem quod indebitam fecit petitionem, vile successit negotium, pastori peroptimè successit negotium.

Mandeuillus nihil facit hos fabulas.

In Armenia maiori, est magna & bona ciuitas Artyron ad dietam propè fluuium Euphratem. Et sunt ibi duo montes euecti valdè, vnus Sabissatele, alter Ararath, quorum vltimus habet per anfractus, & periodos per ascẽsum viæ, ferè 7. leucas, & quasi omni tẽpore est plenus niue.

Artyron ciuitas. Sabissatelle. Ararath.

In illo loco fertur quieuisse Arca diluuij, cuius vnicus asser mõstratur, in Ecclesia Monachorũ ad montis pedẽ habitantiũ: attamẽ nullus hominũ pro frigore nimio attẽtare præsumit ascensũ.

Est autem & ibi ciuitas Landania, de qua nonnulli dicunt quòd Noe illam fundauerat, & ciuitas magna Hany, in qua, tempore Christianorum mille habebantur Ecclesiæ.

Landania. Hany magna ciuitas.

In illa Armenia sub Imperio Persiæ est famosa ciuitas Tauris, vbi de mercimonijs ponderalibus fit incestimabilis mercatura. Hinc ad decem dietas ad Orientem habetur ciuitas Zadona, in ea Imperator Persarum moratur, & est in eodem imperio ciuitas valdè magna Cassach, quæ recto itinere dicitur stare ab Hierosolymis 55. dietis. Geth ciuitas imperialis, & melior totius Persiæ in hàc terra noscitur esse, cùm tamen Carnaa sit satis maior.

Tauris ciuitas famosa. Zadone ciuitas. Casach. Geth. Carnaa.

Circa fines Persiæ in terra* Sennaar, est illa quæ olim dicebatur Babylonia, nec apparet ibi aliquid, quàm ruinæ grandis & vetustæ ciuitatis, quæ ab hominibus est deserta, sed à Draconibus inhabitata, & alijs animalibus, & volucribus venenosis. Hanc terram tenet Imperator Persarum, vt suprà dixi. Etiam intra fines Persiæ est terra, vbi sanctus Iob patiens morabatur, quæ modò dicitur terra Sues, in cuius montanis inuenitur Manna, quod venditur in Apothecis. Hunc terræ Sues contiguatur Chaldæa, quæ non est magna, quamuis nobilis regio habeatur. Et ab ista intratur Amazonia.

* Vel Sinar. Ruinæ antiquæ Babyloniæ.

Manna Apothecariorum Chaldæa.

Amazonia est modica insula, quam absque viris solæ regunt & inhabitant mulieres: cuius rei prima causa hæc fuit.

Amazonia insula.

Olim cum insula communiter à viris, & mulieribus habitabatur, Rex eius dictus Colopius cum omnibus nobilibus suis in bello contra Regnum Scithiæ occisus fuit. Audientes igitur nobilium vxores ipsius insulæ se viduatas, super his, in doloroso furore animi ad plures congressiones occiderũt & fugauerunt omnes aliarum mulierum maritos, ne scilicet sua ingenuitas subiaceret voluntati, & potestati plebis. Et tandem post reformatam inter se pacem mulieres inito consilio statuerunt se solas absque viris dominari in terra, atque ex tunc sumi sibi regimen per certam electionis formam, quæ robusta, agilis, sapiens, iuuenis, ac valens apparet in armis.

Sciendũ tamen est, extra hanc insulam flumen esse, & alias modicas insulas, quarũ vna dicitur

dicitur Carmagite, de quibus licitum est ijs accessire viros, & amasios bis in anno, ita vt nulla moram trahat septem dierum naturalium sub pœna indubitata occisionis. Infantem masculū nutrire licet quoadusq; per se comedat & gradiatur, tunc transmittendus est in domū paternam. Generosæ natæ puellæ aufertur ignito cultro vber sinistrum pro scuto gerendo, degeneri dextrum, ad sagittandum de arcu Turco.

Regina cum consiliarijs & officialibus suis regit sapientèr & benè terram, & seruat omnes sibi sub districta obedientia, [illegible] Amazonie cum iacentium insularum Reges contra se ad inuicem prœliari solent, tunc Regina cum suis Nobilibus ab vna parte pro magno stipendio vocari solet in adiutorium, vbi & inuctæ sunt, sapiētes in consilijs, probæ in armis, acres in conflictibus, & in omnibus Curiæ actibus bene valētes.

Caput 26.

De Aethiopia, & Diamantibus, & de infima India.

Aethiopia consistit à terra Chaldeorum in Austrum, quæ distinguitur in Oriētalem Aethiopiam, & Meridionalem, quarum prima in illis partibus vocatur Cush, propter hominum nigredinem, altera Mauritania. Et est ibi Regnum Saba, de quo legitur, quod Regi Salomoni Reges Arabum, & Saba, dona & tributa adduxerunt. Eóque Regina Saba venit à finibus, hoc est, à longinquis terræ partibus audire sapientiam Salomonis. Omnes in Aethiopia aquæ in fluuijs & riparijs, & fontibus sapiunt Sal, propter nimium calorem. Est ibi vnus aquæ fons ita de nocte calidus, vt nemo in eo sustineat manum, & ita dè die frigidus, vt bibi vix possit. Mauritania. Regnum Saba. Plinius.

Generaliter isti de Mauritania Aethiopes comedunt parùm, de facili inebriantur, fluxum ventris patiuntur nec diu viuunt.

De Aethiopia intratur in Indiam mediam, nam triplex est, videlicet infima, quæ in quibusdam suis partibus est nimis frigida ad inhabitandum: Media quæ satis temperata est, & superior, quæ nimis calida. In India infima propter continuum & graue frigus generatur christallum de aqua per gelu, sicut quidam asserunt. Sed certum est ibi haberi rupes christalli, & in illis gigni optimos Diamantes, quos lingua illius vocant Hamefht. India triplex. Diamantes.

Est autem diamas paruus præciosus lapis, magnæ virtutis, sicut plenius describitur in lapidariis. Quidam inueniuntur in magnitudine pisi, vel etiam piso minores: alii ad quantitatem fabæ, sed nullus maior auellana, vel nuce. Et dicitur de eo in partibus illis, quod si hic qui portat sit continens, & sobrius reddit illum magnanimum & audacem, & iuuat in causis iustis certantem, conseruat substantias corporales, aufert praua somnia, depellit prauorum spirituum illusiones, sortilegia, & incantationes, ac valet contra lunaticam passionem, & dæmonis obsessionem, & venenosum quod illi appropinquauerit exsudat, & exhumescit.

Optimi Diamantes de India assimulantur in colore multùm christallo, sed sunt aliquantulum magis citrini, & pro sui duritie poliri non possunt. Inueniuntur autem ibi nonnulli subnigri ad colorem violæ: Alii nascuntur in Arabia nigri, & tenuiores prædictis, alii in Macedonia, & quidam in Cypro, sed in mineriis auri, dum prima massa in minutias confringitur, interdum reperiuntur. Sciendum enim est, sæpè plures simul crescere, nec non generant, & concipiunt inuicem de rore cœli, quemadmodum & Margaritæ: quod ego pluries tentans, accepi de rupe cespitem cum diamante masculo, & femella, plantans in pratello, & frequentans, focillans madefeci de rore Maii. Et ecce in breui, paruulus ex iis gignebatur, nascebatur, & adolescebat ad debitam quantitatem: fiunt verò omnes per naturam cum pluribus angulis vt trium vel quatuor, aut quinque laterum, & nonnulli cum lateribus senis. E contra, omnes margaritæ nascuntur in forma sphærica, seu rotunda. Experientia Mandeuilli in diamantibus.

Et notandum quòd mercatores, pro diamantibus, frequenter aliud vendunt: Nam solet commixtio fieri de christallo Crochee, de Saphiro, de Lonpes Citrino, de lapide Yri, & de paruis petris ex murium nidis. Probatio veri diamantis haberi potest his modis. Diamantum sophisticatio. Probatio veri diamantis.

Primò si ita inuenitur tener, vt se poliri dimittat, non est verus.

Item

Item si de eo non potest scindi vitrum cristallum, non est verus.

Item accipe paruum quantitatis lapidem Adamantem, qui solet sibi attrahere acum & ferrum, & pone verum diamantem, super adamantem, túncque si ministraueris adamanti acum, videbis adamantem operari nihil, vero diamante præsente, dum tamen adamas non sit diamante maior.

Item si cultellum laminæ tenuis, habentem in manubrio inclusum vel alligatum [illegible] lans atque sudans. Et notandum, quòd per luxuriosum, seu gulosum qui ferret diamantem amitteret virtutem ad tempus.

Terra Indiæ vnde dicta. Insula Ormuz.

Terra Indiæ appellatur ab Indo ibi currente fluuio, cuius anguillæ inueniuntur quandoque vltra 20. pedes in longitudine. In media India transitur per multas insulas, vsque ad mare Oceanum, in insulam Ormuz, vbi Mercatores Venetiæ sæpè tendunt, sed viri, qui assueti non sunt tantum sustinere calorem, ne exeant perpendicula de corporibus propè ad genua, ibi se contra hoc debitè inuolunt, & ligant, nec audent ibi transire nauibus ferrum continentibus, ne teneantur de rupibus adamantum.

A Balfara, per alium Persicū ad Ormusium ſtuigantes, taibus hodie vtuntur aurigis, ánc ferreis clauis.

Hic in aliquibus Aethiopiæ partibus habitant publicè, inhonestorum vtriusque sexus hominum consuetudinem inhonestam gerentes, & in æstu meridiano refrigerandi causa exeunt circa ciuitatem ad riparias iacere, & discurrere nudis prorsus corporibus omni pudore reiecto, ex quo procul dubio inhonesta vitia sequuntur.

Insula Chaua, vel Chaul forte.

Est & non longè ab ista insula regio seu insula Caua vel Chaua, quæ à primo statu multùm est minorata per mare. Hi sunt infidelissimi Paganorum. Nam quidam adorant Solem, alij Lunam, ignem, aquam, & terram, arborem, vel serpentem, vel cui de manè primò obuiant. Ibi magni mures, quos nos dicimus rattas, sunt in quantitate paruorum canum. Et quoniam per cattos capi non possunt, capiuntur per canes maiores.

Corpora mortuorum non sepeliuntur ibi, nec cadauera quælibet bestiarum operiuntur, quòd ad aeris æstum carnes in breui tempore consumuntur, nam & tota insula consistit sub zona torrida. Inde transiri potest per mare in Indiam superiorem, siue maiorem, videlicet Imperium Preshyteri Ioannis ad portum ciuitatis Zarke, quæ est elegans & bona satis. In ea habitat plurimi Catholicæ fidei Christiani: & habentur plurimæ Abbatiæ religiosorum, quas olim Dux Danorum Ogerus constituit, vnde & vsque nunc dicuntur Ecclesiæ Dani, atque ex hoc nauigari potest in terram Lombe.

Zarke, vel Zarchia.

Terra Lombe.

Capvt 27.

De foresto Piperis, & fonte iuuentutis.

REgio seu insula dicta Lombe, spatiosa quidem est, continens forestum dictum aliàs Tombar, longū per dietas 18. In orbe vniuerso nō noscimus crescere piper, præterquàm in hoc foresto. In quo & habētur duæ ciuitates, vna Flandrina, (& illa ciuitas inhabitata est à Iudæis, & Christianis, inter quos sæpè magna seditio oritur) altera Singlant: quas quondam Danus fertur fundasse Ogerus, vocans vnam Flandrinam, nomine auiæ suæ ex parte patris sui, alteram Florentam nomine auiæ ex parte matris suæ, quæ mutato nomine nunc vocatur Singlant.

Flandrina.

Singlant.

Piper quomodo crescat.

Sciendum est autem, piper ibi crescere in hunc modum: sicut nos plantamus vites aut quercus arbores robustas, vt vitis cum fructibus se spargat, vt supportetur per ramos, sic coluntur arbusta piperis ad arbores foresti, & sparguntur per ramos, & dependent fructus vt botri. Et venit in eodem arbusto triplex piper in anno.

Piper longum.

Primum est quod vocatur longum piper, & venit priusquam nascuntur folia in arbustis, quemadmodum nos in arbore videmus corylo in hyeme ante folia præcedere quasdam caudulas longas, quo circa initium vindemiato, nascuntur cum folijs botri piperis viridis ad similitudinem paruarum vuarum. Quod quidem circa tempus Iulii in eadem viriditate vindemiatum in æstu feruido siccatur ad Solem, vt accipiat nigredinem, & rugarum contractionem.

Posteà

Posteà exurgit piper album in granis minoribus, & in abundantia satis minori, quo tanquam preciosiori vtuntur in partibus illis, & rarò vendunt ad partes istas. Piper album.

Primum piper appellatur Sorbotyn, secundum Fulful, tertium verò Bauos.

Sunt autem per nemus istud fera animalia, & venenosa, sicut parui serpentes, colubri, & huiusmodi, de quibus nescio quis famam diffundit per nostras partes, quòd vindemiatores piperis tales vermes fugant per ignem: sed non est ita, imò vngunt brachia, manus, tibias, & pedes cum quodam succo herbæ dictæ Limonse, à quo citò diffugit omne venenum.

In huius foresti capite sub monte Polembo, est ciuitas, dicta Bolemba, & sub eodem monte fons qui dicitur Iuuentutis. Aqua huius fontis reddit odorem, & saporem quasi de omni genere aromatum, nam singulis penè horis immutat odorem, & saporem. Et quisquis per aliquos dies potat ieiúno stomacho sanatur in breui tempore, à quacunque interiori infirmitate, languore duntaxat mortis excepto: & sanè illorum qui propè sunt, & frequenter bibunt apparet per totum vitæ tempus mira iuuentus. Ego autem ter vel quater bibi, quamobrem & vsque hodiè arbitror potiùs me corporaliter valere. Putatur enim fons ille immediatè per poros subterraneos eliquari de fonte paradisi terrestris, ita quòd nulla via decurrentium super terram fluentium vitietur. In ista etiam regione, & in insulis circumquaque crescit gingiber valdè bonum, vnde & mercatores sæpè ibi tendunt de Venetia pro emendo pipere & gingibere. Gentes verò huius insulæ peruersæ & stolidissimæ sunt superstitionis adorantes bouem tanquam animal beatissimum, propter eius simplicitatem mansuetudinem, patientiam, & vtilitatem. Mons Polembus. Ciuitas Polembæ. Fons Iuuentutis. Nota. Gingiber.

Multitudo cuiuslibet ciuitatis vel villæ vnum specialem nutrit bouem, quem postquam laborauit in aratro per sex annos immolant manducantes pariter cum maxima solemnitate. Et quicunque inde minimam minutiam comedit, reputat se sanctificatum totum.

Porrò apud Regem tenetur bos singularis, cuius custos diligentissimè vrinam in vase aureo accipit simpliciter, & de fimo in vase consimili: & quotidiè venit summus eorum prælatus, quem dicunt Archiprotoplaustum, offert personaliter in prædictis preciosis vasis, Domino Regi de bouis vrina & fimo, atque in vrina, quam appellent Gaul, tingens manus, defricat, & perungit Regis pectus & frontem, deinde similiter de fimo in multa cordis attentione, ad finem vt possint assequi quatuor virtutes bouis præfati. Archiprotoplaustus. Gaul.

Post regem cum reuerentia accedunt, & vnguntur Barones, principes, & post ipsos cæteri ordinati quicúnque attingere possint, putantes se sanctificari per rem penitus non valentem, imò nimis fœtidam, & inhonestam.

Præterea populi isti colunt Idola facta ad medium in forma humana, & ad medium in forma bouis. In quibus permissione Dei per eorum perfidiam maligni spiritus habitant dantes de interrogatis responsa. Et hijs Idolis offerunt infinita donari aquandoq;, & sacrificant interdum proprios infantes, ipsorum sanguine Idola respergentes.

Dum hic maritus moritur, vxor comburitur cum *marito*, nisi de illo habeat sobolem cum quo viuere solet, & velit. Quæ sibi eligit cum prole superuiuere, non habebitur de cætero fide digna. Vxor cum marito combusta.

Attamen in simili causa, si vir non vult cremari cum vxore mortua, non minuit ei honorem.

Et forte vinum nascitur ibi: quòd mulieres bibunt, & non viri, vt sic mulieribus crescant barbæ, sed mulieribus raduntur, & viris minimè.

Caput. 28.

De Ecclesia & corpore Sancti Thomæ Apostoli.

HInc in Meridiem pluribus exactis Insulis per viam decem dietarum venitur in Regnum Mabron. Hic in ciuitate Calamiæ, seruatur in magno templo corpus beatissimi Thomæ Apostoli Domini nostri Jesu Christi in capsa honorificata. In quo loco & martirizatus fuit, licet dicunt quidam, quod in Edissa ciuitate. Iste populus non est multum tempus transactum, quin fuit totus in fidei religione, sed nunc est ad pessimos Gentilium ritus peruersus, nec attendit, nec veneratur relliquias sancti corporis Apostoli ibidem contentas, quamuis ijs euidens, ac vtile, & mirificum præstare solebat beneficium, quod infra narrabo. Regio Mabrō vel malaber. Calamie, vel Calamē. Thomæ Apostoli sepultura.

Quærendum est quæ sint uræ historiæ.

Per certas historias habetur Ducem Danorum Ogerum conquisiuisse has terras, & in exaltatione sanctarum Apostoli relliquiarum fecisse fieri præfatam spectactilem Ecclesiam, ac intra, eum reponi in nobilissimo loculo, gemmis, auro, argentoque decenter ornato Sanctum corpus, ac deinde post annorum tempus trecentorum Assyrios abstulisse feretrum cum ipso corpore sancto in Edissam ciuitatem Mesopotamiæ, in qua & fuit martyrizatus secundum quosdam, rursumq; post sexaginta & tres annos recuperatũ corpus in suam fuisse Ecclesiam restitutum, videlicet in Calamia, atque in eiusdem recuperationis signum certum dimiserunt isti, & dimittunt extra feretri loculum dependere brachium dextrum, eum manu quæ tetigisse creditur pia resurgentis vulnera Christi.

Eadem quoque manus solet vsque hodie suæ veræ pœnitentiæ tale manifestare miraculum vt dum partes quælibet litigantes velint vtræque suas causas iuramento confirmare, conscriptis hinc indè causis ponantur ambæ cartulæ in Apostoli manu. Quæ cunctis ‖ exeuntibus Ecclesiam, protinus sub vnius horæ tempore reiecta longius falsitate, veritatem sibi reseruat: sed nunc sicut dicere cœpi isti populi huic beneficio Dei ingrati, & diabolica illusione excæcati mirabilitèr paganizant.

‖ Integre dum exirẽt, Monachi suos dolos potuerunt exercere.

Idolum in exemplo sancti Apostoli erectum.

Nam & in hac ipsa beati Thomæ Ecclesia statuerunt multa miræ magnitudinis simulachra, ex quibus vnum quòd maius est multò alijs apparet sedens homo in alto solio adoperto aureis sericis, & lapidibus præciosis, habensque ad collum suspensa pro ornatu multa cinctoria præciosè gemmis, & auro contexta. Ad hoc autem Idolum adorandum confluunt peregrini à remotis partibus, & propinquis, in satis maiori copia, & valdè feruentiori deuotione quàm Christiani, ad sanctum Iacobum in Galizia, quia multi eorum per totum peregrinationis iter, non audent erigere palpebras oculorum, ne fortè propter hoc deuotio intermittatur.

Alij de propè venientes superaddunt labori itinerandi, vt ad tertium vel ad quartum passum semper cadant in genibus. Nonnulli quoque demoniaca inspiratione semetipsos per viam peregrinationis lanceolis, & cultellis nunc minoribus, nunc maioribus sæciant vulneribus per singula corporis loca, & dum ante Idolum peruenìunt, excisum frustum de carne propria projiciunt ad Idolum pro offerenda, ac plagis durioribus se castigant, & quandoque spontaneè penitus se occidunt: in solemnitatibus verò, sicut in dedicatione, & sicut in thronizatione simulachrorum, fit conuentus populi, quasi totius Regni. Et ducitur cum processione maius Idolum per circuitum ciuitatis, in curru preciosissimo, modis omnibus perornato, & præcedunt in numero magno puellæ cantantes binæ, & binæ ordinatissimè, succeditque pluralitas Musicorum cum instrumentis varijs simphonizantes, quos continuè subsequitur currus, cuius lateribus coniungit se peregrinorum exercitus, qui & venerunt de remotis.

Ibique cernitur miserabilis actus vltra modum. Nam aliqui victi vltrà modum diabolica deuotione proijciunt se sub rotis currus præcedentis, vt frangantur sibi crura, brachia, latera, dorsa, nec non & colla in reuerentiam Dei sui (vt dicunt) à quo remunerationem sperant, venire ad Paradisum terrestrem.

Et post processionem postquam statuerunt Idolum in templo suo ioco, multiplicatur coram simulachris numerus sæpè plangentium, & occidenti umvltrà quam credi sit facile. Ita quod quandoque in illa vnica solemnitate inueniuntur ducenta corpora, vel plura occisorum. Et assantes propinqui amici talium diaboli martyrum, cum magna musicorum melodia decantantes in sua lingua offerunt Idolis corpora, ac demum accenso rogo omnia corpora comburunt in honorem Idolorum, assumentes sibi singuli aliquid de ossibus aut cineribus pro reliquijs, quas putant sibi valituras contra quælibet infortunia, & tempestates. Et habetur ante templum aquæ lacus, velut seruatorium piscium, in quo proijcit populus largissimè suas oblationes, argentũ, aurũ, gemmas, cyphos, & similia, quibus ministri certis temporibus exhibentes prouident Ecclesiæ, ac simulachro, ac sibi ipsis abundantèr. Quoddam fabulosum scriptum exiuit per partes nostras, quod in prædicta processione circumferatur cumpheretro corpus beati Thomæ, qui & in fine processionis populo communicaret proprijsmanibus de Eucharistiæ sacramento, sed non est ita, & nunquam fuit.

Occidunt se in honorem Idoli.

Reprehendit fabulas vulgi.

CAPVT. 29.

De Iaua, & quibusdam alijs meridionalibus Insulis, & de rarina, mele & piscibus Ogeri Ducis Danorum.

INde vlterius procedendo in Austrum per multas & mirabiles terras quinquaginta duarum diætarum spacio, habetur magna Insula Lamori. Illic omnes nudi incedũt, & ferè omnia sunt singulis communia, nec vtuntur priuatis clauibus siue seris, imo & omnes mulieres sunt communes omnibus & singulis viris, dummodo violentia non inferatur: sed & peior est ijs consuetudo, quod libenter comedunt teneras carnes humanas; vnde & negotiatores adferunt eis crassos infantes venales: quod si non satis pingues afferuntur, eos saginant sicut nos vitulum, siue porcum. Processio. 52. diætarum in Austrum. Humanis carnibus vescentes, seu ἀνθρωποφάγοι.

Hic apparet in bona altitudine polus Antarcticus, & incipit modò apparere in alta Lybia, ita quod in alta Æthiopia eleuatur octodecim gradibus, prout ipse probaui Astrolabio. Mandeuillus vsus astrolabio.

Ad meridiem terræ Lamori est Insula bona, Sumebor, cuius gentes rẽputant se nobiliores alijs, signantes se in facie certo cautèrio. Isti semper guerras gerunt contra præfatas gentes nudas de Lamory.

Ad modicam indè destantiam habetur Insula Rotonigo abundans in bonis pluribus: sed & in Austrum sequuntur aliæ plures regiones & Insulæ, de quibus prolixum narrare fuisset. Insula Rotonigo

Et est valde grandis regio Iaua, habens in circuitu ambitum leucarum duarum millium. Huius rex est valdè potens, & imperans septem insularum vicinarum regibus. Terra ista est populosa valdè, & crescunt in ea species, & abundantia gingiberis, canella, garlofoli, nuces muscatæ, & mastix, cum aromatibus multis. Sed & quod ibi nascatur vinum, non habent: aurum & argentum est ibi in copia immensa, quòd patet in regis Iauæ palatio, cuius palatij nobilitas non est facilè scribenda. Iaua Insula, graßia Multa aromata in Iaua.

Cuncti gradus ascendentes ad palatij aulas, & aularum cameras, & ad thalamos Camerarum sunt solidi de argento vel auro, sed & omnis stratura pauimentorum in alijs habetur ad similitudinem scacarij, vnam quadratam argenti, alteram auri, lamínis valdè crassis, & in ipsis pauimentis, sunt exsculpta gesta, & historiæ diuersæ. In principali verò aula, est plenariè expressa Dani Ducis Ogeri historia, à natiuitate ipsius, quousque in Franciam fantasticè dicatur reuersus, cum tempore Caroli magni regis Franciæ, ipse Ogerus armata manu conquisiuit Christianitati ferè omnes partes transmarinas à Ierosolymis vsque ad arbores solis & Lunæ, ac propè paradisum terrestrem. Victoriæ Ogeri Ducis Dani.

Pro hac Regione Iaua, (quæ tangit fines Imperij Tartariæ) sibi subiuganda, Imperator Grand Can multoties pugnauit, sed nunquam valuit expugnare. Hinc per mare venitur ad regnum ‖Thalamassæ, quòd & ‖Panchon dicitur, in quo habetur magnus numerus bonarum ciuitatum. Intra hanc Insulam, quatuor sunt genera arborum, de quarum vna accipitur farina ad panem, de secunda mel, de tertia vinum, & de quarta pessimum venenum. Extrahitur autem farina de suis arboribus isto modo. Hinc patet quod Imperium Grand Can ad Austrũ valdè olim protẽdebatur. ‖Vel Tholomasi. ‖Vel Patem.

Certo tempore anni percutitur stipes arboris vndique propè terram cum securi, & cortex in locis pluribus vulneratur, de quibus recipitur liquor spissus, qui desiccatus ad solis æstum & contritus reddit farinam albam, ac si de frumento esset cõfectus, attamen hic panis non est tritici saporis, sed alterius valdè boni. Farina ex arbore.

Simili modo de suis arboribus mel elicitur, & vinum liquitur: excepto quod illa non sicut gramina prima desiccantur. Fertur quóque ibidem, extractionem huius farinæ, mellis, & vini, per Angelum primitus fuisse ostensam prædicto Danorum Duci, illic fame cum suo exercitu laboranti. Contra venenum quod de quarto arboris genere stillat, solum est intoxicato remedium, vt de proprio fimo per pũram aquam distemperato bibat.

Et est in hac Insula quoddam mare mortuum, velut lacus fœtidus, cuius in plerisq; locis fundus humano ingenio non valet attingi: miræ magnitudinis arundines crescunt super hunc lacum, in altitudine cedrorum aut abietum pedum ducentorum, ita vt viginti socij mecum nequiuimus vnius caput iacentis arundinis subleuare de terra. Minores etiam arundines nascuntur ad fluuii ripam, habentes in terra radices longitudinis trecentorum cubitorum aut plurium, Immensæ molis arundines. Sunt quidam lapides qui sanguinem sistunt: de quibus etiam Onorius.

rium, Ad quarum nodos radicum, inueniuntur gemmæ preciosæ, de quibus expertum est, siquis vnam habuerit in pugno suo, ferrum corpori suo non nocebit: vnde si quis ibi pugnans, petat aduersarium, ac inimicum hac gemma munitum aggreditur eum cum fustibus non ferratis.

‖ Vel Alcnak. Elephantes. De hac intratur in Insulam ‖ Calanoch, magnam & refertam bonorum omnium. Rex eius potens est multum, & licitum est ei, quandocúnque, & quibuslibet in regno vti mulieribus, de quibus interdum magnum numerum tenet puerorum. Mille quadringẽtos habere solet ad præliandum eliphantes, quos sibi nutriunt villani per regnum. Elephantes vocant verkes.

In littore maris miraculosè veniunt ibi semel in anno, per tres continuos dies, quasi de omni genere piscium marinorum, in maxima abundantia: & præbent se omnibus liberè capiendos ad manum. Nam & ego ipse cepi quamplures. Vnde notandum, quod eodem tempore anni quo super dicta extrahitur farina, mel, & vinum, conueniunt in hoc isti pisces: qua ambo mirabilia fecit vno tempore Deus olim producere suo Ogero, quæ & in memoria illius, vsque nunc, singulis annis innouantur.

Experientia Mandeuilli.

Testudines grandissimæ. Et sunt in hoc territorio testudines terribilis quantitatis, fitque de maioribus Regi ac nobilibus delicatus ac preciosus cibus: mentior, si non quasdam ibidem viderim testudinum conchas, in quarum vna se tres homines occultarent, súntque omnes multum albi coloris.

Si hic vir vxoratus moritur, sepelitur & vxor vna cum eo, quatenus, sicut ibi credunt, habeant eam statim sociam in seculo altero.

Capvt. 30.

De Regnis Cynocephalorum, & alijs Insulis.

‖ Vel Caffeles. PEr mare oceanum potest hinc veniri in Insulam ‖ Kaffa: quicunque ibi infirmari videtur ad mortem, suspenditur ad arborem, antequam moriatur, vt non ab immundis terræ vermibus, sed a cœli auibus, quas reputant Dei Angelos, comedatur.

In alia Insula faciunt suos infirmos ante mortem ab eductis in hoc magnis canibus strangulari, manducantes in conuiuio carnes pro optimo ferculo venationis.

Interpositis quoque multis Insulis, de quibus subtiliter gratia brevitatis, habetur Insula ‖ Mylke, & hij videntur omnium hominum crudelissimi; Nam quilibet particulariter pro leui & modica stimulatione, vulnerat, sauciat, & occidit, proximum, vicinum & amicum: Et si quando dissidentes contigerit concordari, non habebitur pax rata, nisi quisque de alterius sanguine biberit bonum haustum.

‖ Vel Mekke.

Hinc nauigando per multas & diuersas Insulas, qui in singulas intrare, & moram trahere voluerit, stupenda multa videbit, & poterit venire in Insulam ‖ Tracoide.

‖ Vel Traceda.

Illic sunt homines ábsque vllo ingenio penitus bestiales, serpentibus, vermibusque vescentes, nec inuicem loquentes, sed conceptus suos signis & indicijs ostendentes. Diligunt preciosos lapides tantummodo pulchritudinis gratia, non causa virtutis: & super omnes vnum diligunt lapidem habentem 60. colorum varietates, qui & Tracoides vocatur propter ipsos.

Insula Nicomora, vel Nacumera. Intratur hinc per Oceanum in regionem Niconoram, vel Nacumeram, habentem in circuitu spacium mille leucarum: omnes ibi geniti homines habent capita ad formam canum, vnde & in Græco Cynocephali dicuntur. Isti etiam incedunt nudis corporibus, excepto parui panniculi operimento, secretiora loca & posteriora retro tegente. Rationabiles tamen multum sunt hij, & plurimum virtuosi, ac de omni forefacto rigidam iustitiam exercentes. Sunt statura elegantes, robusti corpore, in prælijs lanceam cum tergia lata gerentes, virilitérque, & prudentèr pugnantes. Omnes pro deo adorant bouem, vnde & quilibet in fronte argenteam seu auream similitudinem bouis defert, & si quem vinum in prælio ceperint, sine vlla miseratione manducant.

Bouis adoratores.

Rex multum est diues & potens, ac deuotus in superstitione. Nam circa collum gestat trecẽtas orientales margaritas, quibus quotidiè antè cõmestionem orationes suas colligit, quemadmodum nos colligimus, Pater noster, &c. Ac præterea portat ad collum ‖ rubetum orientalem, nobilem, purum, pulchrum, resplendentem, & summè preciosum, ad longitudinem pedis humani, quem habet diligentèr seruare, quod dum eo caret non tenetur pro Rege.

‖ Sine carbunculum.

Pro

Pro isto carbunculo Grand Can Imperator, per ingenium, per insidias, per precium, & per prælia sæpè laborauit, sed nihil profecit. Post istam apparet insula Syllan, habens leucas de circuitu 80. quæ paucos habet homines propter multitudinem draconum, serpentum, crocodilorum in ea. Sunt autem crocodili speciales serpentes, coloris virgulati de croceo & nigro, cum quatuor cruribus, & tibijs & latis pedum vngulis. Aliqui horum habent longitudinem quinq; tensarum, aut citrà, qui dum tendunt per arenosa relinquunt signum semitæ, acsi sit ibi tractus grandis arboris truncus. Alias forte Zeilan. Crocodili.

Item in hac insula habetur mons altus, & in sui vertice satis altus & distentus & magnus aquæ lacus, de quo & stulti homines fabulantur, quòd primi parentes post eiectionem suam, illam aquam primò lacrymauerunt. In huius fundo lacus nascuntur margaritæ, & habentur semper lapides preciosi. Solentque pauperes terræ, accepta à Rege licentia, semel in anno ingredi, ac piscari gemmas, qui intrantes vngunt se succo Lymonsæ, contra hirudines, colubros, & serpentes. Sed & de lacu effluit riuulus per montis descensum, in quo nonnunquam margaritæ inueniuntur, & gemmæ: dicunt etiam ibi nullum venenatum animal nocere aduenis.

Ibi videntur leones albi in mira magnitudine boum nostrorum, & mullæ diuersæ bestiæ, & aues, bestiolæ, & auiculæ aliarum specierum quàm in partibus istis. Nam ibi & in nonnullis alijs insulis vidi vnum mirum, de quo prius vix credidissem narranti, videlicet anates cum duobus capitibus.

Et sciatis quòd tam hic quam alibi mare apparet satis altius suo littore, imo qui a remotis aspicit videt suspensum quasi ad nubes. Et de hoc admiratus fuissem, nisi quod scriptum sciui mirabiles elationes maris.

Capvt. 31.

De multis alijs Insulis Meridionalibus, de quibus & Plinius, & Munsterus.

VErsus meridiem hinc legendo per mare, inuenitur regio speciosa nomine ‖ Doudin: cuius rex imperat seu principatur 54. regibus in circuitu insularum. ‖ Vel Deudein.

Dum quis hic infirmatur tendit proximus ad Idolum sciscitans an morietur, & si respondit non, addit & dicere medicinam qua curabitur: si autem responderit moriturum, statim conuocatis amicis occidit ur, & cum symphonia, & solemnitate comedunt eius carnes, ossa tantummodò sepelientes. In Insulis verò circumiacentibus, habentur incredibilitèr diuersæ gentes. Nam vna habet homines enormis magnitudinis, cum solo in medio frontis oculo, qui absque vllo condimento manducant carnes & pisces. Monophthalmoi.

Alia Insula habet homines aspectu deformes, nihil autem colli aut capitis ostendentes, vnde & Acephali nuncupantur: oculos autem habent ante ad scapulas, & in loco pectoris os apertum ad formam ferri, quo nostri caballi frænantur. Aniphalo.

In alia Insula sunt gentes planis faciebus absque eleuatione nasorum, & palpebrarum cum paruis foraminibus oculorum, & scissura modica oris. Et in alia gentes cum superiore oris labio ita lato & amplo, vt, dum velint, totam faciem de illo tegant.

Alia generat homines paruæ staturæ cum oris foramine sic paruo, vt per fistulas alimentum, & potum sumant, & quoniam carent lingua & dentibus, monstrant per naturalia signa conceptus. Et aliqui sunt homines debitæ quidem staturæ, & formæ, nisi quòd habent pedes equinos, quibus ita sunt præpetes, vt syluestres bestias capiant, quas comedunt, & manducant.

In alia homines sunt toti pilosi & hispidi, vsu simiarum manibus & pedibus ambulantes, & ad arbores reptantes, qui quamuis non loquuntur, apparent rationabiles, quia regem habent, & rectores.

Et in alia omnes sunt claudi, qui quamuis pedes habeant, tamen ambulant super genua multum ridiculosè, imò miserabiliter, vt de passu in passum videantur casuri in terram. Et in quadam, sexum tam masculinum, quàm fœmininum habentes, qui dum masculino vtuntur generant, dum fœmenino, impregnantur & pariunt. Atq;, vt in compendio multa concludam, in singulis 54. insularum inueniuntur homines, forma, statura, actibus & moribus singulis ab Hermaphroditæ.

inuicem

Nota.

inuicem differentes, de quibus potest fieri descriptio, quam pertranseo gratia breuitatis, & causa incredulitatis forte quorundam audientium.

Australis latitudo 33. graduum 16. minutorum.

In istis autem meridionalibus partibus apparebat mihi eleuatio poli Antarctici 33. graduũ, cũ 16. minutis. Et sciendũ quod in Bohemia, similitèr & in Anglia eleuatur polus Arcticus 52. gradibus vel citra: Et in partibus magis septentrionalibus, vbi sunt Scoti 62. gradibus cum quatuor minutis. Ex quo patet respiciendo ad latitudinem cœli, quæ est de polo ad polum, quod itineratio mea fuit per quartum Horizontis sphęræ terræ & vltra, per quinque gradus, cum 20. minutis. Cum ergò secundum Astrologos, totus terræ circuitus sit 31500. milliarium, octo stadijs pro milliario computatis, & septinginta stadia respondeant ad vnum gradum, quod patet ad latitudinem terræ, perambulaui 66733. stadia cum vno tertio, quæ faciunt 4170. leucas Geometricas cum dimidia vel propè.

Hæc erat Eratosthenis cõputatio.

Caput. 32.

‖ Mangi.

De bona Regione ‖ Man chus.

Tanta incredulitatem hominum.

CVm igitur tot & talia in istis Insulis vidimus monstra (quæ si explicarem scribendo vix legentibus omnia crederentur) non curauimus vlterius procedere sub polo australi, ne in maiora pericula incideremus: sed propter auditam & inuisam nobis famositatem potentiæ, nobilitatis, & gloriæ Imperatoris Tartarorum, vertebam faciem eum socijs nauigare magis versus Orientem. Cumque per multas diætas sustinuissemus multa pericula maris, peruenimus in Regnum ‖ Manchus, quod est in confinibus superioris Indiæ, & iungitur ab vna parte Tartariæ. Hæc Regio Manchus, pro sui quantitate reputatur melior, delectabilior, & omnium bonorum abundantior de cunctis ibi propè Regionibus. Nam & homines, bestiæ, & volucres maiores & corpulentiores sunt alijs, & præ vbertate vix inueniretur in vna ciuitate decem mendici. Formosi sunt viri, sed feminæ formosiores. Sed viri loco barbæ, habent perpaucos pilos, rigidos, & longos ab vtraque oris parte, quemadmodum nostros videmus cattos habere.

‖ Alel Mangi. Descriptio Mangi vel Chinæ.

Pauci in China mendici.

Chinenses rarò pilosi in barbis.

‖ Siue Lateyn. Chinenses olim Christiani.

Prima quam ingrediebamur ciuitas est ‖ Lachori, distans vna dieta à mari, & mirabamur, & gauisi sumus nos inuenisse integram ciuitatem Christianæ fidei. Nam & maior pars Regni credit in Christum.

Ibi habetur in leui precio copia rerum omnium, & præcipuè victualium: vnum genus est ibi serpentum in abundantia quod manducant ad omne conuiuium, & nisi pro finali ferculo *ministraretur* de illis serpentibus, conuiuium quàm modicum diceretur.

Suntque per hoc regnum pleræq; ciuitates & Ecclesiæ, & religiones, quas instituit dux Ogerus, quia hoc est vnum de quindecim regnis quæ quæsiuit, sicut infrà dicetur.

Sunt huiusmodi canes in Insula occidentali, teste Petro Martyre in Decadibus.

Illic sunt elegantes albæ gallinæ, quæ non vestiuntur plumis vt nostræ, sed optima lana. ‖ Canes aquatici, quos nos lutras nominamus, sunt ibi multi edoniti, quòd quoties mittuntur in flumen, exportant domino piscem.

Cansay, vel Quinsay, & eius descriptio.

Ab hoc loco per aliquas diætas, venitur ad huius regionis maximam vrbem Cansay, hoc est dicere ciuitatem cœli, imo de vniuerso orbe terrarum putatur hæc maxima Ciuitatum; nam eius circuitus 50. leucis est mensus, nec est facile dicere, quàm compressè a quamplurimis populis inhabitatur. Hæc sedet in lacu maris, quemadmodum, & Venetiæ: & habentur in ea plures quàm mille ducenti pontes, & in quolibet turres miræ magnitudinis, ac fortitudinis, munitæ peruigili custodia, & pro vrbe tuenda contra Imperatorem Grand Can.

Vinum Chinense appellatum Bigon.

Multi sunt ibi Christiani, & multæ Religiones Christianorum, sed & de ordinibus Minorum, & prædicatorum, qui tamen ibi non mendicant; est magna pluralitas ex diuersis nationibus Mercatorum. Per Regionem nascitur vinum valdè bonum, quod appellatur Bigon. Et ad leucã extra ciuitatem, Abbatia magna est, non de religione Christiana sed Pagana: & in ea forrestum, siue hortus magnus vndique circumclusus, consitus arboribus, & arbustis, in cuius etiam medio mons, altus simul & latus, habens hortum vbi solum inhabitant bestiolæ mirabiles, sicut Simiæ, marmotæ, Lanbon, papiones, foreti & huiusmodi ad varia & multa genera, & ad numerum infinitum.

Omni

Omni autem die post refectionem conuentus Abbatiæ, qui est valdè monachosus, deferuntur reliquiæ ciborum cum magno additamento, in vasis auro lucentibus ad hunc hortum: & ad sonitum campanæ argenteæ, quam Eleemosynarius manu gestat descendentes, & occurrentes de bestiolis duo millia aut plures sese componunt residere ad circulum more pauperum mendicorum, & traditur singulis per seruos aliquid de his cibarijs, ac denuò audita campana segregando recurrunt: Cumque nos tanquam redarguentes, diceremus, cur hæc non darentur egenis, responderunt, illic pauperes non habentur, quod si inuenirentur, potius tamen dari deberent bestiolis. Habet enim eorum perfidia, & Paganissimus, animas nobilium hominum post mortem ingredi corpora nobilium bestiarum, & animas ignobilium corpora bestiarum ignobilium & vilium, ad luenda videlicet crimina, donec peracta pœnitentia trãseant in Paradisum: Ideoque nutriunt, prout dicunt, has nobiliores bestias, siue bestiolas, quòd a quibusdam nobilibus fundabatur in principio hæc Abbatia. Multa sunt alia mira in hac ciuitate, de quibus sciatis, quod non omnia vobis recitabo. Falsa opinio de animorum transmigratione.

Capvt. 33.

De Pygmæis, & de itinere vsque in prouinciam Cathay.

EVndo per Regionem eandem à dicta ciuitate Cansay, ad sex dietas venitur ad nobilem vrbem ‖ Tylenso, cuius muri per circuitum tendunt ad spacium 20. ‖ leucarum: & sunt 60. petrini pontes, quibus nullos memini pulchriores. Vel Chezolo. Vel Miliarium.

In ista fuit prima sedes regni Mangi, nec immeritò, cum sit munita, delectabilis, & abundans omnibus bonis, ac deinde in predicta Cansay, nunc autem tenetur in quadam alia ciuitate.

Nota, quilibet ignis soluit quolibet anno vnum balis pro tributo, quod valet vnum florenum cum dimidio, sed omnes famuli de domo vna pro vno igne computantur: summa ignium tributalium, octies centum millia. Reliqui verò Christiani mercatores, in isto vico non computantur. Copia est ibi victualium. Tributum. Chinensium. Copia victualium in China.

Quatuor fratres minores vnum potentem conuertebant apud quem hospitabar, & qui duxit me ad Abbatiam istam, ibi vidi scilicet quod hîc narratur. Hospitium Mandeuilli in China.

Ad fines itaque regni Mangi transitur grandis fluuius de ‖ Dylay, maius flumen mundi, vbi strictius est continet septem miliaria. Odericus: cuius alueus in loco districtiori continet quatuor leucas. Et ex hoc in breui temporis spacio intratur Imperium Tartarorum, sequendo fluuium vsque in terram Pygmeorum, per cuius medium transit. Vel de Delay.

Hij Pygmei sunt homines statura breues ad longitudinem nostri brachij, seu trium manuum expansarum. Tam mares quam fœminæ formosæ, & gratiosæ, & viuunt cõmuniter ad annos sex vel septem: si qui pertingunt ad octo, mire putantur senectutis. Ad dimidiam anni ætatem nubere possunt, in secundo anno parturiunt: rationales sunt, & sensati iuxta ætatem pusillam, ac satis ingeniosi ad opera de serico, & de lana arboris. Frequentèr præliantur contra aues grandes patriæ, exercitibus congregatis hinc inde, & fit strages vtrimque. Hæc gens tam parua optimè operatur sericum & bombycem. Isti Pygmei venerunt mihi obuiam chorizãdo. Non laborant terram, prædia, seu vineas, sed morantur inter eos nostræ quantitatis homines, qui eos incolunt, sicut serui, quos & Pygmæi sæpè deridentes, quia sunt ipsis maiores: & quod ipse non cesso mirari dum dicti homines in illa terra generant vel pariunt, non crescit proles supra Pygmæi staturam: Insula non est protensa, sed fortè 12. ciuitatum. Quarum vna est grandis, & bene munita, & quam Grand Can facit cum fortibus armaturis curiosè seruari, contra regem Mangi. Pygmæi. Miraculum.

Hinc proceditur per Imperium Grand Can, ad multas ciuitates, & villas morum mirabiliter diuersorum, vsque in regnum Iamchan, quod est vnum de 12. prouincijs maximis, quibus distinguitur totum Imperium Tartarorum. Imperium Tartarorum duodecim prouincijs distinctum.

Nobilior ciuitas huius Regni seu Prouinciæ dicitur Iamchan, abundans mercimonijs, & diuitijs infinitis, & multa præstans proprio Regi tributa, quoniam sicut illi de ciuitate fatentur, valet annuè regi quinquaginta milia cuman florenorum auri. Iamchan Ciuitas nobilis.

Nota. In Iamchan ciuitate est conuentus fratrum minorum: in hac sunt tres Ecclesiæ Monasteriorum:

nasteriorum: reditus simul ascendit ad 12. cuman. Odericus, Vnus cuman est decem millium. Summa tributi annui, quinquaginta millia millium Florenorum. In illis namque partibus magnas numerorum summas estimant per cuman, numerum 10. millium qui & in Flamingo dicitur laste.

Summa tributi vnius Ciuitatis.

Ciuitas Meke. Maximæ naues.

Ad quinque leucas ab hac ciuitate est alia dicta Meke, *in* qua fiunt de quodam albissimi genere ligni naues maximæ cum aulis & thalamis, ac multis ædificijs, tanquam Palatium *tellure* fundatum.

‖ Siue Lauterin.

‖ Vel Caremoron.

Inde per idem regnum ad viam octo dietarum per aquam dulcem, multas per ciuitates, & bonas villas, venimus ‖ Laucherim, (Odericus appellat Leuvim,) vrbem formosam opumque magnarum, sitam super flumen magnum ‖ Cacameran. Hoc flumen transit per medium Cathay, cui aqua infert damnum, quando nimis inundat, sicut palus in Ferraria, Magus in Herbipoli: & *illud* sequentes intrauimus principalem prouinciam Imperij Tartariæ, dictam Cathay Calay: & ista prouincia est multum distenta, ac plena ciuitatibus, & oppidis bonis, & magnis omnibusque referta mercimonijs, maximè sericosis operibus, & aromaticis speciebus.

Cathay Calay principalis prouincia.

* Engarmago.

Nauigando per dictum flumen versus Orientem, & itinerando per hanc Cathay prouinciam ad multas dietas per plurimas vrbes & villas, venitur in ciuitatem * Sugarmago, abundantiorem omnibus in mercemoniis antedictis, quando sericum est hîc vilissimum: quadragintæ libræ habentur ibi pro decem florenis.

Vbertas serici.

Vel Cambaleck.

Ab hac ciuitate, multis ciuitatibus peregratis versus Orientem, veni ad ciuitatem Cambalu, quæ est antiqua in prouincia Cathay: Hanc postquam Tartari ceperunt, ad dimidium miliare fecerunt vnam ciuitatem nomine Caydo, & habet duodecim portas, & à porta in portam duo sunt grossa miliaria Lombardica, spacium inter medium istarum ciuitatum habitatoribus plenum est, & circuitus cuiuslibet istarum ambit 60. miliaria Lombardica, quæ faciunt octo Teutonica.

Caydo ciuitas.

In hac ciuitate Cambalu residet Imperator Magnus Can, Rex Regum terrestrium, & Dominus Dominorum terrestrium. Atque indè vlteriùs in Orientem intratur vetus vrbs Caydo, vbi communiter tenet suam sedem Imperialem Grand Can in suo palatio. Ambitus autem vrbis Caydo, est viginti ferè leucarum, duodecim habens portas à se distantes ampliùs quàm stadia 24.

Capvt. 34.

De pallatio Imperatoris Grand Can.

Palatij Imperatoris Grand Can descriptio.

Palatium Imperatoris Grand Can, quod est in Caydo ciuitate, continet in circuitu proprij muralis vltrà duas leucas, & sunt in eo aulæ quàm plures, in forma nobiles, & in materia nobiliores. Aula autem sedis, quæ est maximè cæterarum, habet intrinsecus pro sui sustentatione 24. æreas columnas factas opere fusorio, de auro puro, & omnes parietes ab intus opertas pellibus quorundam animalium, quæ vocantur Pantheres: hæ sanguinei sunt coloris, & ita remicantes, vt Sole desuper relucente, vix oculus valeat humanus sufferre splendorem, tantæque fragantiæ, vt illi approximare non posset aer infectus, vnde & ista opertura parietum appreciatur super tegmen aurearum laminarum.

Inuehitur in incredulos.

Namque stultorum aliqui Paganorum huiusmodi adorant animalia propter colorum, odorúmque virtutem. Proposui retrahere calamum à describenda nobilitate, gubernatione, & ministrantiù frequentia, atque Imperatoris magnificentia: attamen quia cœpi ego, propter incredulos, & nescios, ac inerudibiles, non dimittam in toto. Quicunque enim nihil credunt, nihil sciunt, neque erudiri possunt, Scriptura testante, si non crediderit is non intelligetis. Dico ergo, & verè dico, quòd in huius aulæ capite sit thronus, vel sedes Imperialis, excelsus, & eminens in ascensu graduum quamplurium, in quo residere solet in plenaria maiestate, in cuius throni toto corpore nihil apparet minùs nobile, auro, margaritis, gemmis, & lapidibus preciosis. *Singuli* gradus sunt de *singulis*, ac inter se diuersis magnis lapidibus, vtpote primus de Hæmatisto, alius de Sardio, & alius de Chrysolito, & sic vsque ad supremum gradum, qui singuli ad formam cuiusque gradus sunt circumfusi, & clusorio opere firmati, auro solido & nihil-

& nihilominùs per superficiem auri, distinctè seminati, firmitérque inclusi lapilli cari, cum orientalibus Margaritis, summitas autem cum ferculo residentiæ in nobilitate excisionis, & fabrifactura operis tam diuersa est, & mira, vt paruitatem mei ingenij excedat, quamobrem & ei cedo, vlteriúsque procedo.

Ad Imperatoris sinistram gradu vno bassior, est sedes suæ primæ coniugis, tota de iaspidibus auro circumfusis, & in superficie aulæ distinctæ gemmulæ cum granellis eodè schemate, & similiter de iaspide. Sed adhuc submissiùs vno gradu est sedes coniugis secundæ, nec non & sub illa vxoris tertiæ. Nam tres proprias secum habet vxores, Odericus dicit, istas duas concubinas. Itémque resident sub tertia coniuge nobiles mulieres de Imperatoris progenie, iuxta illustriam vniuscuiusque. Sedes primæ coniugis Imperatoris. Sedes coniugis secundæ.

Et notandum, quòd per totam patriam singulæ mulieres maritatæ, vt intelligantur maritis subiectæ, & vt discernantur à solutis, gestant in capitis summitate similitudinem pedis viri, longitudinis brachij & dimidij, quadam leui materia operatam: videlicet nobiles de sericosis operibus pannorum, seu alijs raris & pulchris pannis, & preciosis lapillis, & ignobiles iuxta statum suum de materia communiori. Signum subiectionis vxorum suis maritis.

Ad dextram verò sedentis Imperatoris vno gradu submissus residet primogenitus eius filius, & sub ipso ordinatè in consimilibus sedibus nobiles proximi de cognitione Imperiali. Primogeniti Imperatoris filij sedes.

Item super thronum & desuper ante ipsius throni locum, tanquam pro celato seu operimento in throno residentium, & eorum ministrantium, est extensa similitudo vitis operata in palmitibus, & pampinis, de auro puro ad extensionem cubitorum quadraginta, per quadrum, atque per eam dependentes botri vuarum de gemmis, & granellis quinque colorum, quorum albi sunt de christallo & beryllo, & iriscrocei de topazio & fuluo christallo, rubei de rubetorum granis, corallo, & alibandinis, virides de Smaragdis, pyropis, & chrysolytis, nigri, de onichinis, gagetis, & gerateris.

Tempore prandij in hac aula, Imperator & Imperatrices, & quisq; de prædictis, habet mensam sibi solum, quarum vilior præualet thesauro grandi.

In solennitatibus ponitur mensa Imperatori de exquisito electro, seu de auro examinato, distincta diamantibus, & nobis ignotis in comparabilibus gemmis, quandóque de christallo perspicuo, seu croceo, circumclusa auro cum gemmis: quandóque de Hæmatisto, quandóque de ebore candido, vel rubicundo: interdum de ligno artificiosè combinato, quod descendit per flumina de Paradiso. Idem dicit Odericus.

His mensis astant Barones, & Principes pro vasallis attentè in suis officijs ministrantes, quorum nec vnus emittere verbum aliqua præsumit audacia, nisi Imperatore annuente, vel ad illum loquente, illis dūtaxat exceptis, qui certis interspatijs canunt, aut recitant de principum gestis.

Et notandum, quando in hoc solio Maiestatis diebus solennibus residet Imperator, subsidere ad pedes eius notarios quatuor, qui omne quod Dominus loquitur, singuli ponunt in scriptis: nam quodcunque tunc ex ore illius egreditur, necesse est esse, vel effici, nec valet item ipse verbum suum mutare, nec reuocare, nisi magno consilio conuocato.

Vniuersa vtensilia quibus in solennitate ad has seruitur mensas, sunt de nobilibus petris auro reclusis, Cyphi de Smaragdis, vel Saphyris, topasijs, pyropis, siue gryophis: & priuatioribus diebus, de auro probato etiam in cameris, & cubiculis, nec reputatur ibi claritas argenti, nisi pro pilarijs, columnis, gradibus, & pauimentis.

Istius autem ostia aulæ, dum in ea residet, aut deambulat Imperator, multi Barones ingressum seruant intentè, & ne limen tangatur, quod hoc haberent pro augurio, & benè verberaretur, quia Imperatore præsente, nemo nisi adductus in quacunque camera, vel habitatione intromittitur, donec interrogatus iusserit Imperator.

Latitudinem huius Basilicæ æstimo ad spatium de meis pedibus centum, & longitudinem vltrà quatuor centum. In cubiculo autem Regis dormitorio, constat vnus pillarius, seu columna de auro solido & carbunculus conclusus in illo longitudinis pedis vnius, totum habitaculum de nocte perfundens lumine claro. Hic prout ego notaui, non est plenè rubeus, sed subrufus, quasi coloris Hæmatistiti. Porrò in vna aularum, circà medium palatij, est alius excelsus ascensus, Odericus dicit pigma, super quem dum placet, stat, vel residet Imperator, Mandeuillus suis pedibus mensuratis aulam Imperatoris. Carbunculus resplendens.

ditissimè etiam operatus, ex auro, gemmis, baccis, margaritis, & lapidibus raris, & in quatuor angulis, imagines quatuor serpentum de auro puro.

Huius per tria latera dependent retia seu cortinæ de cordulis sericis, in quibus ad singulos nodos, grossa margarita habetur innexa, quibus cortinis tegitur officina: in eius concauitate tenetur tumba quadrata, in qua conueniunt conductus omnium potuum, qui bibuntur in Curia, & innumera vasorum genera, quibus potus omnibus ministratur.

Præterea, iuxta palatii ambitum, habetur grandis parci spaciamentum, diuersi generis arboribus repletum, fructus ferentibus varios, & nobis inuisos, & in parte media, aula super excelsum collem de tam mira & pulchra structura, vt eius nobilitas de facili ad præsens, non possit describi. Et vndique, per collis gyrum aquæ fossatum profundum, & latum vltrà quod pons vnicus ducit ad collem. Atque ex duobus montis lateribus, stagnum cum diuersorum copia piscium, & volucrum indomitarum, vt aucarum, anatum, cignorum, ciconiarum, ardearum, & collectorum in magna pluralitate, nec non & per parcum, multæ syluestres bestiæ, & bestiolæ quatenùs per aulæ fenestras possit Dominus pro solatio respicere volucrum aucupation s, bestiarum venationes, & piscium captiones.

Palatium instar magni oppidi.

Et hoc proculdubio aciendum, quòd in nostris partibus rara sint oppida cum pluribus mansionibus, quàm in isto palatio continentur.

Pro fadis intelligit Septentionalem Asiæ partem.

Tota æstate moratur in India terra frigidissima, in hyeme in Cambalu. Odericus.

Sadus.

Præter palatium hoc in Caydo, habet Imperator similitèr tria: vnum in ciuitate Sadus, versus Septentrionem, vbi competens est frigus, ibi moratur in æstate. Cambalu, vbi competens calor, ibi moratur hyeme. Tertium in ciuitate longh, in quo & in isto Caydo, vt sæpius seruat sedem, eò quòd in istis est aer magis temperatus, quamuis semper calidus videtur Nostratibus.

Caput. 35.

De quatuor solennitatibus, quas Magnus Can celebrat in anno.

SCiatis quòd ego, meique sodales, pro fama magnificentiæ huius Imperatoris, tradidimus nos stipendiarios esse in guerris, contra Regem Mangi prænominatum. Et fuimus apud ipsum 15. mensibus, & certè inuenimus multò maiorem partem hominum, in mediam partem nobis non fuisse relatam: hominum (exceptis custodibus bestiarum & volucrum,) qui intra palatium certa gerunt ministeria est numerus decem cuman.

Mandeuillus per spacium 15. mensium militauit Grand Can.

Vixit in Cambalu tribus annis.

Nota. Traxi moram in Cambalu tribus annis: fratres nostri locum habent in Curia sua specialiter, & festis diebus statutis dant benedictionem, Odericus. Et quoniam Imperator habet satis plures quàm decem mille Elephantes edomitos, & velut vltrà numerum alias bestias, (quarù quædam tenentur in caueis, stabulis mirabilibus, vel catenis,) nec nō & aues rapaces, & accipitres, falcones, ostrones, gryfandos gentiles, Laueroys, & Satyros, sed & auiculas loquentes, & papingos, & similes, aliásque cantantes: reputatur numerus hominum de istis curam & laborem gerentium, vltrà sex cuman, & præterea iugiter ad Curiam equites cum plenarijs armaturis, quinque cuman, & de peditibus cum præliandi armaturis, cuman decem. Sed & omnes de natione quacunque mundi venientes, qui petunt describi pro Curia recipiuntur. Sic enim iussit Imperator.

Sex cuman fa miliorum. Quinque Cuman equitum. Decem Cuman peditum.

Medici Christiani 200. in aula Grand Can.

Habet & medicos Paganos viginti, & totidem Physicos, atque sine his Medicos Christianos ducentos, & totidem Physicos, quoniam iste Grand Can maiorem gerit confidentiam in Medicis Christianis, quàm in suæ propriæ nationis medicis.

Vnus Cuman continet decem millia, vt in cap. 33. Monet a de ovorio vel papyr

Hoc ergò firmiter scias, quod de Curia Regis accipiunt necessaria sua iugitèr vltrà triginta cuman hominum, præter expensas animalium & volucrum, cùm tamen in festis maioribus sint homines propè in duplo tanti. Nec valet hic dominus defectum vllum pati pecuniæ, eò quòd in terra sua non currit moneta de argento, vel auro, alióue metallo, sed tantùm de corio vel papyro: horum enim forma denariorum signo Imperatoris impressorum præbetur minoris aut maioris valoris, secundùm diuersitatem impressionis, qui per visitationem, detriti vel rupti, cùm ad Regis thesaurarios deferuntur, protinùs dantur pro illis noui.

Quatuor festa.

Quatèr in anno celebrat Imperator festiuitates solennes.

Primam de die propriæ Natiuitatis.

Secundam

Secundam de die suæ primæ præsentationis in eorum Templo, quod appellant Moseath, vbi & fit ijs, nescio quod genus circumcisionis. Circumcisio quædam.

Tertiam in thronizatione sui Idoli in Templo.

Quartam de die quo Idolum cepit dare responsum, seu facere diabolica mira. Plures enim in anno non tenet solennitates, nisi si quando nuptias filij aut filiæ celebrat.

Itaque in istis solennitatibus est populi multitudo absque numero, omnes tamen in ordine debito, & singuli intendentes proprio ministerio: nam ad hoc ordinandum, & disponendum electa sunt quatuor Baronum nobilium genera, ex quibus nonnulli sunt Reges, & alij Equites potentes, Duces, & Marchiones, omnes induti holosericis, quibus inserti cũ certa dissemination sunt vbique preciosi lapides, miræ virtutis, & aurifigia speciosa, vt si quis in his partibus vnum de talibus haberet mutatorijs, dici non posset pauper imò prædiues. Et habet quodlibet millenariorum in his vestibus colorem sibi proprium: primum viridem, secundum vermiculum, tertium croceum, quartum purpureum, seu indicum. Ergo in die solenni, dum de mane Maiestatis thronum conscenderit, veniunt se præsentare hoc modo Regi. Descriptio pomparum solennium.

Ante primum millenarium procedit copiosa symphonia dulcis chordarum, sicut de violis, cytharis, lyris, & psalterijs, non autem de tubis aut tympanis: & præcedunt Barones per transuersum Aulæ coram residente Domino ordinatè bini, & bini sub silentio, ferentes ambabus manibus ante pectus tabulam de Iaspide, ebore, christallo, pyropo, vel Hæmatisto, & ante faciem throni inclinant se Imperatori profundè.

Illísque pertranseuntibus, succedit simili modo millenarius secundus, & tertius, atque quartus, nec auditur à quoquam vnicum verbum. Hac præsentatione cum debita maturitate perfecta, resident in basso à latere throni ad proprias mensas, multi Philosophi, seu Artistæ, sicut de Astronomia, Geomantia, Pyromantia, Hydromantia, Chiromantia, Necromantia, auguriis, ac aruspiciis, & huiusmodi, tenentes coram instrumenta suæ artis, alii Astrolabium, & Sphæras de auro, alii in aureis vasis arenam, prunas ardentes, aquam, vinum, oleum, & calcarias mortuorum, loquentes & respondentes, nec non de auro horologia ad minùs duo: & ad cunctas horas secundum cursum horologiorum innuunt Philosophi seruis sibi ad hoc deputatis, vt faciant præstari auditum per aulam, quorum vnus aut duo conscendentes scallum, alta voce proclamant, audite, auscultate, & omnibus intendentibus dicit Philosophorum vnus: Quilibet nunc faciat reuerentiam Imperatori, qui est filius Dei excelsi, Dominus & superior omnium Dominorum Mundi, quia ecce hæc est hora. Et mox singuli in aula inclinato corpore & capite se inclinant maiestati manẽtes acclui, donec idem philosophus dicat, leuate. Atque protinùs super hoc factum, Musici suis instrumentis, suauem personant melodiam.

Posteà ad aliquantam moram simili modo dicit alius philosophorum, minimus digitus in aure: & ecce hoc omnes faciunt, donec dicat, sufficit: sic in aliam horam, seu moram dicit, manus vestra super os, & posteà manus super caput. Atque in hunc modum iuxta temporis cursum imponunt facienda signa diuersa. Innuunt in eis latère magna mysteria, & quodlibet horum factorum melodia terminat Musicorum. Et sciatis me quandoque in tempore opportuno ab eis interrogasse de his signis, qui responderunt quòd inclinare caput Domino ad illius horæ momentum, foret confirmatio omnibus diebus vitæ suæ, ad obediendum ipsi & fidelitatem obseruandam imperio, nec posse corrumpi promissionibus siue donis, quódque digitum in auricula imponere, obturatio est auditus contra omnia Imperatori, & Imperio contraria. Et sic de singulis factis singula mysteria confingentes decipiunt audientes: horum itaque fraudulento ingenio, iste Grand Can festiuatus, non nisi ad talium iudicium parari permittit cibaria, aut fieri indumenta pro suo corpore. Mandeuilli interrogatio.

Dum autem est visum Curiæ gubernatoribus satis de prædictis auditum, faciunt proclamatores silentium imperari, & incipit fieri offerenda Imperatori hoc modo. Intrant omnes qui sunt de cognatione Imperatoris Barones adornati nobilissimè pro cuiusque decentia balteis, & indumentis, quorum primus cum resonante symphonia præmittit ad oblationem quotquot valet de dextrarijs albis, & inclinans ante thronum pertransit, atque per eundem modum singuli Baronum offerentes aliquid dignum iocale inclinant transeuntes, silentio firmè seruato. Post hos intrantes simili modo prælati & Abbates, de iurisdictionibus & religionibus Paganorum Offerẽda Imperatori facta.

Benedictio prælati.

rum offerunt singuli pro suo statu se reuerentèr inclinantes maiestati, & maior prælatorum benedicit Regi, & suissac Curiæ quadam suæ legis oratione.

Deinde introducuntur elephantes, leones, pardi, simiæ, marmotæ, & diuersæ bestiæ, quarum ductores singuli transeuntes inclinant reuerenter, & intentè. Postremò afferuntur aquilæ, struthiones, gryphandi, accipitres, & papingi, cum diuersis auibus & auiculis, nec non serpentes ac pisces, quorum portitores inclinant profundè, quoniam dicunt omnes terrenas creaturas debere adorationem Imperatori Grand Can filio Dei excelsi: & his perfectis,

Musicæ Camenæ persoluunt debita plenè.

Deplorat Paganorum tenebras.

Nos igitur intendamus hoc loco quæso quomodo veraciter Pagani in tenebris ambulant: diabolica inuolutione mens eorum obtenebrata non videt quomodò, cùm Imperator sit homo mortalis nuper natus, & similiter sicut illi infirmitate circundatus, atque in breui cum ipsis moriturus, quem etiam non dubitant sub Deo, clamant eum non Deum, sed Dei filium, vbi vtique prorsus ignorant illũ non esse laudandũ, nec adorandũ, sed eum non intẽdunt alium filium, filium increatum & connaturalem, qui & ipsos & eum creauit, solum superlaudabilem in secula.

Insignis Mandeuilli pœna, & desiderium conuertionis Paganorum.

Et hoc alto corde considerantes, laudemus, adoremus, glorificemus, & superexaltemus totis vtribus Deum, qui nos filios lucis esse voluit, & salutis, nasci, baptizari, educari, erudiri sub sinceritate fidei Christianæ, excluso schismate & errore, atque sub instituto sacrosanctæ matris Ecclesiæ, in qua sola penè ab omni circumferentia orbis terræ fides, quæ saluat, & per dilectionem operatur nunc remansit.

Et oremus instantèr pro ipsis Paganis, vt agnita veritatis luce videre possint quò ambulant, vt perueniant ad Iesum Christum coæqualem Dei filium, atque in ipso, & per ipsum laudare & adorare solum vnum verum Deum.

Capvt. 36.

De ludis & præstigijs in suo festo, & de suo comitatu.

Semel in die conuiuium.

CElebrato post hoc prandio satis morosè, quia nunquam est vltrà semel edendum in die, de quo & eius administratione nunc longum est scribere, adsunt gesticulatores, mira visu, suauiáq; auditu pedibus, manibus, brachijs, humeris, capitibus, & toto corpore, ac ad singulos gestus, correspõdẽtes debito vocis sono. Et semper finẽ horũ mirabiliũ cantilena subsequitur musicorũ. Ex hoc ioculatores præstò sunt, & Magi, qui suis incantationibus præstãt præstigia multa.

Magi insignes.

Inprimis faciunt videri Solem & Lunam, oriendo, descendendo consuetum diei intra Basilicam peragere cursum, cum tanta nimietate splendoris, vt vix se inuicem homines valeant recognoscere præ fulgore, dicentes & mentientes, Solem & Lunam cœli hanc mittere reuerentiam Imperatori.

Hinc pari ludo comparent speciosæ puellæ ducere semitas & choreas, nobili gestu nobilissimum ferre poculum lactis equarum in aureis vasis, de quo, ponentes se in genibus, tradunt potum dominis & dominabus.

Tunc portantur & milites in equis, & armis quoq; pleni atque parati, qui feruentibus sonipedibus se inuicem cuspidibus ad fragorem magnum configentes lanceas comminuunt, & fragmenta per mensas, & pauimenta discurrunt. Ac deindè fantasticè venantur per aulam, cum canibus & papionibus, ad ceruos, lupos, vrsos, & apros, ad lepores, & marmotas. Quæ singula cùm ad horam pascant vana delectatione sensus corporeos, miseriam tamen inserunt piæ menti, quòd tot & tanti homines, neglecta prorsus animi salute, his diabolicis operationibus se dederunt in toto. Nam certò non ita sine dæmonum consolatione & familiaritate præmissa confingi dicerem.

Pulchrum nemus octo dietarum in circuitu.

Nota: à Cambalu ad viginti dietas, est pulchrum nemus girans octo dietas in circuitu, in quo sunt omnia genera animalium: custodes habet circa eum. Triennio vel quadriennio visitat illud Imperator, & cum multa gente nemus circumdat, canes emittuntur & aues, cum multo clamore, & feras congregant in medio nemoris, ad planiciem sibi sitam. Tunc Imperator priùs iacit quinque sagittas, posteà alij: tunc Imperator dicit, Eya, hoc est, mina bestijs, & sicut quilibet capit sagittam suam signatam, percussam, aliis recedentibus ad sua loca. Odericus.

Præterea

Prætereà ante Imperatoris mensam eriguntur latæ tabulæ aureæ cum sculptis, ac si viuerent, imaginibus gallorum, pauonum ac diuersarum volucrum artificiosè, quas præstigiator facit pro libitu sine apprehensione manus ire, tripudiare, chorizare, tremere, compugnare, bibere, manducare, sed & cantare: quod quidem inter cætera mihi videbatur mirabilius & aspectu delectabilius. Nullus istud plenè intueri potuit, nisi qui erat in throno vel circa: & me oportet hoc loco fateri stultitiam propriam, quòd hac delectatione tractus, magnam adhibui apud Artistam diligentiam, verbis blandis, & quibuscunque munusculis, ac melioribus promissis, quod de tali mihi traderet artem, qui sagax simul & fallax imprimis, spem meam trahebat sponsionum funibus: sed at vltimum penitùs abscindebat, dicens se vouisse Deo immortali, ne cuiquam doceret nisi proprio filio seniori, ac per hoc me Deus ab illo malo conseruauit inuitum, & gratias nunc reddentem.

Mandeuilli curiositas.

Certum est illic homines esse subtiles ad quasdam humanas artes, & ingeniosos ad fraudes super omnes, quas noui mundi partes, vnde & inter se dicunt prouerbium, se solos videre duobus oculis, & Christianos vno, cæteros autem homines cæcos: sed mentitur iniquitas sibi, quoniam ipsi vident solo oculo terrena & transitoria, & nos Christiani duobus, quia cum terrenis videmus spiritualia, & mansura: percussit enim * Naas, id est, humani generis hostis cum illis fœdus, vt erueret omnibus oculos dextros, scilicet spirituales.

Hoc eorum dictum in nouis Chinæ historiis refertur. Insignis sententia.

* 1. Sam. 11. 2.

Cùm itaque narrata de præmissis debeant sufficere, quando Imperator Grand Can de vno quatuor palatiorum ad aliud transire velit, vel fortè gratia visitationis aut ardui negotii per Imperium de Regno ad Regnum tendit per comitatus, quatuor exercitibus antè & retrò, & ex ambobus lateribus.

Primus exercitus præcedit personam Regis per vnam de suis dietis, vt semper in hospitium de quo recessit exercitus Rex intret nocte sequenti, & est hic primus comitatus descriptus, & statutus de numero quinquaginta cuman virorum, hoc est, quingentorum millium, semperque præuisum, & prouisum est, vt inueniant necessaria in locis, vbi habent quiescere, vel tardare siue in hospitiis, siue in tentoriis.

Secundus & tertius comitatus sunt eiusdem numeri virorum cum primo, quorum vnus ad dextram tendit Imperatoris, alius ad sinistrum in distantia ab ipso ad trium vel duarum leucarum.

Quartus autem qui maior est omnibus, subsequitur Imperatorem quasi ad spatium iactus balistæ. Et ad huc sciendum est, quòd personæ horum comitatuum sunt sigillatim, & summatim omnes descriptæ, vt dum vna moritur vel recedit, protinùs alia inscribatur, & numerus non minuatur. Ipse verò Imperator tendit residens in cella seu camera ædificata super currum grandem forma, fortem robore, nobilem in structura, est cella de ligno Aloes optimi odoris, & parietes cellæ operti in quibusdam locis laminis aureis, quæ & ipsæ distinguuntur gemmis variis, & margaritis.

Cella seu camera ædificata super currum.

Est autem currus quatuor rotarum duntaxat, quem trahunt quatuor Elephantes ad hoc curiosè instructi, cum quatuor hippis albis equæ doctis & ipsi cooperti ditissimis tegumentis, ac præter aurigas nobiliter indutos, qui currum cautissimè ducunt, adsunt & quatuor de maioribus palatii Dominis, indè ad vehiculum habentes iugem curam, de minatione eius, & ne vltimo exercitu appropriet infra iactum (vt dixi) sagittæ. Ipse autem interdum pro sodalitate iubet secum ascendere quam vult personam, sed minimè vltrà duos. In cellæ quoque culmine, quod aperiri valet & claudi, astant in pertica quatuor grifandi, vel ostiones. Odericus: duodecim Girfalcones, vt si fortè Imperator in aere aquilam, vulturum, ardeam, vel collectorem cerneret, citò dimitteret istorum duas aut plures ad aucupandum.

Quatuor Elephantes & quatuor equæ albæ trahentes currum Imperatoris.

Nota, per Dromedarios, & cursores, & veloces, qui de hospitio ad hospitium permutantur, scit de remotis noua. Cursor enim appropinquans cornu sonat, & tunc alius præparat, & vlteriùs currit. Odericus. Sciendúmque tam primogenitum Regis, quàm singulas de tribus vxoribus ducere similem apparatum in itinerando post ipsum, scilicet cum quatuor comitatibus, antè, & retrò, & à lateribus, sed in valdè minori numero personarum pro placito, & in singulis curribus sequentibus se inuicem per vnam dietam.

Hæc hodiè vsque narrantur in historijs Chinarum.

Præmissa omnia sic fiunt, dum Imperatori tendendum est remotè, aliàs autem minuuntur, & distinguuntur

distinguuntur comitatus, iuxta quod decet, vt nonnunquam omnes Imperatores etiam cum filio *simul* tendant, cum vna *comitatuum* distinctione. Transeunte autem sic *Imperatore* per ciuitates & villas quilibet ante fores proprias præparato igne iactat puluerem aromata redolentem, stans genibus flexis ad reuerentiam illi. Et sciatis vbi propè transitum illius habentur Christianæ Abbatiæ, quas olim constituit Dux Ogerus, exeunt obuiam illi in processione cum vexillis, & sancta cruce, & aqua benedicta, & thuribulo, hymnum, Veni Creator *spiritus*, decantantes.

Nota: Ego semel cum Episcopo nostro, & alijs fratribus, inimus obuiam per duas dietas, & portaui thuribulum. Odericus. Quos ipse à remotis videns, consueuit ad se appellare, & ad crucem suum galeatum deponere, ac reuerenter nudo capite inclinare: & prælatus dicens super eum aliquam orationem signat cruce, & aqua benedicta aspergit. Et quoniam necesse est, vt quisque extraneus ante Regem apparens, offerat ei aliquid, prælatus in disco præsentat ei fructus, & poma, vel pyra, & hoc in numero nouenario, (ratio ponitur primo capitulo proximo, quod iste numerus est plus cæteris acceptus,) de quibus Imperator vnum sibi sumens, reliqua tradit Dominis præsentibus: quo facto habent relligiosi recedere citò, ne opprimantur multitudine populi subsequentis.

Præfatum Domini galeatum, est ita intextum auro, diamantibus, gemmunculis, & orientalibus margaritis, granellis, & dubletis, & prædiues in materia & artificio, vt ei non sit æquandus magni in partibus istis Regis thesaurus. Item sicut hæc fiunt transeunti Imperatori, fiunt & Imperatricibus, & filio seniori.

Capvt. 37.

Qua de causa dicitur Grand Can.

SI placet audire, dicam cur hic Imperator sit appellatus Grand Can. Audieram ego in partibus Ierosolymorum hunc esse sic dictum, à filio Noe, Cham: sed in terra Cathay accepi & aliam, & meram huius rei veritatem. Nam & scribendo hæc duo nomina habent differentiam, quòd filius Noe Cham scribitur quatuor elementis, quorum vltimum est M. & iste Can tribus tantùm, quorum vltimum est N.

Vera ratio huius nominis Can. Guis Çan.

Post annos Christi 1100. illa prima Tartaria (de qua suprà scripsi in prima parte, capitulo quinto) fuit nimis oppressa seruitute sub Regibus circumiacentium sibi nationum. Quandò autem Deo placuit, maiores illius Tartariæ eleuauerunt de seipsis sibi Regem dictum Guis Can, cui & promiserunt subiectissimam obedientiam.

Idem cùm esset prudens & strenuus 12. viriles habens filios, debellauit cum ijs & populo suo, & vicit, ac subiecit cunctos in circuitu Reges, quibus terra indebitè diù subiacuerat. Quin etiam apparente sibi in visione Angelo Dei velut milite in albo equo, & candidis armis, & hortante se, vt transiret Alpes, per montem *Beliam, & per brachium maris, ad terram Cathay, & ad alias illic plurimas regiones transiuit, & cœpit cum filijs suis aliquas ex illis debellare, & subijcere, Deo in omnibus adiuuante patenter. Et quoniam in equo albo ei Angelus apparuit, qui etiam antè passum prædicti maris nouem orationes Deo facere iussit, ideò successores vsq; hodiè diligunt equos albos, & nouenarium numerum habent præ cæteris in gratia. Dúmque Guis Can morti præ senio appropinquaret, conuocatos ante se filios hortabatur, & mouebat exemplo 12. telorum in simul colligatorum, quæ à nullo filiorum pariter frangi potuerant, sed dissoluta vnumquodque per se facilè frangebatur, sic filij (inquit) dilectissimi, si per concordiam vos inuicèm dilexeritis, & vixeritis seniori fratri obedientes, confido in Deo iuxta promissionem mihi ab Angelo factam, quòd omnem latissimam istam terram, & optimam illius imperio subijcietis, quod & post patris discessum strenuissimè, ac fidelissimè (Deo sibi prosperante) perfecerunt. Et quia cum propriis nominibus habebant cognomen Can, primogenitus pro differentia obtinuit nomen Grand Can, id est, Magnus Can, videlicet suprà cæteros fratres, qui sibi in omnibus obediebant.

* Vel Belgiam.

Cur albi equi, & nouenarius numerus Tartaris sancto pretio.

Grand Can.

Ochoto Can. Itaque iste secundus Imperator vocabatur Ochoto Can.

Cui Can. Post quem filius eius regnauit dictus Guican.

Mango Can. Quartus autem, qui Mango Can baptizabatur, permansitque fidelis Christianus, qui *etiam* missio

misso magno exercitu cum fratre suo Hallaon in partes Arabiæ & Aegypti mandauit destrui in toto Mahometi superstitionem, & terram poni in manibus Christianorum. Et fratre procedente, accepit rumores de fratris sui Imperatoris morte inopinata, quapropter & rediit negotio imperfecto.

Quintus Cobilacan, qui etiam fuit Christianus, & regnauit 42. annis, & ædificauit magnam ciuitatem Iong, maiorem satis vrbe Roma, in qua & continetur valdè nobile palatium Imperiale. Hinc vsque hodie omnes successores paganismo fœdantur. Cobilacan

Tempore autem meò erat nomẽ Imperatoris Echiant Can, & primogenitus eius Cosuecan præter quem & aliòs filios habuit 12. de quorũ nominibus conscribendis non est ouræ presentis. Echiant Can, Imperator Tartarorum tempore Mandeuilli. Cosuecan vxor Gridi Cã.

Prima vxorum suorum vocabatur Serochan, quæ & est filia Præsbyteri Ioannis scilicet Imperatoris Indiæ.

Secunda Veronchan.

Tertia Carantucan.

Istis duobus Imperatoribus non creditur inueniri maior Dominus sub firmamento Cœli.

In literis quæ latius Imperatoris Tartariæ scribuntur nomine ponitur semper iste Titulus. Can filius Dei excelsi, omnium vniuersam terram colentium summus Imperator, & Dominus Dominantium omnium.

Circumferentia magni sui sigilli, continet hoc scriptum.
Deus in Cœlo, Can super terram, eius fortitudo. Omnium hominum Imperatoris sigillum.

Sciendum quóque quod quamuis populi ibi dicuntur, & sunt Pagani, tamen & rex & omnes credunt in Deum immortalem, & omnipotentem, & iurant per ipsum appellantes, Yroga, id est, Deum Naturæ. Sed nihilominus colunt & adorant idola, & simulachra aurea, & argentea, lapidea, lignea, filtria, lanea, & linea. Yroga, Deus Naturæ.

CAPVT. 38.

De territorio Cathay, & moribus Tartarorum.

TOtum Imperium Imperatoris Grand Can distinctum est in 12. magnas prouincias, iuxta numerum duodecim filiorum primi Genitoris Can, quarum quælibet in se continet circiter 6. millia ciuitatum, præter villas non numeratas quæ sunt velut ábsque numero. Habent & singulæ prouinciæ regem principalem, hoc est 12. reges prouinciales, & horum quisque sub se reges Insularum plurimos, alij 50. alij cẽtum, alij plures, qui omnes & singuli subiectissimè obediunt Grand Can Imperatori. Harũ prouinciarũ maior, & nobilior dicitur Cathay, que consistit in Asia profunda. Tres enim sunt Asiæ, scilicet quæ profunda dicitur, & Asia dicta maior quæ nobis est satis propinquior & tertia minor intra quam est Ephesus beati Ioannis Euangelistæ sepultura, de qua habes in præcedentibus. Audistis statum magnatum & nobilium esse permagnificũ, & gloriosum, sed sciatis longè secus esse apud communes & priuatos homines tam in ciuitatibus quam in forensibus totius Tartariæ. In prouincijs autem Cathay habetur tantum de mercimonijs specierum, & de operibus sericosis, quòd multis facilius acquirere esset prætiosum indumentum, quàm camisium de lino. Vnde & quicũq; sunt alicuius honestatis non carent desuper precioso vestimento. 12. Prouincie. Chinæ. Numerus ciuitatum. Cathay. Abundantia serici in Cathay.

Omnes tam viri quam fœminæ similibus in forma vestibus inducuntur, videlicet valdè latis, & breuibus vsque ad genua cum apertura in lateribus quam firmant (dum volunt) ansis quibusdam, nam vtérque sexus est brachijs seu femoralibus plenè tectus. Nunquam vtuntur toga aut collabio, sed nec caputio, vndè nec per aspectum indumentorum potest haberi differentia inter virum & mulierem innuptam. Sed nupta (vt supra dictum est) gestat per aliquod tegumentum in capite formam pedis viri. Vestitus Tartarorum.

Nubit illic vir quotquot placet mulieribus, vt nonnulli habeant decem vel duodecim vxores aut plures. Nam quisque maritus iungitur licentèr cuilibet mulieri, exceptis matre,

matre, & amita, sorore, & filia. Sicut viri equitant, tendunt, & currunt per patriã pro negotijs sic & mulieres, quoniam & ipse operantur omnia, ferè artificia mechanica sicut pannos & quicquid efficitur de pãno, corio, sericóq;, minántq; carrucas, & vehicula, sed viri fabricant de ferro et de omni metallo, lapidibus átq; ligno, nec vir nec mulier nobilis aut degener comedit vltra semel in die communiter. Multa nutriunt pecora sed nullos porcos, parum comeditur ibi de pane exceptis magnatibus & dinitibus, sed carnes edunt pecorum, bestiarum, & bestiolarum vepote boum, ouium, caparum, equorum, asinorum, canum, cattorum, murium, & rattorum, ius carnium sorbentes, & omnis generis lac bibentes.

Tartari lac equarum bibunt. Appellatur Medo. Formæ domorum.

Nobiles autẽ bibunt lac equarũ, seu iumentorũ, pro nobilissimo potu & pauperes aquã bullitã cũ modico mellis, quia nec vinũ ibi habetur, nec ceruisia cõficitur: & multi ac plurimi fontes cõsulunt in sua siti, per villas, & rura. Domus, & habitacula rotundæ sunt formæ, compositæ & cõtextæ paruis lignis, & flexilibus virgulis, ad modũ caueariũ quas nos facimus pro auiculis, habẽtes rotundam in culmine apertura præstantem duo beneficia habitationi, quoniam & ignis quem in medio domus cõstituunt fumum emittit, & pro aspiciendo lumen immittit. Intrinsecus sunt parietes vndiq; de filtro, sed & tectum filtreũ est: has domus, dum locum habitandi mutare volunt, vel dum in diutina expeditione procedunt, ducunt secum in plaustris quasi tentoria.

Forma domorum. Tartari Hamaxobij, i. in plaustris viuentes.

Multas superuacuas obseruant ceremonias, quia respiciunt in vanitates & insanias falsas: solem & lunam præcipuè adorant, eisque frequentèr genua curuant, & ad nouilunium, quicquid est magni estimant inchoandum.

Ceremoniæ Tartarorum.

Nullus omnino vtitur calcaribus in equitãdo, sed cogunt equum flagello scorpione, reputantes peccatum non leue, si quis ad hoc flagellum appodiat, aut iumentum percuteret suo freno, pleráq; similia, quæ parũ aut nihil nocent, põderant vt grauia, sicut imponere cultellum in igne, os osse confringere, lac seu aliud potabile in terram effundere, nec non & huiusmodi multa.

Mingere intrà domum peccatũ capitale.

Sed super hæc, tenẽt pro grauiori admisso mingere intra domũ quæ inhabitatur, & qui de tanto crimine proclamaretur assuetus, mitteretur ad mortem. Et de singulis necesse est vt confiteatur peccator Flamini suæ legis, & solust summã pecuniarũ delicti. Et si peccatũ deturpationis habitaculi venerit in publicum, oportebit reconciliari domũ per sacerdotem, priusquã vllus audebit intrare. Insuper & peccatorem necesse erit pertransire ignem, semel, bis, aut ter iuxta iudicium Flaminis, quatenus per ignis acrimoniam purgetur à tanti inquinatione peccati.

Neminem hominum prohibent inter se habitare, sed indifferentèr receptant, Iudæos, Christianos, Saracenos, & homines cuiuscúnque nationis, vel legis, dicentes se satis putare suum ritum non ita securã ad salutem, nisi quandóq; traherentur ad ritũ magis salutarem, quem tamen determinate nunc ignorant, imò multi de nobilibus sunt iam in Christianitate baptizati.

Attamen qui illorum sunt curiales Imperatoris non yellent in palatio publicari.

Pœnè oblitus eram, quod nunc hic dico notandum, quia dum ab extra Imperium, quis veniens nuntius aut legatus cupit tradere proprijs manibus literas Imperatori, vel deponere coram illo mandata, non permittitur, donec prius in puris transeat lineas ad vnũ ad miaus regum pro sui purgatione, ne quid forsitan afferat cuius visu, vel odoratu seu tactu rex possit grauari.

‖ Seu Gubernatorum.

Arma Tartarorum.

Porrò Tartari in præcincto expeditionis habent singuli duos arcus, cum magna pluralitate telorum: Nam omnes sunt sagittarij ad manum & cum rigida & longa hastea. Nobiles autem in equis preciosè phaleratis ferunt gladios, vel spatas breues & latas, scindentes pro vno latere, & in capitibus galeas de corio cocto, non altas, sed ad capitis formam depressas.

Quicúnq; de suis fugerit de prælio, ipso facto conscriptus est, vt siquãdo inuentus fuerit occidatur. Si castrũ vel ciuitas obsessa se illis reddere voluerit, nullam acceptant cõditionẽ nisi cum morte omnium inimicorum, vel si quis homo singularis se dederit victum nihilominus ábsque vlla miseratione occidunt, detruncantes illi protinus aures, quas postea co-

quentes,

quentes, & in aceto (dum habuerint) ponentes mittunt inuicem ad conuiuia pro extremo ferculo: dúmque ipsi in bellis arte fugam simulant, periculosum est eos insequi, quoniam iaciunt sagittas à tergo, quibus equos & homines occidere norunt. Et quando in prima acie comparant ad bellandum, mirabilitèr sese constringunt, vt media pars numeri eorum vix credatur. Tartari retro sagittantes.

Generalitèr noueritis, omnes Tartaros habere paruos oculos, & modicam vel raram barbam: in proprijs locis rarò inter se litigant, contendunt, aut pugnant, timentes legũ pergraues emendas. Et inuenitur ibi rarius vespilio, latro, fur, homicida, iniuriãs, adulter, aut fornicarius, quia tales criminatores inuestigatione sollicita requiruntur, & sine redemptione aliqua perimuntur. Tartari habent paruos oculos & raram barbam.

Dũ quis decumbit infirmus figitur lancea iuxta illum in terra, & cũ appropinquauerit morti, nullus remanet iuxta ipsum, cũ verò mortuus esse scitur, confestim in campis, & cum lancea sepelitur. Mos sepulturæ.

Capvt. 39.

De sepultura Imperatoris Grand Can, & creatione successoris.

IMperator Grand Can postquam eius cognita fuerit defunctio, defertur mox à paucis viris in parco palatij, ad præuisum locũ vbi debeat sepeliri. Et nudato prius toto illo loco à graminibus cum cespite figitur ibi tentorium, in quo velut in solio regali de ligno corpus defuncti residens collocatur, paratúrq; mensa plena coram eo cibarijs præciosis, & potu de lacte iumentorum. Instabulatur ibi & equa cum suo pullo, sed & ipse albus, nobilitèr phaleratus, & onustatus certo pondere auri & argenti. Et est totum Tentorij pauimentum de mundo stramine stratum.

Túncque effodiunt in circuitu fossam latam valdè, & profundam vt totum tentorium cum omnibus contentis descendat in illam. Eóq; facto ita equalitèr terram planificantes adoperiunt graminibus, vt in omni tempore locus sepulturæ non valeat apparere. Et quoniam ignorantiæ nubilo turpiter excæcati putant in alio seculo homines delectationibus frui, dicunt quòd tentoriũ erit ei pro hospitio, cibi ad edendũ, lac ad potandum, equus ad equitandum, aurum & argentũ ad respiciendũ, sed & equa lac sempèr præstabit, & pullos equinos successiue generabit.

Post has itáq; Imperatoris defuncti miseras exequias, nullus omnino audebit de ipso loqui coram vxoribus & filijs, & propinquis, sed nec nominare, quia per hoc putarent derogari paci, & quieti illius, qua non dubitant eum dominari, in maiori satis gloria Paradisi quã hic stetit.

Igitur Imperatore Grand Can sepulto obliuioni tradito, conueniunt quàm citò nobiles de septem tribubus prouinciæ Cathay, & cui Imperium ex propinquitate competit, dicunt sic.

Ecce volumus, ordinamus, atque precamur, vt sis noster Dominus & Imperator.

Qui respondet.

Si vultis me super vos, sicut & iuris mei est, imperare, oportebit vos fore mihi obediẽtes tam ad mortem quàm ad vitam.

Et respondentes dicunt.

Nos faciemus quicquid præceperitis.

Túncque Imperator addit hæc verba: Ergo scitote, quod ex nunc verbum meum acutum & scindens erit vt meus ensis: Pergit quóq; sessum in suo ‖ Philtro nigro super pauimentũ in conspectu throni expanso, & cum ipso Philtro eleuatur ab omnibus, & infertur Imperij solio, ac coronatur diademate præcedentis Imperatoris. i. cathedra.

De inde singuli principes, & singulæ ciuitates, oppida, & villæ per vniuersum im-

perium mittunt ei munera iocalia, vasa, pannos, equos, elephantes, aurum, argentum, & lapides preciosos, quorum, qualium, & quantorum vix vel in numero haberi potest æstimatio.

Capvt. 40.

De multis regionibus Imperio Tartariæ subiectis.

BReuitèr & nunc intendo cursum describere aliquarum magnarum regionum & Insularum Imperij Tartariæ. Et primò illas quæ descendunt à prouincia Cathay per septentrionalem plagam, vsque ad fines Christianitatis Prussiæ, & Russiæ.

Turquestan. Octopar. Corasine. Regnum Cõmanorum.

Ergò prouincia Cathay descendens in sui oriente à regno Tharsis iungitur ab occidente regno ‖ Turquescen, in quo & sunt plurimæ ciuitates, quarũ formosior dicitur Octopar. Ipsum autem Turquescen regnũ iungitur ad occidentem sui regno seu Imperio Persiæ, & ad septentrionem regno Corasinæ, quod spaciosum est valde, habens versus orientem sui vltra centum diætas deserti: hoc regnũ est multis bonis abundans, & appellatur eius melior ciuitas etiam Corasine.

Isti quóq; regno iungitur in occidente versus partes nostras regnum Commanorum, quod & similiter longum est, & latum, sed in paucis sui locis inhabitatum: Nam in quibusdam est frigus nimium, in alijs nimius calor, & in nonnullis nimia muscarum multitudo.

Id est Vólga. ‖ Vel Caucasus.

De istis Commanis venit olim fugata quædam pluralitas populi vsque in terram Ægypti quæ ibidem succreta nunc ita inualuit, vt suppressis indigenis videatur regnare: Nam & de seipsis constituerunt hunc, qui modo est Soldanus, Melech Mandibron. Per Commanorum regnum decurrit Grandis fluuius ‖ Echil, qui omni hyemali tempore in magna spissitudine gelatur: in superiori quóq; parte huius regni inter duo freta Caspiæ, & Oceani, mons sublimis est valde ‖ Chocas. Nota quod à nostris partibus non possit vsque in Indiam superiorem duci magnus exercitus per terras, nisi per tres tantummodo transitus, quorum iste est vnus, qui tamen non valet transiri nisi tempore glaciei, & hic appellatus est Le dekonc.

Iter faciendũ tempore glaciei.

Alter per Turquescen, & per Persiam, tamen ibi sunt deserta plurium dietarum, in quibus nisi esset exercitus bene prouisus, posset perire.

Sarach.

Tertius ad primos fines regni Commanorum, transfretando tamen mare vsque in regnum Abchaz: principalis ciuitas Commanorum dicitur Sarach.

Laiton, vel Lituania.

Ab hoc regno versus partes nostras inuenitur regio Laiton quæ est vltima paganismi, iungitur iste finis terræ Christianitatis regno Prussiæ, & Russiæ.

Post potestatem Imperij Tartariæ descendendo à prouincia Cathay in Australem plagam venitur versus Persiam, Syriam, & Greciam. Versus terram Christianorum possum aliqualiter in summa (quantum conuenit huic scripto) cõnotare. Dixi supra iam prouinciam Cathay iungi regno Turquescen ad occidentem, & illud quóq; iungi regno seu Imperio Persiæ. Ad quod sciendum, quamuis rex Persiæ habet etiam ab olim nomen Imperatoris; quia (cũ tenet aliquas terras sui Imperij ab Imperatore Tartarorum) necesse est vt in tanto subiectus sit illi.

Id est, Bufrate. Bocura, vel Bohare. Samarkand.

Sunt autem in Persia duæ regiones: vna altæ Persiæ, quæ à regno Turquescen descẽdens, iungitur ad occidentem sui fluuio ‖ Pyson. In ista habẽtur renominatæ ciuitates, quarũ meliores duæ dicuntur Bocura & Seonargant, quam aliqui appellant Samarkand: Et altera Regio bassæ Persiæ, descendens à flumine Pyson, qui ad sui occidentem iungitur regno Mediæ, & terræ minoris Armeniæ, & ad Aquilonem mari Caspio, & ad Austrum terræ minoris Indiæ.

‖ Seu Nessabõ. ‖ Seu Sarmasaude.

In hac bassa Persia tres principaliores ciuitates sunt ‖ Aessabor, Saphaon, ‖ Sarmasaude. In terra autẽ maioris Armeniæ quondã habebantur quatuor regna, quæ nunc dicuntur subesse Imperio Persarum, habétque famam terræ nobilis, & ad occidentem sui iungitur Regno Turciæ.

Maior Armenia. Turcia. Regnum Mediæ.

Hec Armenia multas valdè bonas continet ciuitates, quarũ famosior est Taurisa. Regnũ Mediæ quod subest Regi Persarum quamuis non latum est, tamen longũ est, & ad occidentem

occidentem sui regno Chaldeæ coniunctum. In Media meliores duæ ciuitates sunt, Seras, & Keremen.

Hinc ad occidentẽ sui, iuncta est regio Georgiæ, quæ modo constat diuisa in duo regna: Nam pars superior, quæ iungitur Mediæ, reseruauit sibi nomen Georgiæ, sed inferior pars dicitur regnũ Abchaz. Ambo hæc regna, & reges eorũ, sunt de fide Christiana, & homines ita deuoti vt ad minus semel in hebdomada cõmunicent sacramentis, iuxta ritũ Græcorum confectis. Et quidem regnum Georgiæ subiacet imperio Grand Can: sed Abchaz nunquam ab ipso Imperatore Tartariæ, neque Persarum, néq; Medorum domino subdi potuit, eo quòd munitum est aquis & rupibus & alijs prouisionibus contra impugnationes hostiles. Georgia. Abchaz, aliàs Alchaz.

Iuxta hoc regnũ Abchaz habetur vnũ mirum & mirabile, nam magnus est territorij locus dictus Hamsen, & continens in circuitu spacium viæ quatuor diætarũ: videtur semper opertus tenebris densis vt nemo audeat illic intrare profundè, quoniam si qui presumpserint, non sunt vlli reuerti. Attamen fatentur vicini sub illis se tenebris audisse nonnunquã clamores hominũ, hinnitus, mugitus, rugitus, & boatus pecudum, & bestiarum, sed & cantus gallorum, vt per hæc & alia signa constet ibi habitare gentes: nam & fluuius decurrens monstrat signa sæpè certissima in suo exitu: ignoratur tamen si tenebræ per totum territorium sint eiusdem densitatis, an forte sint in circuitu per aliquod spacium, & intrinsecus plus luminosum. In parte regni Georgiæ sunt tenebræ.

Dicuntur autem tenebræ istæ olim per diuinum miraculum aduenisse. Saboere enim Imperatore Persarum, circa annum Gratiæ ducentessimum quinquagessimũ in persecutione Christianorũ tendente cum pleno exercitu per hunc locum, & Christianis tyrannidem eius fugientibus, contigit ex improuiso eos ità arctari, vt se effugere desperarent, quapropter statim ad orationis refugium omnes se sternentes clamauerunt ad Christum auxiliatorem suum: Et deus, qui pro puro corde Christianos ad se orantes semper exaudit, expleuit illic literam vaticinij Isaiæ: quia ecce tenebræ operient terrã & caligo populos, monstrans per tenebram terrenam, quam eis superduxit, quas passuri essent inimici nominis Christi tenebras infernales, indicánsque per temporalem vitam, quam sibi fidelibus conseruauit, eam quam possessuri sunt viri Christiani vitam perpetuam, & cœlestem.

Itáq; hoc regnum Abchaz ad occidentem sui iungitur regno Turciæ, quod in longo & lato valdè extẽsum multas cõtinet prouincias scilicet Iconiæ, Cappadociæ, Sauræ, Brike, Besicon, Patan, & Gennoch; hij omnes Turci, cum tota Syria & Arabia vsq; ad Galliziam Hispaniæ, subsũt Imperatori Babyloniæ Soldano, & sunt in singulis prouinciis & regionibus ciuitates magnæ, ac multæ nimis. Consequẽtèr huic regno Turciæ ad Occidentem sui in ciuitate ‖ Cathasa iungitur per mare Greciæ superior pars potestatis Imperatoris Constantinopolitani, & quasi ad Aquilonem contiguatur regno Syriæ: cuius vna prouincia est terra promissionis, prout hoc satis dictum est suprà. Sunt & aliæ terræ, & Insulæ, & patriæ latæ, & spatiosæ, continentes in se multa regna, & reges, & gentes diuersas, de quibus nunc per singula pertractare non est consilij. ‖ Vel Sathata.

Ad supradictã Chaldæã iungitur Mesopotamia, & minor Armenia, & velut ad Austrum eius Æthiopia, Mauritania, Lybia alta & bassa, & Nubia. Excepto ergò duntaxat districtu Imperij Persiæ, & potestate Soldani, omnes sæpè pertractatæ terræ, regiones, regna & Insulæ descendendo tam per Aquilonem, quã ad Austrum à prouincia Cathay, vsq; ad Christianitatem sunt de Imperio Tartariæ Grand Can. Et notandum de spacio distantiæ, quod institores de Roma, vel Venetia festinantes tam per terras, quàm per mare, expendunt de tempore 11. menses, & quandoque duodecim, priusquam in Cathay valeant peruenire. Extensio Imperij Grand. Can. Distantia à Roma ad Cathayam per institores.

Hijs itáq; visis describam saltem aliquas à prouincia Cathay in oriẽtem terras Imperij Tartarorum. Illic habetur regio Cadilla spaciosa multũ, simul & speciosa: crescunt námq; in ea fructus ad quantitatẽ magnorũ Cawardorũ, in quibus inuenitur vna bestiola, in carne & sanguine ad formam agnelli ábsq; lana, & manducatur totus fructus cũ bestiola. Sunt & alij plures diuersi fructus, quorũ penes nos non est respectus nec vsus. Nam & sunt ibi Cadilla Regio orientalior Cathayæ. Angli nostri hanc bestiolam super viderunt in Persia.

nonnullæ speciales vites ferentes botros incredibiliter magnos, quorum vnum vix virilis vir valet in hasta portare.

Et deinde in meridiem per aliquas diætas, potest peruenirí ad primas Caspiæ alpes, quæ descendendo descendunt vsque ad Agnazoniam, insulam mulierū, de qua tractatum est. Inter has Alpes retinetur maxima multitudo Iudæorum decem tribuū Israel, per Dei voluntatem ita inclusa, vt in copiosa numerositate non possint à nostra parte exire, quamuis aliqui pauci nonnunquam sunt visi transisse. Haberent autem competentem exitum circa insulam Amazoniæ, sed illum diligenter regina obseruat.

Bacharie Regnum vel Boghariæ.

Arbor Lanifera.

Porrò de regione Cadilla in orientem venitur ad regnum Backariæ, in qua mali & multum crudeles habitant homines, nec est securum itinerare per illam, quòd ad modicam occasionem (si Deus non conseruaret) occiderent viatorem & manducarent. Illic sunt arbores ferentes lanam velut ouium, ex qua texunt pannos ad vestimenta. Hypocentauri sunt ibi pro media superiori parte in forma humana, & pro inferiori figura equorum, seu taurorum, venantes in terris, & piscantes in aquis quod comedunt, & super omnia carnes hominū, quos capere possunt.

Gryphones, de quibus Paulus Venetus.

Nec non & gryphi illic apparent pro media posteriori parte in forma leonis, pro anteriori in forma aquilæ. Sed sciatis, corpus magni gryphi maius esse octo leonibus de partibus istis. Nam postquā equum, bouem vel hominem, etiam asinum occiderit, leuat & asportat pleno volatu: tanquā cornua bouis aut vaccæ sunt illi vngulæ, de quibus etiam fieri solent cipbi ad bibendum, qui plurimùm reputantur preciosi. Fiunt quóq; de pennis alarum eius arcus rigidi, & fortes, ad iaciendum missilia & sagittas. Ad istius regni Baccariæ extremitates in Orientem finitur terra potestatis Grand Can: Et iungitur ei terra potestatis magni Imperatoris Indiæ, qui semper vocatur Præsbyter Ioannes. Notandum, quoties per prouincias totius Imperij Grand Can, quicquam accidit, quod Imperatorē non oportet latere, confestim mittuntur per reges aut barones nuncij in dromedarijs aut equis, qui celerrimè festinant ad certa hospitia, ad hoc ipsum, velut absque numero per imperium instituta: Isque nuncius hospitio appropinquans, & cornu resonans, dum auditur paratur nuncius alter, qui de manu suscipiens literas, per recentem dromedarium festinat ad aliud hospitium, & sic in breui tempore perferuntur rumores ad curiæ aures. Similique modo nuncij pedites permutantur de hospitio in hospitium, vt citiùs percipiatur negocium huius nuncij: appellantur sua lingua Chidibo.

Cursores, Chidibo Tartaricè dicti.

Charites Mandeuillí.

Ergò per præmissa satis elucet magnam esse nobilitatem, potestatem, reuerentiam, & dominationē Imperatoris Tartariæ Grand Can de Cathay, & quòd nullus ab ista parte Imperator, nec Persiæ, nec Babyloniæ, nec Greciæ, sed nec Romæ est illi comparandus. Vndè & multū miserandū est, quia ipse cùm toto Imperio nec est fide Catholica illustratus, nec salutari lauachro regeneratus: & hoc oremus vt in breui eueniat, per Iesum Christum Dominum nostrum.

Explicit pars secunda huius operis.

Tertia pars.

Capvt. 41.

De magnificentia Imperatoris Indiæ & preciositate Palatij.

CVm in præcedentibus Imperator Indiæ dictus sit magnus, restat de illius magnificentia aliquid poni hoc loco: cuius vtiq; gloria, nobilitas, & potestas, dici non habetur minor, quàm dicti Imperatoris de Cathay: nam etsi in aliquibus videatur forsitan minor, est tamen in aliquibus satis maior, quia omne æquale nō est idem cum illo cui æquatur: itáq; à finibus regni Bachariæ supradicti vbi contiguatur Imperio Indiæ, eundo per multas diætas intratur in regnum ‖ Pentoxyriæ quod est magnæ latitudinis, & abundantiæ in multis bonis: huius nominatior ciuitas, dicitur Nyse, & in ea habet Imperator palatiū Imperiale, in quo residet dum sibi placet. Imperator iste semper vocitatus est Præsbyter Ioannes, cuius nominis causam audieram quandóq; non veram: sed in illis partibus accepi rationem indubitatā, quam breuiter hîc enarro. Circa annū ab incarnatione Domini octingentessimū, dux Ogerus de Danemarchia,

‖ Seu Pentoxoria.

Ciuitas Nyse.

Danemarchia, cum quindecim cognationis suæ baronibus, & armatis viginti milibus transiuit mare Greciæ, & fauente sibi Deo conquisiuit Christianitati per multa prælia penè omnes terras, regiones, & ir[illegible], quas esse de potestate Grād Can prædixi, nec non & omnes, quæ sunt de potestate Imperij huius Imperatoris Indiæ. Erátq; inter Barones vnus denominatus Ioannes filius Goudebucf, regis Frisonū: qui dictus Ioānes Deo deuotus fuit, & dū licuit Ecclesiarū limina iniuit, vnde & barones ei dabant quasi per iocum Præsbyter Ioannes vocabulum. Dum ergo Ogerus dictas regiones expugnaras diuideret in hijs quindecim suis cognatis, & quemlibet eorū in suo loco cōstitueret regem, quatenus Christiana religio in illa orbis superficie semper stabilis permaneret, tradidit isti Præsbytero Ioanni superiorē Indiam, cū 4000. insulis, regionibus, & ipsū præfecit Imperatorē super reliquos cognatos, vt ei certa tributa imponderent, & in omnibus obedirent, átq; ex tunc omnes successores Indiæ sunt vocati Præsbyter Ioannes, & vsq; in hodiernū tempus boni māserunt Christiani, & religionis æmulatores. Interim cum causa matrimoniorum aut procurationis filiorum dispersa est primi Imperij integritas, & multæ de insulis conuersæ vel potius peruersæ retrocesserunt ad vetustum squalorem paganismi primi. Nota. Recedens à Cambalu versus orientem post 50. dietas ad terram Præsbyteri Ioannis, principalis ciuitas terræ vocatur Cosan, satis parua sicut Vincentia: habet etiam sub se multas alias ciuitates. Ex pacto semper habet in vxorem vnam de filiabus Grand Can.

Mortuo de rebus gestis Ogeri Ducis Daniæ.

Vnde Presbyter Ioannes sit dictus.

4000. Insulæ.

Cosan ciuitas.

Per multas peruenitur ad prouinciam Casan, quæ est secunda melior de mundo, vbi subtilior est, habet dietas 50. longior. 60. & est vna de duodecim partibus Imperij Grand Can. Odericus. Vide infra capitulo 49. de Cassan, & de Epulone. Deinde venitur in Thebeth prouinciam, quæ Indiæ est confinis. Itáque Rex & Imperator iste tenet spatiosissimum Imperium plenum valdè multis Regionibus & Insulis amplis, diuisum inter quatuor flumina magna de Paradiso terrestri descendentia, Pyson, Gyon, Tygrim, & Euphratem. Nam vltra fines orientales eius Imperij, & terrestrem Paradisum, nullus hominum habitat vel dominatur.

Casan.

Thebeth.

Præterea imperat multis alijs regionibus & insulis quæ distinguntur per brachia maris Oceani, & in quibus singulis continetur grandis numerositas ciuitatum ac villarum, & multitudo innumera populorum præ abundantia & præciositate omnium terrenorum bonorum.

Insulæ Orientales.

Imperium Indiæ habetur famosum per vniuersum orbem. Sed & famosius haberetur si mercatores mundi communitèr possint & auderent adire sicut Cathay. Nostratibus enim perrarus est illic accessus, tam præ longinquitate, quàm præ marinis periculis. Nam exceptis alijs sunt ibi quamplures Adamantini colles, ad oram maris, & intra mare, qui sua virtute attrahunt sibi naues ferrum continentes. Quoniam & mihi nauiganti mōstrabatur per nautas à remotis quasi paruula Insula in mari, quam asserebant totalitèr ab antiquis temporibus paulatim ibi cumulatam de nauibus per Adamantes retentis.

Estimatur autem latitudo huius Imperij per dictas quatuor mensium, sed longitudini non datur estimatio, eo quòd tenditur vsque Paradisum vbi nullus accedit.

Latitudo Imperij præsbyteri Ioannis est 4. mēsium iter.

Distinctum est Imperium per duodecim prouincias, quibus totidem præsunt reges principales seu prouinciales, & quorum singuli habent sub se Reges, Duces, Marchiones, & Barones, præstantes átque reddentes præsbytero Ioanni promptam obedientiam, & certa tributa. Sæpius & cōmunitèr tenet Sedem Imperator in palatio vrbis Imperialis Suse. Hoc autem Palatium tale & tantum est, vt per me non credatur debite estimandum. Istud tamen dico audentèr in summa, quòd grandius, nobilius, preciosius, & placidius est, in auro, gemmis, structuris, & schemate supra descripto palatio Grand Can in Caydo.

Duodecim reges prouinciales.

Suse sedes Imperialis.

Et ex speciali sciatis, istius palatij principales portas esse de Sardonico, vndiq; in ebore circumcluso: sed & transuersæ lineæ sunt omnes Eburneæ, aularum & cubiculorum fenestræ christallinæ. Mensarum quædam Smaragdinæ, aliquæ Hæmatistinæ, cæterorumq; lapidum preciosorum per aurum sibimet coniunctorum. Et nonnullæ in toto aureæ vel gemmunculis disseminatæ, & vnaquæque de mensis cum stabilimento proprij generis. De throni quóque preciositate, quia meæ demonstrationis excellit modū, solummodo dico, singulos ascensionis gradus esse singulorum lapidum preciosorum: Primum onychis, secundum christalli, tertium iaspidis, quartum hæmatisti, quintum sardij, sextum cornelij. Et septimus qui est sub sedentis Imperatoris pedibus, ipse est, chrysolitus, omnes circumfusi, & inclusoria arte

Magnificentia palatij presbyteri Ioannis.

formati, auro splēdida relucentes. Sed & ambo throni reclinatoria ex smaragdis auro combinatis, eóque distincto nobilissimis granis, & gemmis: cuncti pilarij in camera Regis dormitoria cōsistunt de auro fuluo, disseminati baccis, & quampluribus carbunculorum rubetis, totum de nocte habitaculum illustrantibus.

Et nihilominus in ea christallina lampas plena balsamo pistico sed ardens & lucens, tam pro augendo lumine, quàm pro corrigendo aere, tamen etiam pro ministrando optimo odore.

Forma lecti Imperatoris compacta est de puris & nobilissimis Saphyris, conclusi vtíq; aureis vel eburneis ligaturis, vt virtute lapidū capiat suauem somnū, motúsq; carnis inhonesti stimuli, in eo refrenentur. Nunquā enim iungitur mulieri nisi soli coniugi propriæ, sed nec illi nisi quatuor quindenis anni videlicet in capite hyemis, veris, æstatis, & autumni causa sobolis generādæ.

Vtq; breuitèr transeam de multa huius palatij nobilitate, mirabile hoc solummodò præmissis super addo. Quia circa medium illius in summo apice turris maioris, duo sunt nodi seu pomella de decoctissimi auri metallo miræ magnitudinis, & serenæ resplendentiæ, & in ipsis formati duo carbunculi grandes, & lati, sua virtute tenebras effugantes, & velut splendorem plenilunij nocturno tempore mentientes.

Capvt. 42.

De frequentia palatij & comitatu Imperatoris.

SEruiunt & præstò sunt iugitèr Domino Imperatori septem reges, qui in capite singulorum mensiū, alijs septem regibus pro illis palatiū ingredientibus recedunt ad propria, donec reuoluatur eis tempus statutum. Hij curam habent de gubernatione administrationū in aula maiori per subiectos eis 72. duces, & 300. & 63. comites seu barones, quorum vnusquísque optimè nouit & diligentèr intendit proprio ministerio.

Nam isti sunt Imperatoris Cubicularij, isti Camerarij, isti scindunt Regi morsellos: alij de apponendis curam gerunt ferculis & deponendis, deafferendis, deasportandis, alij pincernæ, Archimandritæ, ostiarij, & sic de singulis.

Nec non absque iam dictis, manducant omni die in aula coràm Imperatore, duodecim Archiepiscopi, 220. Episcopi, quibus etiam alij totidem certis temporibus succedunt per vices. Verumtamen ad quotidianas expensas vsque præmissas, veniunt de Curia 300. millia personarum, sed non ampliùs: sed sicut prædixi de Curia præcedentis Imperatoris sic nullus hîc, cuiuscūq; sit status, aut sexus, comedit vltrà semel in die, & hoc ipsum sobriè satis: quoniam prout æstimare possum, expensæ duodecim hominum de nostris communitèr compensarent triginta hominum in partibus illis.

Taxat gulositatem Europæorum.

Dum Ioannem Presbyterum contingit procedere cum exercitu in plena exhibitione, nōn deferuntur vexilla, sed tredecim cruces magnæ altitudinis, & grossitudinis, de auro distincto pretiosissimis petris, in honorem Christi & suorum Apostolorum duodecim. Hæ vectantur in singulis curribus, & singularum ad hoc maximis curribus cum custodia cuiuscunque crucis, decem mille equitum, & centum mille peditum, nec tamen hic numerus auget vel minuit principalem exercitum Paganorum.

Tempore pacis per terras proprias de palatio ad palatium, aut de regno ad regnum, dum tendere ei placet, comitatur vtique magna multitudine hominum antè & retrò, & ex vtroque laterum.

Túncque portantur coràm eo tria valdè notabilia, quæ tam illi quàm omnibus ea dignè notantibus esse possunt salutaria. Præcedit enim eum in spatio circiter octodecim passuum discus onustus velut omni genere pretiosorum vasorum auri & argenti, gemmarum, & inæstimabilis artificij. Illúmque discum subsequitur propinquiùs Imperatori ad spatium centum passuum, alia crux lignea nullo penitùs auro, nullóue colore aut preciositate artificialis operis adornata.

Dehinc ad sex passuum succedit ibidem propinquans Imperatori discus aureus terra nigerrima plenus. Sunt enim prædicti comitatus in custodiam & honorem personæ Imperatoris, discus vasorum in ostensionem diuitiarum, & maiestatis Imperialis. Crux in recordatione passionis

passionis & mortis, quam in cruce ligni simplice Christus passus est pro nobis. Et terra nigra in memoriam diræ mortis, qua caro ipsius Imperatoris, quæ terra est, in terram ibit corruptionis.

CAPVT. 43.

De quibusdam miris per regiones Indiæ.

LIcèt plurima mira habeantur in terra Imperij Presbyteri Ioannis, ne materia operis nimiùm proteletur, multa tego silentio: & solùm de quibusdam in principalibus Insulis narro.

Ergò in primis dico vidisse me magnum mare arenosum, quod de solùm minuta arena sine vlla aqua cum lapi lorum granellis currit, & fluit per altas eleuationes, & depressiones ad similitudinem maris aquæ, nec vnquam quiescit: & quòd ipse non cesso stupere, inueniuntur pisces ad littus proiecti, qui cum sint alterius formæ & speciei, quàm de nostro mari, videntur tamen gustui in edendo delicatiores. Nullo tamen humano ingenio videtur hoc mare transuadari, aut nauigari, aut illo piscari, sed nec propter sui longitudinem, & plura impedimenta de propè circuiri. Magnum mare arenosum. In orientali India vsque hodie venti anniuersarij, arenis ostia fluminum suffocant.

Item ab hoc latere maris per tres dietas habentur magnæ montium alpes, inter quas venit quasi oriens de Paradiso fluuius decurrentibus petris, nihil penitùs habens aquæ, in quibus æstimandæ sunt plurimum magnarum esse virtutum, quamuis de singulis humanæ scientiæ constare non potest.

Hic petrarum fluuius currit ad intercisum tempus, quasi in tribus septimanæ diebus, per spatium deserti Indiæ plurium dietarum, velut fluuius, quousque tandem se perdat in mare arenosum prædictum, atque ex tunc ipsi lapides penitùs non comparent. Tempore autem sui cursus nullus appropinquare præsumit, præ strepitu eius & motu: sed tempore quietis aditur sine periculo vitæ.

In Orientem versus fluuij originem ad ingressum deserti magni inter quosdam de montibus, cernitur grandis terræ planicies tanquam spatiosi campi totalitèr arenosi, in quo videntur ad Solis ortum exurgere de arena, & secundùm eleuationem Solis excrescere quædam virgulta, atque in feruore meridiei producere fructum. Ac de illo in Solis decliuo fructus cum arbustulis paulatim minui, & in occasu penitùs deperire, vnde & nullus hominum audet illorum vti fructibus, ne sit quid fantasticum & nociuum.

In huius deserti interioribus, vidi homines in toto syluestres, qui etsi in superioribus formam prætendere videantur humanam, descendunt in subterioribus ad formam bestiæ alicuius.

Horum quidam frontes gerunt cornibus asperatas, grinientes vt feræ vel apri: alij nonnulla vti videntur loquela, quam nemo rationalium nouit, & quibusdam signis concepta depromunt. Et est illic pluralitas syluestrium canum, qui dicuntur papiones, quibus postquam edomiti, & ad venandum instructi fuerint, valent capi multæ bestiæ per desertum. Est & copiositas papingonum auium viridium in colore quas appellant phicake, & quarum diuersa sunt genera, nobiliores habent latas in rostro linguas, & in vtroque pede digitos duos. Et quædam ex istis naturaliter loquuntur verba aut prouerbia, seu salutationes, in patriæ idiomate, vt euidenter salutes concedant, & reddant viatoribus, & nonnunquam debitum iter errantibus per desertum ostendant. Minùs autem nobiles non loquuntur ex natura, sed si latas habent linguas, & non sunt vltrà duorum annorum ætatis, possunt per assiduitatem instrui ad loquelam. Papagalli.

Aliæ nec loquuntur, nec erudiuntur, sed solùm clamitant pro voce milui, & nisi tres digitos habent in pede.

Nota: in quarta orientali Deus dedit fratribus minoribus magnam gratiam, vnde in magna Tartaria ita expellunt ab obsessis dæmones, sicut de domo canes: vnde quandoque per decem dietas ad eos adducuntur dæmoniaci alligati, & statim fratribus præcipientibus in nomine Iesu Christi, exeunt, & liberati baptizantur, & comburunt idola, & plures credunt, & quandoque exeunt idola de igne, & fratres proijciunt aquam benedictam, & clamat dæmon, Vide, de meo habitaculo expellor propter fratres minores. Ita multi credunt, & baptizantur. Odericus.

Item nota: dum recederem de terra Præsbyteri Ioannis versus occidentem, applicui ad contratam Melescorda Regio.

tratam vnam, quæ dicitur Melescorde, quæ pulchra est, & multùm fertilis: inter montes duos huius * contratæ fecerat quidam murum circundantem mõtem, & in eo fontes nobilissimos, & omne delectabile. Et hunc locum dicebant paradisum, sicut hic ferè continetur. Ideò Odericus, qui postèà narrat de valle infausta in hæc se terminat.

* Vel regionis.

Mischorach.

Ad supradictum Indiæ regnum Pentexoriæ satis propè, & lata est & longa Insula, Mischorach, bonis copiosè referta, de qua vnum scribo præteritum mirum.

Ante paucos hos annos, villanus ditissimus, sibi valdè preciosus construxerat palatium, quasi pro Paradiso terrestri, circundatum, munitum fortalitijs, ac repletum omnibus corporalibus delicijs.

Illic areæ, turres, cameræ, cubicula, cum alijs ædificijs, in multo numero, & gloria permagnifica, ac historiarum picturis, inter quas, nonnunquam prodigioso artificio bestiæ & bestiolæ, aues & auiculæ discurrebant, volitabant, & per pugnas, garritus, collusiones, mẽtiebantur viuere.

Ditissimi villani paradisus fictitius.

Illic prata, & pometa, & seruatoria circà deliciosi collis congestum, distincta velut omni genere florum, arborum, & herbarum, cum multis fontibus & riuulis, quorum perspicuitas, & fluxus in glaris suauem & auditui præstabant refectionem, & super aliquos fuerunt exceptoris artificij, circumstructi auro, & argento, & gemmis, & tres principales fontes emittentes ad palatium Domini per occultas conductas, riuulos vini, lactis, & melhis.

Copiosus quoque numerus formosorum puerorum, & puellarum, ætatis inter decem & sex decem annos, indutorum torquibus, & cycladibus exauratis, exercentium inter iocos cantus & spectacula, ac seruientium suo Domino prope nutum. Audiebantur ex turrium custodibus, nec non videbantur dulcisonæ symphoniæ, generum diuersorum, vt certissimè putares, non hominum, sed Angelorum: & in istis, ac similibus, deliciebatur iste villanus.

Sed & aurum liuido nil iuuat, imò nocet: quia enim hic inuidiæ & otij facibus super ingenuitatem mentis omnium generaliter nobilium principum verebatur in corde: (ingenuitas enim, & rusticitas nunquam cohabităt in cordis vno domicilio) Composuerat ista sibi in hunc finem, vt per se singulos aduocaret aliquos vasallos corpore robustos, mentéq; audaces, atq; ad omnẽ proteruiam benè procliues: & cuilibet pro placitis muneribus commisit vt illum seu illum principem seu Baronem, quem dicebat sibi aduersariũ, clàm per insidias vel impetũ occideret, promittens quenquam post factum ad se recepturum perpetuò in hunc locum: sed & velut vaticinans pseudo prædicauit, si quem illorum pro his flagitijs contigeret corporaliter tradi morti, nihilominùs animam eius in hunc amœnum Paradisum recipi, & viuere in æternum.

Mandeuillius oculatus testis.

Per hunc igitur modum nonnullis nobilibus occisis, & interfectis, tandem nudabatur eiũ nequitia tanta, & congregati regionis Barones miserum occiderunt, eius opera destruentes. Ipse ego inibi ductus, vidi fontium loca, & multa rei vestigia.

Caput. 44.

De loco & dispositione vallis infaustæ.

HVius ad insulæ extremitates non procul à fluuio Pyson, habetur locus mirabilis pariter & terribilis, vltrà omne mundanũ, penè & procul: de cuentibus, ac laboribus infinitis, quæ mihi meisque in tempore itinerationis acciderunt hucusque subticui, cùm iam vnum de maioribus ecce narro.

Est illic in alpibus vallis infausta, quatuor fermè leucarum: longitudo vallis, quasi ad quatuor milliaria Lombardica, appellata vallis incantationis, seu periculosa, seu propiùs dæmoniosa: intrà quam diebus ac noctibus resonant boatus & tumultus tonitruorum, tempestatum, clamorum, & stridorum, diuersique generis sonituum terribilium, quos illic exercet multitudo spirituum malignorum.

Propè ad vallis medium sub vna rupium, apparet omni tempore visibiliter integrũ ac maximum caput dæmonis vsque ad humeros tantùm, cuius speciem præ horrore nullus plenè intuitu humanus audet diu oculus sustinere: nam respicientes contrà aspicit truculentèr, agitans oculos minacitèr, tanquam ex palpebris eiecturus (quæ & scintillant) flammas in altum. Tótumque

Totúmque caput sese rotat ad minas, & variat terribiliter modum & contisentiam sub repentè diuersis manieribus. Exítque de illo per totum ignis obscuratus fumo, & fœtor tantus, quòd per magnum spatium viæ pessimam vallem infectat.

Ingredi autem volentibus, apparet semper ad introitum vallis, magna copia auri, argenti, vasorum, vestium, & rerum pretiosarum, quas proculdubio ibi dæmones confingunt, quibus & ab olim multi insipientium hominum concupiscentia tracti intrarunt, & vsque nuno intrant pro colligendo thesauro: sed de Infidelibus paucissimi reuertuntur, imò nec de Christianis, qui auaritiæ causa ingrediuntur: per vallis autem semitam; quæ inter montes & monticulos, tortuosa & aspera est, gradientes vident, & audiunt, dæmoniacos spiritus multos volutantes, & imaginibus corporum visibilium, serpentum, volucrum, vlularum, lamiarum, & huiusmodi specierum horribilium dentibus minitantes, vngulas erigentes, incognitos sibilos spirantes propè super capita ad aures transgredientium. Sempérque minuitur lumen aeris, donec ventum fuerit ad terribilissimum locum capitis antedicti.

Si quis autem sinceræ fidei Christianus per contritionē verā & confessionē, se posuerit in statu saluationis, munitus corporis Christi mysteriis, ac signo crucis, cum intentione ibidem agendi pœnitentiam de admissis, & cauendi de admittendis, putatur posse hanc transire vallem securus quidem à morte, non tamen liber à laboribus, horribus, & tormentis, & exire, de omnibus culpis præteritis corruptis, ac de futuris magis solito cautus, sicut scriptum est, territi purgabuntur.

Nota aliud mirabile magnum. Vidi cùm irem per vnam vallem positam iuxta fluuen quod egreditur de paradiso, vidi in ea multa corpora mortuorum, in qua etiam audiui multa genera Musicorum, qui ibi mirabilitèr pulsabant: tantus erat ibi tinnitus Musicorum, quòd incussit mihi timorem horribilem.

Est autem longitudo illius vallis quasi ad quatuor milliaria Lombardica, in qua si vnus Infidelis intrat, nunquam egreditur, sed sine mora moritur: Et licet sciui, quòd intrantes moriuntur, tamen acceptaui intrare, vt viderem quid ibi esset. Dum intrassem tot humana cadauera ibi vidi, quod nisi quis videret, credere non posset.

In hac valle, ab vno eius latere, vidi faciem hominis valdè horribilem, qui tantum horrorem mihi incussit, quòd putaui me spiritum exhalare, propter quod sæpè repetij verbum vitæ, scilicet, verbum Caro factum est.

Ad illam faciem non audebam accedere, nisi ad distantiam octo passuum: posteà iui ad caput vallis, & ascendi super montem arenosum, in quo vndique circumspiciens, nihil videbam, nisi instrumenta musicalia, quæ audiebam fortiter pulsare. Cùm fuissem in capite montis, reperi multum argentum congregatum ibi in similitudinem squamarum piscium, vnde posui in gremio, sed quod de ipso non curabam, dimisi illud, & sic illæsus transiui Deo concedente.

Sarraceni cùm hoc scirent, reuerebantur me esse baptizatum, & sanctum: mortuos nunc in valle dicebant, homines infernales.

Odericus ad literam hic terminat suum librum: non fuit tot perpessus in valle, sicut ego. Anno Domini 1331. Ianuarij nono, migrauit ad Christum, in conuentu Minorum: cuius vitam statim in fine, & vsque nunc claris miraculis diuina prouidentia approbat, & commendat, prout continebatur in quaterno, à quo concordantiæ hic superseminaui.

Caput. 45.

De periculo & tormentis in valle eadem.

ITaque dico vobis, cùm ego cum sodalibus, qui simul eramus, quatuordecim diuersarum nationum ante ingressum huius tanti periculi peruenissemus, nos tractatu longo, & deliberatione acuta consiliabamur, vtrùmnam ingredi deberemus, & quidam affirmabant, alii verò negabant. Erat autem in numero duo deuoti fratres, de religione beati Francisci, natione Lombardi, qui videbantur pro seipsis non multum curare ingressum, nisi quia noluerunt nos animare ad ingressum, dicentes, si qui nostrum per confessionem, & Eucharistiæ susceptionem se ibidem præmunirent, ingrederentur cum illis: quo, ab omnibus mediante debita pro-

uisione, quam ipsi fratres penes se gerebant peracto, parauimus mentes nostras cum pedibus ad intrandum.

Sed ecce quinque de nobis, duo Græci & tres Hispani, semetipsos ab alijs segregantes, visi sunt alium requirere introitum nos præcedere cupientes, & certè nos illos exinde non vidimus, & quid eis acciderit an periculum subierint, velne ignoramus.

Nos autem nouem per vallem processimus in silentio, & cum cordis ea deuotione, quam quisque sibi potuerit obtinere: & ecce in breui transacto spatio apparuerunt cumuli massarum auri & argenti, & preciosorum copia vasorum. Sed dico vobis pro parte mea, quia nihil horum tetigi, reputans id fallaciam dæmonum confinxisse ad mittendum concupiscentiam in cor nostrum, imò sine intermissione conabar cor meum custodire ad deuotionem inceptam.

Procedentibus igitur nobis lux cœli minuebatur paulatim & augebatur horror, quoniam propè nos vndique etiam sub pedibus nostris apparebant iacere cadauera mortuorum hominum penitùs defuncta: alia adhuc spirantia, & nonnulla semiuiua, super quæ dum nos aliquando calcare contingeret, conquerebantur, ac dolorosè submurmurabant.

Et licèt non certum id habebam, æstimaui hoc fieri in parte vel in toto fictione dæmonum, reputans in breui tempore tantam multitudinem hominum spontaneè vallem intrasse, & si à longo tempore in ea perijssent putrefactos fuisse.

Ergò in initio nostri processus quasi propè leucam inuenitur iter sub pedibus satis promptum, sed lumine tanquam ad medium nobis sufficiente, via torquebatur nimis, & asperabatur: & ecce figuræ dæmonum, circum & suprà in aere se ferentium, ad imagines horribilium luporum, leonum, laruarum, megerarum, iuxtà cuiuscunque genus vlulantium, rugentium, stridentium, gannientium, hiantes ore, intentantes dentibus, rostris, ac vnguibus, nos terrere, mordere, discerpere, deglutire.

Quapropter pro breui interdum soluto silentio nos inuicèm hortabamur, ne quis pro pusillanimitate terrori cederet, & tanto deficeret in agone. Hoc igitur modo per secundam leucam expirante nobis vsque ad tenebras lumine, quousque quis vix vmbram proximi agnoscere possit, præter prædicta in aere tormenta, incurrebant nobis ad tibias, & pedes pluralitas quasi porcorum, vrsorum, & caprarum grinnientium, & impellentium nos ad lapsum, quod vel ad tertium, vel quartum, aut sextum passum solatenus cadebamus in palmas, seu genua, vel prosternebamur in faciem, aut supini.

Ac superuenere præter hoc ventorum turbines, fulgurum coruscationes, tonitruorum boatus, grandinum casus & exundatio pluuiarum, quantas & quales nunquam accepimus in hoc mundo, quibus iactabamur, ruebamus, quassabamur, & pericilitati fuimus extrà narrandum.

Interdum quoque sensimus tanquam graues baculorum ictus, per humeros, dorsa, latera, & ad renes, alij quidem grauiores, alij vt puta secundum demerirum vniuscuiusque. Et certè dum per tanta tormẽta, quasi exhaustis totis viribus, iam propè medium locum vallis erat ventum, accidit repentè, sub vnico instanti temporis, quibusdam nostrum expalmatio ita dura, vt omnes pariter collisi, & prostrati iaceremus in extasi per vnam vel duas forsitan horas.

Et isto defectu vidit quilibet suo modo spiritualem visionem supermirabilem, & excedentem omne dictum, & scriptum.

Ego verò de visione mea nihil ausus sum scribere, vel loqui, quia & fratres singuli inhibuerunt, nisi de his, quæ corporaliter intuebamur, & passi sumus.

Grauissimum singuli sustinuimus ictum per corporis loca diuersa, vnus in facie, alius in pectore, ad costas, in dorso, vel ad humerum, & mansit cuique signum percussuræ nigerrimum, ad formam virilis manus humanæ:

Mirabilis ictus.

Ictum autem meum in colli ceruice tali ac tanta passione, vt putabam caput abscissum de corpore auolare: & hinc ad octodecimũ annum mansit mihi in prima magnitudine signum: sed & vsque nunc variato colore locus ille demonstrat plenissimè cicatricem, donec cum cadauere tota mutabitur in sepulchro: porrò vbi nos ab extasi in his tenebris separauimus singuli per diuinam gratiam respirando, loquendo, palpando, erigendo nos ipsos mutua humanitate, vt potuimus, recollegimus, & cohortabamur, cùm subitò nobis apparuit sub tenebroso lumine, vel potiùs fumosa caligine, locus ille spatiosus mediæ vallis, continens antedictum horribile

horribile caput dæmonis, plenus fœtore inæstimabili, & iugi occupatus exercitatione innumerorum spirituum malignorum.

Hunc ergò locum ineptè cùm vitare vellemus, in toto nequiuimus extremitatem eius, quocunque girantes, nullus nostrorum perfecto aspectu audebat respicere quæ gerebantur ibidem, quia inuadens tremor statuebat horripilationem extrahebat, sudorem, & pudorem omnes extinguere videbantur. Nec tamen potuit esse consilium de reuertendo, ne propter immutatum propositum confestim à dæmonibus strangularemur.

Transiuimus, Dei gratia nobis opitulante, sed non sine maximo horroris, fœtorisque tormento: rursúmque ex tunc procedentes nos apprehendebat tenebrosa, validáque tempestas, ventorum, coruscationum, tonitruum, grandinum, & pluuiarum, cuius quassatione collabebamur in facies, & in dorso dextrorsum, & sinistrorsum, interuoluente ad tibias, sicut priùs multitudine grinnientium bestiarum, nec dubito scribere quoque amplius, quàm 500. vicibus per hanc vallem quisque nostrum sternebatur ad terram.

Post verò exactam tertiam leucam, cœpit nobis augeri lux seris, ex quo animosiores effecti, in vno tranquilliori loco nos parùm pausantes, gratias Deo palmis extensis in cælum, reddidimus immensas, & præcipuè quòd nullus deesset de nouenario numero sociorum.

Nihilominùs tamen spiritus in aere nobis minari non cessabant, pretendentes in derisionem sua pudenda simul, & fœda virilia & posteriora.

Pro certo ergò habeatis de his quæ vidi, & sensi, nullam possum vobis tradere æquipollentiam verborum, cùm quia grauissima erant, tum quia singulis ne mihi deuotionem minueret non attendebam, tum etiam, quod præ horrore, labore, & dolore multa memoriæ non commendabam.

Per quartam autem leucam (ductrice gratia) leuiùs transeuntes, sustinuimus tamen sub pedibus hominum cadauera mortuorum, propè vallis exitum rerum tentamina preciosarum.

Nunc itaque obsecro magno cordis affectu, hæc legentes & audientes ego, qui in illa hora quid erga me agebat misericordissimi Dei pietas ignorabam, vt velitis pro me, simul & mecum ex mentis intimo collaudare ipsum Dominum, qui tunc de potestate tenebrarum illarum eripuit me indignum, & prout confido, à delictis iuuentutis me purgauit, quatenùs de posteà commissis, & committendis, mihi propitiùs fore dignetur, cùm iam senior, im effectus. Quoniam etsi ex tunc proposui mores corrigere, ex nunc statuo in melius emendare, per filium eius Iesum Christum Dominum nostrum.

Ad hoc, addo breuiter, quòd non auderem hortari quenquam, me consulentem, vt spontaneè ingrederetur hanc vallem infaustam, quamuis ego curiosus intraui. Venientes posthac ad proximas habitationes, necesse fuit nobis intendere ad recreandum corpora cibarijs, & balneis, & ad medendum vulneribus, & quassaturis, donec per aliquod tempus vnusquisque acciperet deliberationem super suo futuro.

Capvt. 46.

De quibusdam alijs admirandis per Indorum insulas.

VT modò procedam in tractatu. Sciatis ad paucas inde dictas grandem insulam haberi gigantum, ad staturam altitudinis viginti quinque pedum nostrorum, de quibus ipse vidi nonnulloe, sed extrà terram eorum, & audiuimus esse intrinsecùs quosdam triginta pedum, & vltrà: hi operiuntur non vestibus, sed bestiarum pellibus vtcunque sibi appensis, comedentes animalium carnes crudas, & lac pro potu sorbentes, atque appetentes super omnem esum carnes humanas. Gigantes Antropophagi.

Istorum non curaui intrare insulam: nam & audiui quòd ad maris littus solent insidiari nauigantibus, nauésque submergere, nisi interdum redimantur tribus aut quatuor per sortem hominibus sibi datis.

Versus Austrum hinc in mari Oceano, habetur inter alias insulas, vna, vbi crudelibus quibusdam mulieribus nascitur in oculis lapis rarus, & malus, quæ si per iram respexerint hominem, more Basilisci interficiunt solo visu. Lethferi aspectus mulierum.

Et vltrà hanc insulam alia maior & populosior, vbi cùm multi sint vsus nobis insueti, vnum describo.

Insula vbi virgines vitiantur antequam nubant.

Dum desponsauerit vir puellam, virginem, mandat hominem incompositum, velut ribaldum, qui sua idonea claue per expertos super hoc diligentèr considerata, si reputatur idonea reseret & vestiget sub nocte vnica virginalem conclauem, pro mercede sibi tradita competenti. Et si postera nocte accedens sponsus ita non inuenerit, poterit, & consueuit hominem impetere ad mortis iudicium indeclinabile. Cúmque huius moris discere voluissem causam, accepi responsum, pro certis temporibus apud eos, virgines habuisse in matricibus paruos serpentes, quibus nocebantur primi ad illas intrantes.

Ideóq; & viri, qui pro mercede tantum subeunt periculum, vocant sua loquela cadibrum, est, stultos desperatos.

Ex hac, apparet Insula in qua inter alios vsus, peruersæ sunt matres contra naturam & scripturā, cum pepererint contristantur, & dum proles moritur iocūdantur, iactantes in magno igne cum conuiuio & exultatione, dumque maritus ante vxorem decedit, patebit vxoris plena dilectio, si cum corpore mariti, quod rogo traditur se iactat cremandam, vt quia in isto seculo steterunt amoris vinculo colligati, non sint alio separati.

Nec tamen intelligunt illud seculum, nisi quod sibi confingunt terrestrem Paradisum. Puerum aut minorē annis, trahet mater secum si placet, sed ætatis puer perfectæ, eliget pro proprio placito viuere superstes, aut mori iuxta parentes.

Hic etiam non succedunt Reges per generationem sed per electionem, vt assumatur non nobilior, aut fortior, sed morigeratior, & iustior, 50 ad minus annorum, nullam habens sobolem aut vxorem, seruatúrque illic iusticiæ rigor in plena censura, in omnibus & contra omnes, etiamsi forefecerit ipse Rex, qui nec eximitur a traditis legibus pro concupiscentia vel contemptione quarumlibet personarum.

Veruntamen Rex si peccauerit non occiditur ob reuerentiam, sed quòd sub pœna mortis, publicè inhibetur, ne quispiam in Regione ei verbo vel vllo facto communicet, & quoniam sui loco alter rex constituitur, necesse est illi breui vita degere vel perpetuò exulare.

Constat post ipsam, & alia Insula, multis bonis locuples, & hominibus populosa, de qua recolo scribendum, quod nulla occasione comedunt tria genera carnium, gallinarum, leporum, & aucarum, quas etsi nutriant in copijs, vtuntur duntaxat pellibus aut plumis.

Cæterarum verò bestiarum & animalium licitè vescuntur carnibus pro victu, & lacte pro potu. Ibi quísq; vir licitè potest coniungi cuíque mulieri, quantumcúnque propinquet, exceptis progenitoribus, patre & matre. Nam cohabitatio, & commixtio omnium virorum ad singulas mulieres apparet ibi communis, vnde mater natum paruulum suum, adicit pro sui placito cuicúnque viro, qui circa generationis tempus secum dormierit, nec valet vllus virorum esse certus de proprio generato, quem modum exlegem arbitror & turpem.

Sicut ergò præfatus sum, multa mira videntur per Regiones Indorum, mira quidē nobis, sed illis assueta, quibus si nostra recitarentur assueta, audirent pro miris. Nam & dum quibusdam dixi aucas viuas apud nos nasci in arboribus, admirati sunt satis. In multis locis seminatur singulis annis sementum de ‖ Cothon, quod nos dicimus lanam arboream, exurgunt ei modica arbusta, vel potius arbustula de quibus talis lana habetur: est arbor Iuniperus, de cuius ligno desiccato, si carbones viuos sub proprijs cineribus tenueris diligenter opertos, igniti seruabuntur ad annum.

‖ Vel Cotton.

Descriptio arboris Bombasum ferentis.

Nux Indica.

Orafans bestia.

Est & genus Nucum incredibilis magnitudinis ad quantitatem magni capitis: & bestia vocata, orafans, vel serfans, corpore in nostrorum altitudine caballorum, & collo in 20 longitudine cubitorum ad prospiciendum vltra domos & muros, quorum posteriora apparent vt hinniculi siue lerni.

Camelionea.

Genus est etiam Camelionum ad formam hynnulorum, qui semper patulo tendunt ore, vel nil manducantes. Viuunt de aere, quæ etiam ad suum libitum videntur sibi variare colorem, exceptis (vt dicitur) albo vel rubeo.

Maximi

Maximi quóq; serpentes, inuicem qualitate, & genere differentes ætq; colore.

Aliqui cristam in capite gerunt, quidam more hominum ad duos pedes erecti incedunt, & nonnulli qui dicuntur Reguli, venenum per ora distillare non cessant, nec non quam plures cocodrilli, de quibus aliquid in præcedentibus retuli: & apri in nostrorum magnitudine Apri ingentes. boum, spinosi ericij, in quantitate porcorum, leones albi ih altitudine dextrariorum. Lou- Leones albi. heraus, seu Edouches per Indiam habentur, quod ferarum genus satis est maius nostris com- Louheraus. munibus equis, gerens in fronte terri capitis tria longa cornua, ad formam pugionis, ex vtráque parte scindentia, vt eis nonnunquam interficiant Elephantes.

Aliæ quóq; bestiæ crudeles vt vrsi cum capitibus ferè aprorum & habentes pedes senos, qui finduntur latis vnguis bis acutis, & cum caudis leonum siue pardorum.

Et quod vix credetur, mures pro quantitate, 10, aut 12. nostrorum & vespertiliones ad motum corturum.

Sed & aucæ in triplo maiores nostris, plumis indutæ rubris, nisi quod in pectore & collo apparet nigredo.

Et breuiter tam ibi quàm alibi, habentur pisces, bestiæ, volucres, aut vermes diuersorum generum, aut specierum, de quibus hoc loco, vel inutilis, vel prolixa posset fieri narratio, quod nec illis qui nunquam propria exierunt, credibilis videretur.

Capvt 47.

De Bracmannorum & aliorum Insulis.

BRacmannorum Insula quasi ad medium Imperij cõsistit Præsbyteri Ioannis. Hij licet Christiani non sunt, viuunt tamen naturali optimo more. Rudes enim & incomparati, simplices, & inscij omnis artis apparent. Non cupidi, superbi, inuidi, iracundi, gulosi, aut luxuriosi nec iurant, fraudant, aut mentiuntur. Laborant corpore, sed intendunt animo implere quo ad valeat naturale mandatum, hoc facias alijs quod tibi vis fieri: credentes & adorantes omnium creatorem Deum, & sperantes ab ipso simpliciter Paradisum.

Sobrij quoque sunt, quapropter & longo tempore viuunt: & si quis ab eorum moribus degenerat, proscribitur perpetuò sine mora, omnibus nulla posita differentia personarum, vnde & in iusto Dei iudicio, quòd naturalem exercere iustitiam contendunt, Elementa eis naturaliter obsequuntur, & rarò eos tangit tempestas, aut fames, pestilentia aut gladius.

Magna riparia dicta Chene currit per Insulam, ministrans piscium & aquarum copiam: Istos Flumen Chene. olim Alexander rex Græcorum debellare cupiens, misit eis literas comminationis, cui inter cætera notabilia remandauerunt, nihil se habere curiosi, quod Rex tantus deberet concupiscere, nihilque ita se timere perdituros sicut pacem bonam, quam hactenus habuerunt inconcussam: sicque diuino nutu est actum vt Rex truculentus ad alia se verteret, atque in breui postmodùm caderet, quia dissipat Dominus eos, qui bella volunt, & istis manet pax multa diligentibus eam.

Pytan Insula breuis continet paucos & breues habitatores, Pygmæis modico longiores, qui Pytan. decoris vultibus nullo vnquam cibo vescentes, specialis pomi quod secum portant sustẽtantur odore, quo si carerent ad parum, color in vultu marcesceret, & die tertia vita periret.

Discretio & rationabilitas ijs adest modica, nec enim habent laborare nisi pro vestitu, quem sibi circa arbusta colligunt: Et conficit vnusquisq; pro 12 annis vitæ suæ.

Vltra hanc Insulam siluestres, & fortes habentur homines, sed bestiales, vestiti per totum corpus proprijs capillis & pilis, exceptis palmis, & faciebus, qui videntur penitus gubernatione & politia carere: venantur carnes per siluas, & discurrunt piscantes in aquis, omnia cruda vorantes.

Huius ad terræ metas manat fluuius Briemer latitudinis duarum leucarum, & semis, quem Fluuius Briemer. nos transire nequiuimus, nec ausi fuimus. Quoniam illo transmisso instant deserta 15. aut plurium diætatum inhabitata nũc temporis (prout audieramus) diuersis & nobis ignotis generibus bestiarum, serpentum, draconum, gryphiũ, aspidum, dypsarum, & colubrorũ in multitudine tanta, vt centum millia armatorum simul pertingere vsquè ad arbores, quæ ibi dicuntur

cuntur solis & lunæ, vix possent. Attamen suo tempore Alexander magnus scribitur pertigisse, & quædam ab arboribus fictitia succepisse responsa.

Balsamum indicum. Circa has arbores excolitur Balsamum, cuius liquoris comparatio nusquam scitur contineri sub cœlo. Nam ibidem homines, de istarum arborum fructibus & Balsamo vtentes dicuntur illorum virtute quadringentis aut pluribus annis viuere.

Peruenit autem & Dux Danus Ogerus, ac manducauit de illis, vnde & nonnulli præ sensus stoliditate vel fidei leuitate putant ipsum adhuc alibi viuere in terris. Ego autem quia tantum pro dilatanda Christianitate laborauit arbitror magis, eum regnare cum Christo in cœlis.

Taprobana Insula, & eius descriptio. Versus Orientales partes Indorum consistit magna regio Taprobane exuberans optimis terrenorum bonorum, in quam nauigio intrauimus in octo vel circa diætis per aquam satis tenuem, haud profundam. Ibi, sicut & in alijs naultis Insulis, rex non nascitur sed eligitur per partes terræ: & est hæc vna de quindecim nominatis Regionibus conquisitionis Ogeri. Ista, cum modicum declinet à circulo terræ sub Æquatore, patitur in anno duas æstates, & duas hyemes, si tamen hyems aliqua dici debeat, & non magis æstas, quia nullus hîc dies anni caret fructu, flore, germine.

Habitatores sunt discreti, & honesti, vnde & mercatores, de remotis partibus libenter cum ijs communicant: & sparsim per regionem habitant plurimi diuites Christiani.

Orilla. Argita. Hijs iunguntur duæ insulæ (quas nos vocamus, Orilla, & Argita,) quanquam illa lingua aliter nominentur. In quarum prima sunt multæ mineriæ auri, in secunda argenti, & propter quandam crassitudinem aeris continuam, perpauca apparent sydera, præter vnum quod dicunt Canopũ, quod æstimo planetam Veneris. Et quod mirum est valdè, de omni lunatione ijs apparet nisi 2. quarta. Cuius rei probabilis ratio effugit etiam Astronomos valdè peritos.

Hunc locum notat Gerardus Mercator in sua charta generali. Atque per has Insulas quoddam rubrum mare à mari Oceano segregatur.

Itáq; in Orilla in locis multis effoditur, colligitur, & conflatur optimum auri metallum, per viros, mulieres, & paruulos in hoc instructos, sed & in nonnullis ibi montibus monstrantur congregationes bestiolarum in quantitate nostrorum catulorum, in formicarum forma ac natura totali: qui pro suis viribus effodiunt, purificant, & colligunt cum intenta occupatione auri minutias, eas reponentes, & repositas retrahentes de cauernis & specubus in cauernas & specus. Et in conseruando sunt diligentes & acres, vt nemo audeat de facili propinquare, nisi quod interdum ab illis pausantibus, seu ab æstu se occultantibus, aliqui non sine periculo in dromedarijs & veredarijs rapiunt, vel furantur.

Solet etiam ab eis obtineri, quòd excogitato ingenio super equam quæ nuper fœtum ediderit, imponentes homines duas de ligno cistulas seu cophinos nouos, vacuos, & apertos à lateribus dependentes propè terram: hanc famelicam dimittunt vt se pascat ad herbas in montem: Quam formicæ videntes solam, salientes & iocantes, colludunt ad eam & ad eius confines pro nouitate: & quoniam eis est naturale, vt circa se omne vacuum implere conentur comportant certatim aurum suum in vasculis suis mundis. Cúmque homines à remotis tempus obseruauerint, emittunt pullum equæ vt videat matrem, cuius aspectu iam diu stetit priuatus, ad cuius hinnitum protinus equa reuertitur onusta de auro. Hijs ergò & similibus modis homines aurum diripiunt à formicis.

Caput. 48.

Aliquid de loco Paradisi terrestris per auditum.

A Finibus Imperij Indiæ recta linea in orientem nihil est habitatum vel habitabile, propter rupium, & montium altitudinem, & asperitatem, & propter aeris inter Alpes diuersitatem: nam & in multis locis, licet quandóque aer sit serenus, nunc fit spissus nunc fumosus, vel venenosus, & frequenter die medio tenebrosus. Durántque aut potius aggrauescunt huiusmodi difficultates, vsque ad illum amænissimum Paradisi locum, quem protoplausti per inobedientiam sibi & posteris perdidisse noscuntur, quod spacium si metiri posset, est multarum vtique diætarum. Quia iam non vlterius processi, nec procedere quiui, pauca duntaxat de illo loco referam verisimilia, quæ didici per auditum.

Descriptio Paradisi. Paradisus terrestris dicitur locus spaciosus ad amplitudinem quasi quinq; Insularum nostrarum,

trarum, Angliæ, Normanniæ, Hiberniæ, Scotiæ, & Noruegiæ, aut forsan satis plurium. Cuius situs est pertingens in altitudine ad aeris supremam superficiem, eò quod illic terra vel terræ orbis sit multum spissior quàm alibi per modum excentricum à vero centro mundi, nec valet hoc deinde ab aliquo experto refelli, scriptura veritatis clamante, quòd ibi sit fons irrigans vniuersam superficiem terræ: aquæ enim est natura semper fluere ad ima.

Exeunt autem ab illo fonte versus nostri partes hemispherij, hoc est nobis de illo loco in occidentem quatuor flumina, Pyson, Gyon, Tygris, & Euphrates, ab ista dimidia parte terræ circa Æquatoris circulum terræ influentes, quapropter & merito credendum videtur, exire de eodem fonte & alia quatuor flumina irrigantia terram oppositam, quæ est circa alteram dimidiam partem circuli Æquatoris, quamuis nos eorum fluminum loca, virtutes, & nomina ignoramus, quòd homines habitant ab alia parte Æquinoctij.

Hoc tamen volo sciri pro vero & audiui, illic terræ faciem inhabitatam in maxima multitudine ciuitatum, vrbium, & regionum, quoniam & eorum institores Indiam frequentant, & nunciant sibi inuicem gentes & principes per literas, ac alijs modis destinare sunt visi. Gentes ad vltimum Aequinoctia.

Vnus nostrorum fluuiorum Pyson currit per Indiam, & per eius deserta quandoque sub terra, sed sæpiùs supra, qui & Ganges illic appellatus est, ab illo vltimo Paganitatis rege, quem Dux Ogerus deuictum cùm baptizari renueret in ipso flumine proiectum submersit. Ganges fluuius.

Ad littus huius reperiuntur multi lapides præciositatis immensæ & metalli grani carissimi, nec non & auri minerie, multumque descendit in eo natans lignum Aloes ex Paradiso, quod rebus miræ virtutis inserit Salomon in Canticis.

Hinc secundus fluuius Gyon, currit per Aethiopiam, vnde dum venit in Ægyptū, accipit nomen Nilus. Tertius Tygris veniens per Assyriam influit maiorem Armeniam & Persiam: tandémq; fluuij singuli per loca singula se iactant in mare per quod defluunt vsq; ad Nador, id est, ad oppositum diametrum paradisi: Ideóq; merito æstimantur omnes vniuerso orbe aquæ dulces originē capere, à supradicto paradisi fonte, quamuis secundū distātiam maiorem vel minorem, & secundum naturas rerum per quas meant diuersos habere inueniuntur sapores, átq; virtutes.

Porrò ipsum Paradisi locum audiui à tribus plagis, orientali, meridionali, & septentrionali, inaccessibilem tam hominibus quàm bestijs, eo quòd apparet ripis perpendiculariter abscissa, tanquam inestimabilis altitudinis. Et ab occidente id est nostra parte tanquam super omnium humanorum intuitum rogus ardēs, qui in scripturis rumphea flammea appellatur, vt nulli creaturæ terrenæ ascēsus in eū credatur nisi quibusdam volatilibus, prout decreuit iusti iudicij Deus.

Ambulantibus enim illuc siue repentibus hominibus obstarent tenebræ imo rupes, aër infestus, bestiæ, serpentes, frigus, & camus. Nauigare autem contra ictum fluminis nitentes impedirent intrinsecus recursus, ac impetuosus & quandóque subterraneus aquæ cursus descendentis cum vehementia ab euectissimo, vt dictum est, loco, qui suo quóque strepitu, per petras átq; strictos aliósque diuersos cadens gurgites, efficeret surdos, & aeris mutatio cæcos, vnde & multi tam nobiles quàm ignobiles, fatua sese audacia in isto ponētes periculo perierunt, alijs excœcatis, alijs absurdatis, & nonnullis in ipso accessu subitanea morte peremptis. Ex quo nimirum credi habetur istum Deo diaplicere conatum.

Quapropter & ego ex illo loco statui animum ad repatriandum, quatenus Deo propitio, Anglia quæ me produxit seculo viuentem, susciperet morientem.

Capvt. 49.

In reuertendo de Cassan, & Riboth, & de diuite Epulone.

EXhinc de illis quæ in reuertendo vidi scribo cursim pauca, ne modum excedere videatur materia. Reuertebar itaque quasi per Aquilonare latus Imperij Presbyteri Ioannis, & nunc terræ, non mari nos commendantes, transiuimus Deo Ductore, multas insulas in multis diætis, & peruenimus ad regionem magnam Cassan: hæc cum sit vna de quindecim habens longitudinem diætarum 60. & latitudinem propè 30. posset esse nominatior omnibus ibi circa prouincijs, si à nostris frequentaretur. Via per quam Mandeuillus rediit in Angliam. Cassan.

Notandum.

Notandum. Cassan (secundum Odericum) est melior prouincia de mundo, vbi strictior est, habet diætas 50. vbi longior 60, & est vna de 12. prouincijs imperij Grand Can. Est ista populosa, distincta ciuitatibus, vt quisque à quacunque plaga de vna exeat ciuitate nouerit aliam in media diæta propinquam. Tenétque istam regionem Cassan rex diues & potens, pro parte de Imperio Præsbyteri Ioannis, & pro parte de Imperio Grand Can.

Riboth. De ista in reuersione nostra venimus ad Regnum Riboth, quod similiter est vnum de quindecim, latum, & speciosum, in quo de multis bonis, habetur plena copia. Hoc tenetur in toto de Imperio Tartarorum.

Labassi, summus idolorum pontifex. Vna est ibi inter & super omnes ciuitas Sacerdotalis, & Regia, in qua Rex habet suum magnificum palatium, & summus Idolorum Pontifex quem Labassi appellant, cui omnes Regni obediunt, & populi sicut Domino Papæ nos Christiani quoniam & iubet, & benedicit, ac confert sacerdotibus beneficia idolorum.

Ciuitatis vndique muri sunt compacti albis & nigris lapidibus conquadratis ad modum scacarij, omnésque contractæ simili pauimento sunt stratæ. Tanta est illic reuerentia sacrificiorum vt si quis vel in modica quantitate, sanguinem hominis, seu immolaticiæ pecudis fudisse deprehensus fuerit, nequaquam iudicium mortis euadet. Et inter innumeras superstitiones est illic vna talis.

Hæres cuius pater defungitur, si alicuius vult esse reputationis, mandat cognatos, amicos, Religiosos, & sacerdotes pro posse, qui certo Die conuenientes sub magno Symphoniæ festo, comportant defuncti cadauer, in montis sublime cacumen. Ibi accedens dignior Prælatorum, funeris caput abscindit, stadens hæredi in aureo disco decătanti sub deuotione suas orationes cum suis in propria lingua. Atque interim aues regionis rapaces, & immundæ, vt corui, vultures, & aquilæ, quæ pro consuetudine optimè morem norunt, aduolant magno numero in aëre: Tuncque Religiosi cum sacerdotibus detruncant corpus in frusta velut in macello, proijcientes pecias in altum auibus, ac decătantes certam ad hoc compositam orationem, tanquam si nostri sacerdotes cantarent. Subuenite sancti Dei. &c.

Et habet eorum oratio, hunc sensum in sua lingua. Respice quàm iustus & sanctus extitit homo iste, quem Angeli Dei conueniunt accipere & in Paradisum deferre. Talique diabolico errore delusi, putant filius, & amici, quod defunctus sit in Paradisum translatus, viuat illic sempiterne beatus, quoniam, vbi plures conuenere volucrum, ibi maiorem lætantur & iactant fuisse numerum Angelorum.

Hinc deinde reuertentes, cum choris, & resonantia Musicorum, filius paratum præstat omnibus conuiuium, in cuius fine pro extremo ferculo, tradit singulis particulam, de patris capite summa cum deuotione. Hanc etiam capitis caluariam filius facit postmodum debitè formari & poliri sibi pro cypho, in quo bibit in conuijs, ob recordationem amantissimi patris.

Ab hoc Regno decem dietis per potestatem Imperatoris Grand Can, inuenitur Insula delectabilis, & speciosa satis: cuius Rex est præpotens in gloria, & in diuitijs superabundans, & de multis quæ illic geruntur admirandis vnum recito solum.

Diues Epulo. Quòd est ibi homo quidam ditissimus nullius dignitatis nomine honoratus, sed bysso, ac serico adornatus, & splendide omni tempore epulatus: non ergo vult dici princeps, Dux, comes, miles, aut huiusmodi, licet superioritatem habeat super marchiones aliquos & barones. Eius possessionis valor æstimatur in anno 30. cuman de assinarijs biadi, & risi, nec quærit nisi delitiosè viuere in isto seculo, vt cum diuite Epulone sepeliatur in inferno. Cum etiam sibi derelictus sit, iste viuendi modus a retrogenitoribus, eum & ipse posteris derelinquet. Hic tanquam Imperiali residet palatio, cuius muri ambitus ad tractum leucæ tenditur, continens arbusta, vineta, riuulos, fontes & stagna, aulas, & cubicula auro strata depictáque mirè, & sculpta artificiosè, vltra quam vales explicare, & inter omnia ad medium palatium in celso vertice atrium amœnum, valdè tamen modico, sed cunctis præciosius, ædificio, quasi ad scema nostrarum Ecclesiarum, cum turribus, pilarijs, & columnis, in quibus nihil prominet indignius auro. Nunquam vel rarò hic exit de suo palatio cum solis pulchris quos sibi conuocat & conuariat paruis pueris & puellis, non excedentibus 16. annos ætatis. Tendit dum libet pedibus, quandóque vectatur equo, interdum ducitur vehiculo, nonnunquam vult ferri gestatorio, vel certè puellaribus brachijs, & visitat sæpissimè præfatum præciosius ædificium: ătque

hijs

hijs & modis alijs excogitat delectare visum pulchris, auditum suauibus, olfactum redolentibus, tactum lenibus, & gustum pascere delicatis. Electas semper habet præsto 50. puellas ei, & de proximo exquisitissimè ministrantes tam ad mensam quàm ad cubiculum, & ad omne libitum.

Hæ ad prandium recumbenti afferunt processionis more pro singulo ferculo semper 5. genera dapum nobilium cum dulcisonæ resonantia cantilenæ, quarum aliquæ ei singulos detruncant genu flexo morsellos, aliquæ ponunt in ore, mundis tergentes comedentis labia mappis. Versus.

Nam ipse quidem in mensa continet iacentes manus puras & quietas. Post deseruitionem ferculi primi, seruitur pro secundo in 5. alijs dapum generibus modo quo supra, & renouatur in apponendo cantus suauior melodia.

Ista ábsque vlla Domini cura per ministros quotidiè reparantur, etiam in maiori satis quàm effor nobilitate, nisi dum ipse pro placito iusserit, quandóque temperari.

Deliciosius igitur quo vult deducit carnem, non curans animam, sed nec probitatem curans terrenam, pascit sterilem, & viduæ non benefacit. Et

Quia viuit sicut porcus,
Morientem suscipit orcus.

Porrò quod eum dixi manus tenere quietas, noueritis nimirum nil posse manibus capere vel tenere, propter longitudinem, & recuruitatem vnguium in digitis, qui sibi nullo tempore præscinduntur. Seruatur enim hoc pro nobili more patriæ, & viri diuites delicati, qui prohprios possunt habere ministros nùquàm sibi dimittunt vngues resecare, vnde & nonnullis circumdantur vndíque manus, acsi uiderentur armatæ. Longitudo vnguium. Vsuntur etiam in Florida principes longis vnguibus.

Fœminarum autem mos est nobilis si habeant paruos pedes, vnde & generosarum in cunis strictissimè obuoluuntur, vt vix ad medium debitæ quantitatis excrescere possint. Nota historia Chinensis hoc tetigit.

Caput. 50.

De compositione huius tractatus in nobili ciuitate Leodiensi.

In reuertêdo igitur venitur ab hac insula per prouincias magnas Imperij Tartarorum, in quibus semper noua, semper mira, imo nonnunquam incredibilia viator potest videre, percipere, & audire.

Et Noueritis, vt prædixi, me pauca eorum vidisse, quæ in terris sunt mirabilium, sed nec hîc scripsisse centessimam partem eorum quæ vidi, quod nec omnia memoriæ commendare potui, & de commendatis multa subticui, propter modestiam, quam decet omnibus actibus addi.

Idcirco vt & alijs, qui vel antè me in partibus illis steterunt, vel ituri sunt, maneat locus narrandi siue scribendi, modum huius pono tractatus, potius decurtans quàm complens, quoniam aliàs loquendi non esset finis, nec aures implerentur auditu.

Itáque anno à natiuitate Domini nostri Iesu Christi 1355. in patriando, cum ad nobilem Legiæ, seu Leodij ciuitatem peruenissem, & præ grandeuitate ac artericiis guttis illic decumberem in vico qui dicitur, Bassessanemi, consului causa conualescendi aliquos medicos ciuitatis: Et accidit, Dei nutu, vnum intrare physicum super alios ætate simul & canicie venerandum, ac in sua arte euidenter expertum, qui ibidem dicebatur communiter, Magister Ioannes ad barbam. Concludit opus suum.

Is, dum paritèr colloqueremur, interseruit aliquid dictis, per quod tandem nostra inuicem renouabatur antiqua notitia, quam quondam habueramus in Cayr Aegypti apud Melech Mádibron Soldanum, prout suprà tetigi in 7. capitulo libri.

Qui cum in me experientiam artis suæ excellenter monstrasset, adhortabatur ac præcabatur instanter, vt de hijs quæ videram tempore peregrinationis, & itinerationis meæ per mundum, aliquid digererem in scriptis ad legendum, & audiendum pro vtilitate.

Sicque tandem illius monitu & adiutorio, compositus est iste tractatus, de quo certè nil scribere proposueram, donec saltem ad partes proprias in Anglia peruenissem. Et credo præmissa circa me, per prouidentiam & gratiam Dei contigisse, quoniam à tempore quo recessi, duo reges nostri ‖ Angliæ, & Franciæ, non cessauerunt inuicem exercere destructiones, depræ- Edwardus tertius.

dationes, insidias, & interfectiones, inter quas, nisi à Domino custoditus, non transissem sine morte, vel mortis periculo, & sine criminum grandi cumulo. Et ecce nunc egressionis meæ anno 33. constitutus in Leodij ciuitate, quæ à mari Angliæ distat solum per duas diætas, audio dictas Dominorum inimicitias, per gratiam Dei consopitas: quapropter & spero, ac propono de reliquo secundum maturiorem ætatem me posse in proprijs, intendere corporis quieti, animæq; saluti.

Hic itaque finis sit scripti, in nomine Patris, & Filij, & spiritus sancti, Amen.

Explicit itinerarium à terra Angliæ, in partes Hierosolimitanas, & in vlteriores transmarinas, editum primò in lingua Gallicana, à Domino Ioanne Mandeuille milite, suo authore, Anno incarnationis Domini 1355. in Ciuitate Leodiensi: Et Paulò post in eadem ciuitate, translatum in dictam formam Latinam.

Richardi Hakluyti breuis admonitio ad Lectorem.

IOannem Mandeuillum nostratem, eruditum & insignem Authorem (Balæo, Mercatore, Ortelio, & alijs, testibus) ab innumeris Scribarum & Typographorum mendis repurgando, ex multorum, eorumque optimorum exemplarium collatione, quid præstiterim, virorum doctorum, & eorum præcipuè, qui Geographiæ, & Antiquitatis periti sunt, esto iudicium. Quæ autem habet de monstrifieris hominum formis itinerarij sui præcedentis capitibus trigessimo, trigessimo primo, trigessimo tertio, & sparsim in sequentibus, quanquam non negem ab illo fortasse quædam eorum alicubi visa fuisse, maiori tamen ex parte, ex Caio Plinio secundo hausta videntur, vt facile patebit ea cum his Plinianis, hic ideo a me appositis, collaturo, quæ idem Plinius, singulis suis authoribus singula refert, in eorum plærisque fidem suam minimè obstringens. Vale, atque aut meliora dato, aut his vtere mecum.

Ex libro sexto Naturalis historiæ C. Plinij secundi, Cap. 30.

VNiuersa verò gens Ætheria appellata est, deinde Atlantia, mox à Vulcani filio Æthiope Æthiopia. Animalium hominumque effigies monstriferas circa extremitates eius gigni minimè mirum, artifici ad formanda corpora effigiésque cælandas mobilitate ignea. Ferunt certè ab Orientis parte intima gentes esse sine naribus, æquali totius oris planitie. Alias superiore labro orbas, alias sine linguis. Pars etiam ore concreto & naribus carens, vno tantùm foramine spirat, potúmque calamis auenæ trahit, & grana eiusdem auenæ, sponte prouenientia ad vescendum. Quibusdam pro sermone nutus motúsque membrorum est. &c.

Ex libro eiusdem Plinij septimo, Cap. 2. cui titulus est, De Scythis, & aliarum diuersitate gentium.

ESse Scytharum genera, & quidem plura, quæ corporibus humanis vescerentur, indicauimus. Idipsum incredibile fortasse, ni cogitemus in medio orbe terrarum, ac Sicilia & Italia fuisse gentes huius monstri, Cyclopas & Læstrigonas, & nuperrimè trans Alpes hominem immolari gentium earũ more solitum: quod paulum à mandendo abest. Sed & iuxta eos, qui sunt ad Septentrionem versi, haud procul ab ipso Aquilonis exortu, specúque eius dicto, quem locũ Gesclitron appellant, produntur Arimaspi, duos diximus, vno oculo in fronte media insignes: quibus assiduè bellum esse circa metalla cum gryphis, ferarum volucri genere, quale vulgò traditur, eruente ex cuniculis aurum, mira cupiditate & feris custodientibus, & Arimaspis rapientibus, multi, sed maximè illustres Herodotus, & Aristeas Proconnesius scribunt. Super alios autem Anthropophagos Scythas, in quadam conualle magna Imai montis, regio est, quæ vocatur Abarimon, in qua syluestres viuunt homines, auersis post crura plantis, eximiæ velocitatis, passim cum feris vagantes. Hos in alio non spirare cœlo, ideóque ad finitimos reges non pertrahi, neque ad Alexandrum magnum pertractos, Beton itinerum eius mensor prodidit. Priores Anthropophagos, quos ad Septentrionem esse diximus decem dierum itinere supra Borysthenem amnem, ossibus humanorum capitum bibere, cutibúsque cum capillo pro mantelibus ante pectora vti, Isigonus Nicæensis. Idem in Albania gigni quosdam glauca oculorum acie, à pueritia statim canos, qui noctu plusquàm interdiu cernant. Idem itinere dierum x. supra Borysthenem, Sauromatas tertio die cibum capere semper. Crates Pergamenus in Hellesponto

lesponto circa Parium, genus hominum fuisse tradit, quos Ophiogenes vocat serpentum ictus contactu leuare solitos, & manu imposita venena extrahere corpori. Varro etiam nunc esse paucos ibi, quorum saliuæ contra ictus serpentum medeantur. Similis & in Africa gens Psyllorum fuit, vt Agatharchides scribit, à Psyllo rege dicta, cuius sepulchrum in parte Syrtium maiorum est. Horum corpori ingenitum fuit virus exitiale serpentibus, vt cuius odore sopirent eas. Mos verò, liberos genitos protinus obijciendi sæuissimis earum, eóque genere pudicitiam coniugum experiendi, non profugientibus adulterino sanguine natos serpentibus. Hæc gens ipsa quidem prope internicione sublata est à Nasamonibus, qui nunc eas tenent sedes: genus tamen hominũ ex his qui profugerant, aut cùm pugnatum est, abfuerant, hodiéque remanent in paucis. Simile & in Italia Marsorum gentis durat, quos à Circes filio ortos seruant, & ideo inesse ijs vim naturalem eam. Et tamen omnibus hominibus contra serpentes inest venenum: ferúntque ictas saliua, vt feruentis aquæ contactũ fugere. Quòd si in fauces penetrauerit, etiam mori: idq; maximè humani ieiuni oris. Supra Nasamonas confinésque illis Machlyas, Androginos esse vtriúsq; naturæ, inter se vicibus coëuntes, Calliphanes tradit. Aristoteles adijcit, dextram mammam ijs virilem, læuam muliebrem esse. In eadem Africa familias quasdam effascinantium, Isigonus & Nymphodorus tradunt quarum laudatione intereant probata, arescant arbores, emoriantur infantes. Esse eiusdem generis in Triballis & Illyrijs, adijcit Isigonus, qui visu quoque effascinent, interimántque quos diutius intuentur. Iratis præcipuè oculis: quod eorum malum faciliùs sentire puberes. Notabilius esse quòd pupillas binas in oculis singulis habeant. Huius generis & fœminas in Scythia, quæ vocantur Bithyæ, prodit Apollonides. Philarchus & in Ponto Thibiorum genus, multósque alios eiusdem naturæ: quorum notas tradit in altero oculo geminã pupillam, in altero equi effigiem. Eosdem præterea non posse mergi, ne veste quidem degrauatos. Haud dissimile ijs genus Pharnacum in Æthiopia prodidit Damon, quorum sudor tabem cõtactis corporibus afferat. Fœminas quidem omnes vbique visu nocere, quæ duplices pupillas habeant, Cicero quoque apud nos autor est. Adeò naturæ, cùm ferarum morem vescendi humanis visceribus in homine genuisset, gignere etiam in toto corpore & in quorundam oculis quoque venena placuit: ne quid vsquã mali esset, quod in homine non esset. Haud procul vrbe Roma in Faliscorum agro familiæ sunt paucæ, quæ vocantur Hirpiæ: quæ sacrificio annuo, quod fit ad montem Soractem Apollini, super ambustam ligni struem ambulantes non aduruntur. Et ob id perpetuo senatusconsulto militiæ omniúmq; aliorũ numerum vacationem habent. Quorundam corpore partes nascuntur ad aliqua mirabiles sicut Pyrrho regi pollex in dextero pede: cuius tactu lienosis medebatur. Hunc cremari cum reliquo corpore non potuisse tradunt, conditúmque loculo in templo. Præcipuè India Æthiopúmq; tractus, miraculis scatent. Maxima in India gignuntur animalia, Indicio sunt canes grandiores cæteris. Arbores quidem tantæ proceritatis tradũtur, vt sagittis superari nequeant. Hæc facit vbertas soli, temperies cœli, aquarum abundantia (si libeat credere) vt sub vna ficu turmæ condantur equitum. Arundines verò tantæ proceritatis, vt singula internodia alueo nauigabili ternos interdum homines ferant. Multos ibi quina cubita constat longitudine excedere: non expuere: non capitis, aut dentium, aut oculorum vllo dolore affici, rarò aliarum corporis partium: tam moderato Solis vapore durari. Philosophos eorum quos Gymnosophystas vocant, ab exortu ad Occasum præstare, contuentes Solem immobilibus oculis: feruentibus harenis toto die alternis pedibus insistere. In monte cui nomen est Milo, homines esse auersis plantis, octonos digitos in singulis pedibus habentes, autor est Megasthenes. In multis autem montibus genus hominum capitibus caninis, ferarum pellibus velari, pro voce latratum edere, vnguibus armatum venatu & aucupio vesci. Horum supra centum viginti millia fuisse prodente se, Ctesias scribit: & in quadam gente Indiæ, fœminas semel in vita parere, genitósque confestim canescere. Item hominum genus, qui Monosceli vocarentur, singulis cruribus, miræ pernicitatis ad saltum: eosdemque Sciopodas vocari, quòd in maiori æstu humi iacentes resupini, vmbra se pedum protegant, non longè eos à Troglodytis abesse. Rursúsque ab his Occidentem versus quosdam sine ceruice, oculos in humeris habentes. Sunt & Satyri subsolanis Indorum montibus (Cartadulorum dicitur Regio) pernicissimum animal, tum quadrupedes, tum rectè currentes humana effigie propter velocitatem, nisi senes aut ægri, non capiuntur. Choromandarum gentem vocat Tauron siluestrem sine voce, stridoris horrendi, hirtis corpori-

bus, oculis glaucis, dentibus caninis. Eudoxus in meridianis Indiæ viris plantas esse cubitales, fœminis adeò paruas, vt Struthopodes appellentur. Megastenes gentem inter Nomadas Indos narium loco foramina tantùm habentem, anguium modo loripedem, vocari Syrictas. Ad extremos fines Indiæ ab Oriente, circa fontem Gangis, Astomorum gentem sine ore, corpore toto hirtam vestiri frondium lanugine, halitu tantùm viuentem, & odore quem naribus trahant: nullum illis cibum, nullúmque potum: tantum radicum florúmque varios odores & syluestrium malorum, quæ secum portant longiore itinere, ne desit olfactus, grauiore paulò odore haud difficulter exanimari. Supra hos extrema in parte montium Spithamæi Pygmæi narrantur, ternas spithamas longitudine, hoc est, ternos dodrantes non excedentes, salubri cælo, sempérque vernante, montibus ab Aquilone oppositis, quos à gruibus infestari Homerus quoq; prodidit: Fama est, insidentes arietum, caprárúmque dorsis, armatos sagitis, veris tempore, vniuerso agmine ad mare descendere, & oua, pullósque earum alitum consumere, ternis expeditionem eam mensibus confici, aliter futuris gregibus non resisti. Casas eorum luto, pennisque, & ouorum putaminibus construi. Aristoteles in cauernis viuere Pygmæos tradit. Cætera de his, vt reliqui. Cyrnos Indorum genus Isigonus annis centenis quadragenis viuere. Item Aethiopas Macrobios, & Seras existimat, & qui Athon montem incolant: hos quidem quia viperinis carnibus alantur, itaque nec capiti, nec vestibus eorum noxia corpori inesse animalia. Onesicritus, quibus in locis Indiæ vmbræ non sint, corpora hominum cubitorum quinum, & binorum palmorum existere, & viuere annos centum triginta, nec senescere, sed vt medio æuo mori. Crates Pergamenus Indos, qui centenos annos excedant Gymnætas appellat, non pauci Macrobios. Ctesias gentem ex his, quæ appellatur Pandore, in conuallibus sitam, annos ducenos viuere, in iuuenta candido capillo, qui in senectute nigrescat. Contra alios quadragenos non excedere annos, iunctos Macrobijs, quorum fœminæ semel pariant: idque & Agatharchides tradit, præterea locustis eos ali, & esse pernices. Mandrorum nomen ijs dedit Clitarchus & Megastenes, trecentósque eorum vicos annumerat. Fœminas septimo ætatis anno parere, senectam quadragesimo anno accedere. Artemidorus, in Taprobana insula longissimam vitam sine vllo corporis languore traduci. Duris, Indorum quosdam cum feris coire, mistósque & semiferos esse partus. In Caligis eiusdem Indiæ gente quinquennes concipere fœminas, octauum vitæ annum non excedere, & alibi cauda villosa homines nasci pernicitatis eximiæ, alios auribus totos contegi. Oritas ab Indis Arbis fluuius disterminat. Ji nullum alium cibum nouere, quàm piscium, quos vnguibus dissectos sole torreant, atque ita panem ex his faciunt, vt refert Clitarchus. Troglodytas super Aethiopiam velociores esse equis, Pergamenus Crates. Item Aethiopas octona cubita longitudine excedere. Syrbotas vocari gentem eam Nomadum Aethiopum, secundùm flumen Astapum ad Septentrionem ‖ vregentium. Gens Menisminorum appellata, abest ab oceano dierum itinere viginti, animalium, quæ Cynocephalos vocamus, lacte viuit, quorum armenta pascit maribus interemptis, præterquam sobolis causa. In Africæ solitudinibus hominum species obuiæ subinde fiunt, momentóque euanescunt. Hæc atque talia, ex hominum genere ludibria sibi, nobis miracula, ingeniosa fecit natura: & singula quidem, quæ facit indies, ac propè horas, quis enumerare valeat? Ad detegendam eius potentiam, satis sit inter prodigia posuisse gentes.

‖ vel, vergentiũ.

This note following, concerning the aide and assistance of the English Marchants, giuen to King Iohn the first of Portugal, for the winning of Ceut in Barbarie, which was the first occasion of all the Portugall discoueries, is taken out of Thomas Walsinghams Latine Chronicle. Anno 1415.

HOc anno, Ioannes primus Rex Portugalliæ, fretus auxilio Mercatorum Angliæ quàm maximè, & Alemannorum, vicit Agarenos in terra Regis Betinarinorum, multis eorum millibus ad generum Cereris destinatis: cepítque ciuitatem eorum quàm amplissimam supra mare sitam, vocatam Ceut eorum lingua.

1415.

The same in English.

THis yeere Iohn the first king of Portugal, being principally assisted by the help of the English Marchants, and Almaines, ouercame the Moores in the dominion of the King of Barbarie,

barie, putting many thousands of them to the sworde, and he tooke their Citie which was very mightie, seated vpon the sea, which is called Ceut in their language.

The voyage of Macham an Englishman, wherein he first of any man, discouered the Iland of Madera, recorded verbatim in the Portugall historie, written by Anthonio Galuano.

IN the yeere 1344. King Peter the fourth of that name, raigning in Arragon, the Chronicles of his age, write, that about this time the Iland of Madera, standing in 32. degrees, was discouered by an Englishman, which was named Macham, who saying out of England into Spaine, with a woman that he had stolne, ariued by tempest in that Iland, and did cast anker in that hauen or baye, which now is called Machico, after the name of Macham. And because his louer was sea sicke, he went on land with some of his companie, and the shippe with a good winde made saile away, and the woman died for thought. Macham, which loued her deerely, built a chappell, or heremitage, to bury her in, calling it by the name of Iesus, and caused his name and hers to be written or grauen upon the stone of her tombe, and the occasion of their arriuall there: And afterward he ordained a boate made of one tree, (for there be trees of a great compasse about) and went to sea in it, with those men that he had, and were left behinde with him, and came vpon the coast of Affricke, without saile or oare. And the Moores which sawe it, tooke it to be a marueilous thing, and presented him vnto the King of that Countrey for a wonder, and that king also sent him and his companions for a miracle vnto the King of Castile.

Madera first discouered by one Macham an Englishman.

Macham made there a chappell, naming it Iesus Chappell.

In the yeere 1395. King Henry the third of that name, raigning in Castile, by the information which Macham gaue of this Iland, and also the shippe of his companie, mooued many of France and Castile to goe and to discouer it, and also the great Canaria, &c.

In the yeere 1417. King Iohn the second, raigning in Castile, and his mother Ladie Katherine being Regent, one Monsieur Ruben of Bracamont, which was Admirall of France, demaunding the conquest of the Ilands of the Canaries, with the title of King, for a kinsman of his named Monsieur Iohn Betancourt, after that the Queene had giuen him them, and holpen him, he departed from Siuyl with a good armie. And they affirme also, that the principal cause which moued him to this, was to discouer the Iland of Madera, which Macham had founde, &c. ibidem pag. 2. of Anthonio Galuano.

Confirmatio treugarum inter Regem Angliæ Eduardum quartum, & Ioannem secundum Regem Portugalliæ, datarum in oppido montis Maioris 8. Februarij, & apud Westmonasterium 13. Septembris, 1482. anno regni 22. Regis Eduardi quarti, lingua Lusitanica ex opere sequenti excerpta.

Libro das obras de Garcia de Resende, que tracta da vida è feitos del Rey dom Ioham secundo. Embaxada que el Rey mandou à el Rey D'Inglaterra. Cap. 33.

EDaqui de Monte Mor mandou el Rey por embaixadores, à el rey dom Duarte de Inglaterra Ruy de Sousa-pessoa principal é de muyto bon saber é credito, de que el Rey muyto confiaua: é ho doutor Ioam d'Eluas, é fernam de Pina por secretario. E foram por mar muy honradamente cum muy boa companhia: hos quaes foram en nome del vey confirmar as ligas antiquas com Inglaterra, que polla-condiçan dellas ho nouo Rey de hum reyno é do outro era obrigado à mandar confirmar: é tambien pera mostrarem ho titolo que el rey tinha no senhorio de Guinee, pera que depois de visto el rey D'Inglaterra defendesse em todos seus reynos, que ninguen armasse nem podesse mandar à Guinee: é assi mandasse desfazer huna armada que pera laa faziam, per mandado do Duque de Medina Sidonia, hum Ioam Tintam é hum Guilherme fabiam Ingreses. Com ha qual embaixada el rey D'Inglaterra mostrou receber grande contentamento: é foy delle commuyta honra recebida, é em tudo fez inteiramente ho que pellos embaixadores lhe foy requerido: de que elles trouxeran ‖ autenticas escrituras das diligencias que con pubricos pregões fizeram: é assi as prouisones das aprouaçones que eran necessarias: é com tudo muyto ben acabado, é ha vontade del rey se vieram.

‖ These writinge are in the Towre.

Anthony

Anthony Beck bishop of Durisme was elected Patriarch of Hierusalem, and confirmed by Clement the fift bishop of Rome: in the 34 yere of Edward the first. Lelandus.

1305. ANtonius Beckus episcopus Dunelmensis fuit, regnante Edwardo eius appellationis ab aduentu Gulielmi magni in Angliam primo. Electus est in patriarcham Hierosolymitanum anno Christi 1305, & a Clemente quinto Rom. pontifice confirmatus. Splendidus erat supra quàm decebat episcopum. Construxit castrum Achelandæ, quatuor passuum millibus a Dunelmo in ripa Vnduglessi fluuioli. Elteshamum etiam vicinum Grenouico, ac Somaridunum castellum Lindianæ prouinciæ, ædificijs illustria reddidit. Deinde & palatium Londini erexit, quod nunc Edwardi principis est. Tandem ex splendore nimio, & potentia conflauit sibi apud nobilitatem ingentem inuidiam, quam viuens nunquam extinguere potuit. Sed de Antonio, & eius scriptis fusiùs in opere, cuius titulus de pontificibus Britannicis, dicemus. Obijt Antonius anno a nato in salutem nostram Christo, 1310, Edwardo secundo regnante.

The same in English:

ANthony Beck was bishop of Durisme in the time of the reigne of Edward the first of that name after the inuasion of William the great into England. This Anthony was elected patriarch of Ierusalem in the yeere of our Lord God 1305, and was confirmed by Clement the fift, pope of Rome. He was of greater magnificence then for the calling of a bishop. He founded also the castle of Acheland foure miles from Durisme, on the shore of a prety riuer called Vnduglesme. He much beautified with new buildings Eltham mannor nere vnto Greenwich, and the castle Somaridune in the county of Lindsey. And lastly, he built new out of the ground the palace of London, which now is in the possession of prince Edward. Insomuch, that at length, through his ouer great magnificence and power he procured to himselfe great enuy among the nobility, which he could not asswage during the rest of his life. But of this Anthony & of his writings we will speake more at large in our booke intituled of the Britain bishops. This Anthony finished his life in the yere of our Lord God 1310, and in the reigne of king Edward the second.

Incipit Itinerarium fratris Odorici fratrum minorum de mirabilibus Orientalium Tartarorum.

LIcet multa & varia de ritibus & conditionibus huius mundi enarrentur a multis, ego tamen frater Odoricus de foro Iulij de portu Vahonis, volens ad partes infidelium transfretare, magna & mira vidi & audiui, quæ possum veraciter enarrare. Primò transiens Mare Maius me de Pera iuxta Cõstantinopolim transtuli Trapesundam, quæ antiquitùs Pontus vocabatur: Hæc terra benè situata est, sicut scala quædam Persarum & Medorum, & eorum qui sunt vltra mare. In hac terra vidi mirabile quod mihi placuit, scilicet hominem ducentem secum plusquam 4000 perdicum. Homo autem per terram gradiebatur, perdices vero volabant per aëra, quas ipse ad quoddam castrum dictum Zauena duxit, distans à Trapesunda per tres dietas: Hæ perdices illius conditionis erant, cùm homo ille quiescere voluit, omnes se apabant circa ipsum, more pullorum gallinarum, & per illum modum duxit eas vsque ad Trapesundam, & vsque ad palatium imperatoris, qui de illis sumpsit quot voluit, & residuas vir ille ad locum vnde veneram, adduxit. In hac ciuitate requiescit corpus Athanasij supra portam ciuitatis.

Armenia maior. Vltra transiui vsque in Armeniam maiorem, ad quandam ciuitatem quæ vocatur Azaron, quæ erat multùm opulenta antiquitùs, sed Tartari eam pro magna parte destruxerunt: In ea erat abundantia panis & carnium, & aliorum omniũ victualium præterquam vini & fructuum. Hæc ciuitas est multũ frigida, & de illa dicitur quòd altius situatur quàm aliqua alia in hoc mundo: hæc optimas habet aquas, nam venæ illárum aquarum oriri videntur & scaturire à flumine magno Euphrate quod per vnam dietã ab ciuitate distat: hæc ciuitas via media eundi Taurisium. Vltra progressus sum ad quendam montem dictum Sobissacalo. In illa contrata est mons ille supra quem requiescit arca Noe; in quem libenter ascendissem, si societas mea me præstolare voluisset: A gente tamen illius contratæ dicitur quòd nullus vnquam illum monte

tem ascendere potuit, quia vt dicitur, hoc Deo altissimo non placet. Vltra veni Tauris ciuitatem magnam & regalem, quæ antiquitùs Susis dicta fuit. Hæc ciuitas meliùr pro mercenarijs reputatur, quàm aliqua quæ sit in mundo, nam nihil comestibile, nec aliquid quod ad mercimonium pertinet, reperitur, quod illic in bona copia non habetur. Hæc ciuitas multum benè situatur: Nam ad eam quasi totus mundus pro mercimonijs confluere potest: De hac dicunt Christiani qui ibi sunt, quòd credunt Imperatorem plus de ea accipere, quàm Regem Franciæ de toto regno suo: Iuxta illam ciuitatem est mons salinus præbens sal ciuitati, & de illo sale vnusquisque tantum accipit, quantum vult, nihil soluendo alicui. In hac ciuitate multi Christiani de omni natione commorantur, quibus Saraceni in omnibus dominantur. Vltra iuit per decem dietas ad ciuitatem dictam Soldania, in qua imperator Persarum tempore æstiuo commoratur; In hyeme autem vadit ad ciuitatem aliam sitam supra mare vocatam Bakuc: Prædicta autem ciuitas magna est, & frigida, in se habens bonas aquas, ad quam multa mercimonia portantur. Vltra cum quadam societate Carauanorum iui versus Indiam superiorem, ad quam dum transissem per multas dietas perueni ad ciuitatem trium Magorum quæ vocatur Cassan, quæ regia ciuitas est & nobilis, nisi quod Tartari eam in magna parte destruxerunt: hæc abundat pane, vino, & alijs bonis multis. Ab hac ciuitate vsque Ierusalem quo Magi iuerunt miraculosè, sunt L. dietæ, & multa mirabilia sunt in hac ciuitate quæ pertranseo. Indè recessi ad quandam ciuitatem vocatam Gest à qua distat mare arenosum per vnam dietam, quod ferè est mirabile & periculosum: In hac ciuitate est abundantia omnium victualium, & ficuum potissimè, & vuarum siccarum & viridium, plus vt credo quàm in alia parte mundi. Hæc est tertia ciuitas melior quam Rex Persarum habet in toto regno suo: De illa dicunt Saraceni, quod in ea nullus Christianus vltra annum viuere vnquam potest. Vltra per multas dietas iui ad quandam ciuitatem dictam Comum quæ maxima ciuitas antiquitùs erat, cuius ambitus erat ferè L. miliaria, quæ magna damna intulit Romanis antiquis temporibus. In ea sunt palatia integra non habitata, tamen multis victualibus abundat. Vltra per multas terras transiens, perueni ad terram Iob nomine Hus quæ omnium victualium plenissima est, & pulcherrimè situata; iuxta eam sunt montes in quibus sunt pascua multa pro animalibus: Ibi manna in magna copia reperitur. Ibi habentur quatuor perdices pro minori, quàm pro vno grosso: In ea sunt pulcherrimi senes, vbi homines nent & filant, & fœminæ non: hæc terra correspondet Chaldeæ versus transmontana.

Tauris ciuitas Persiæ.

Soltania.

Vel Cassan.

Gest.

Comum.

De moribus Chaldæorum, & de India.

INdè iui in Chaldæam quæ est regnum magnum, & transiui iuxta turrim Babel: Hæc regio suam linguam propriam habet, & ibi sunt homines formosi, & fœminæ turpes: & homines illius regionis vadunt compti crinibus, & ornati, vt hîc mulieres, & portant super capita sua fasciola aurea cum gemmis, & margaritis; mulieres verò solum vnam vilem camisiam attingentem vsque ad genua, habentem manicas longas & largas, quæ vsque ad terram protenduntur: Et vadunt discalceatæ portantes Serablans vsque ad terram. Triceas non portant, sed capilli earum circumquaque dispergunturi: & alia multa & mirabilia sunt ibidem. Indè veni in Indiam quæ infra terram est, quam Tartari multum destruxerunt; & in ea vt plurimum homines tantum dactilos comedunt, quarum xlij. libræ habentur pro minori quam pro vno grosso. Vltra transiui per multas dietas ad mare oceanum, & prima terra, ad quam applicui, vocatur Ormes, quæ est optimè murata, & multa mercimonia & diuitiæ in ea sunt; in ea tantus calor est, quod virilia hominum exeunt corpus, & descendunt vsque ad mediam tibiarum: ideò homines illius terræ volentes viuere, faciunt vnctionum, & vngunt illa, & sic vncta in quibusdam sacculis ponunt circa se cingentes, & aliter morerentur: In hac terra homines vtuntur nauigio quæ vocatur Iase, sutum sparto. Ego autem ascendi in vnum illorum in quo nullum ferrum potui reperire, & in viginta octo dietis perueni ad ciuitatem Thana, in qua pro fide Christi quatuor de fratribus nostris martyrizati sunt. Hæc terra est optimè situata, & in ea abundantia panis & vini, & aliorum victualium. Hæc terra antiquitùs fuit valdè magna, & fuit regis Pori, qui cum rege Alexandro prælium magnum commisit. Huius terræ populus Idolâtrat, adorans ignem, serpentes, & arbores: Et istam terram regunt Saraceni, qui violenter eam acceperunt, & subiacent imperio regis Daldili.

Ormus.

Daldili. Ibi sunt diuersa genera bestiarum, leones nigri in maxima quantitate: Sunt & ibi simiæ, gatimaymones, & noctuæ magnæ sicut hic habentur columbæ; Ibi mures magni sunt, sicut sunt hic scepi, & ideò canes capiunt ibi mures, quia murelegi non valent. Ad hæc, in illa terra quilibet homo habet ante domum suam vnum pedem fasciculorum, ita magnum sicut esset vna columna, & pes ille non desiccatur, dummodò adhibeatur sibi aqua. Multæ nouitates sunt ibi, quas pulcherrimum esset audire.

De martyrio fratrum.

MArtyriam autem quatuor fratrum nostrorum in illa ciuitate Thana fuit per istã modum; dum prædicti fratres fuerant in Ormes, fecerunt pactum cum vna naui vt nauigarent vsque Polumbrum, & violentèr deportati sunt vsque Thanam vbi sunt 15. domus Christianorum, qui Nestoriani sunt & Schismatici, & cùm illic essent, hospitati sunt in domo cuiusdam illorum; contigit dum ibi manerent litem oriri inter virum domus, & vxorem eius, quam serò vir fortiter verberauit, quæ suo Kadi, i. Episcopo conquesta est; à qua interrogauit Kadi, vtrum hoc probari posset? quæ dixit, quòd sic; quia 4. Franchi, i. viri religiosi erant in domo hoc videntes, ipsos interrogate, qui dicent vobis veritatem: Muliere autem sic dicente, Ecce vnus de Alexandria præsens rogauit Kadi vt mitteret pro eis, dicens eos esse homines maximæ scientiæ & scripturas benè scire, & ideò dixit bonum esse cum illis de fide disputare: Qui misit pro illis, & adducti sunt isti quatuor, quorum nomina sunt frater de Tolentino de Marchia, frater Iacobus de Padua, frater Demetrius Laicus, Petrus de Senis. Dimisso autem fratre Petro, vt res suas custodiret, ad Kadi perrexerunt, qui cœpit cum illis de fide nostra disputare; dicens Christum tantùm hominem esse & non Deum. E contrà frater Thomas rationibus & exemplis Christum verum Deum & hominem esse euidenter ostendit, & in tantum confudit Kadi, & infideles qui cum eo tenuerunt, quòd non habuerunt quid rationabiliter contradicere: Tunc videns Kadi se sic confusum, incepit clamare sic; Et quid dicis de Machometo? Respondit frater Thomas: Si tibi probauimus Christum verum Deum & hominem esse, qui legem posuit inter homines, et Machometus è contrario venit, & legem contrariam docuit, si sapiens sis optimè scire poteris, quid de eo dicendum sit. Iterum Kadi & alij Saraceni clamabant, Et tu quid iterum de Machometo dicis? Tunc frater T. respondit: vos omnes videre potestis, quid dico de eo. Tum ex quo vultis quòd planè loquar de eo, dico quòd Machometus vester filius perditionis est, & in inferno cum Diabolo patre suo. Et non solùm ipse, sed omnes ibi erunt qui tenent legem hanc, quia ipsa tota pestifera est, & falsa, & contra Deum, & contra salutem animæ. Hoc audientes Saraceni, cœperunt clamare, moriatur, moriatur ille, qui sic contra Prophetam locutus est. Tunc acceperunt fratres & in sole vrente stare permiserunt, vt ex calore solis adusti, dira morte interirent. Tantus enim est calor solis ibi, quòd si homo in eo per spacium vnius missæ persisteret, moreretur: fratres tamen illi sani & hilares à tertia vsque ad nonam laudantes & glorificantes dominum in ardore solis permanserunt, quod videntes Saraceni stupefacti ad fratres venerunt, & dixerunt, volumus ignem accendere copiosum, & in illum vos proijcere, & si fides vestra sit vt dicitis, ignis non poterit vos comburere: si autem vos combusserit, patebit quòd fides vestra nulla sit. Responderunt fratres; parati sumus pro fide nostra ignem, carcerem, & vincula, & omnium tormentorum genera tolerare: veruntamen scire debetis, quòd si ignis potestatem habeat comburendi nos hoc non erit propter fidem nostram, sed propter peccata nostra: fides enim nostra perfectissima & verissima est, & non est alia in mundo in qua animæ hominum possunt saluæ fieri. Dum autem ordinaretur quòd fratres cõburerentur, rumor insonuit per totã ciuitatem, de qua omnes senes, & iuuenes, viri & mulieres, qui ire poterant, accurrerunt ad illud spectaculum intuendum. Fratres autem ducti fuerunt ad plateam ciuitatis, vbi accensus est ignis copiosus, in quem frater Thomas voluit se proijcere, sed quidam Saracenus cepit eum per caputium, & retraxit, dicens; Non vadas tu cum sis senex, quia carnem aliquod vel experimentum habere posses super te, quare te ignis non posset lædere, sed alium ire in ignem permittas. Tunc 4 Saraceni sumentes fratrem Iacobum, eum in ignem proijcere volebant; quibus ille, permittatis me, quia libenter pro fide mea ignem intrabo: Cui Saraceni non adquiescentes eum violentèr in ignem proiecerunt: ignis autem ita accensus erat, quòd nullus eum videre poterat, vocem tamen

men eius audierunt, inuocantem semper nomen virginis gloriosæ; Igne autem totaliter consumpto stetit frater Iacobus super prunas illæsus, & lætus, manibus in modum crucis eleuatis, in cœlū respiciens, & Deū laudans & glorificans, qui sic declarareт fidem suam: nihil autem in eo nec pannus, nec capillus læsus per ignem inuentus est; Quod videns populus vnanimiter conclamare cœpit, sancti sunt, sancti sunt, nefas est offendere eos, modò videmus quia fides eorum bona & sancta est. Tunc clamare cœpit Kadi: sanctus non est ille, quia combustus non est, quia tunica quam portat est de lana terræ Habraæ, & ideò nudus exspolietur, & in ignem proijciatur, & videbitur si comburetur vel non. Tunc Saraceni pessimi ad præceptum Kadi ignem in duplo magis quàm priùs accenderunt, & fratrem Iacobum nudantes, corpus suum abluerunt, & oleo abundantissimè vnxerunt, insuper & oleum maximum in struem lignorum ex quibus ignis fieret, fuderunt, & igne accenso fratrem in ipsum proiecerunt. Frater autem Thomas, & frater Demetrius extra populum in loco separato flexis genibus orantes cum lachrymis deuotioni se dederunt. Frater autem Iacobus iterum ignem exiuit illæsus sicut prius fecerat: quod videns omnis populus clamare cœpit, peccatum est, peccatum est, offendere eos, quia sancti sunt. Hoc autem tantum miraculum videns Melich. i. potestas ciuitatis, vocauit ad se fratrem Iacobum, & fecit eum ponere indumenta, sua, & dixit, videte fratres, Ite cum gratia Dei, quia nullum malum patiemini a nobis, modò benè videmus vos sanctos esse, & fidem vestram bonam ac veram esse; & ideo consulimus vobis, vt de ista terra exeatis, quàm citiùs poteritis, quia Kadi pro posse suo vobis nocere curabit, quia sic confudistis eum: Hora autem tunc erat quasi completorij, & dixerunt illi de populo, attoniti, admirati, & stupefacti, tot, & tanta mirabilia vidimus ab istis hominibus, quòd nescimus quid tenere & obseruare debemus. Melich verò fecit duci illos tres fratres vltra vnum paruum brachium maris in quendam Burgum modicum ab illa ciuitate distantem: ad quem etiam ille in cuius iam domo fuerant hospitati associauit eos, vbi in domo cuiusdam idolatri recepti sunt. Dùm hæc agerentur, Kadi iuit ad Melich, dicens quid facimus? Lex Machometi destructa est, veruntamen hoc scire debes, quod Machomet præcepit in suo Alcorano, quod si quis vnum Christianum interficeret, ta ũ mereretur, ac si in Mecha ad ipsum peregrinaretur. Est enim Alkoranus lex Sarracenorum sicut Euangelium, Mecha verò est locus vbi iacet Machomet. Quem locum ita visitant Saraceni, sicut Christiani sepulchrum Christi. Tunc Melich respondet, vade, & fac sicut vis: quo dicto statim Kadi accepit quatuor homines armatos vt irent, & illos fratres interficerent, qui cùm aquam transijssent, facta est nox, & illo sero eos non inuenerunt, statim Melich omnes Christianos in ciuitate capi fecit, & incarcerauit, media autem nocte fratres surrexerunt dicere matutinum, quos illi Saraceni qui missi fuerant, inuenerunt, & extra burgum, sub quadam arbore adduxerunt, dixerunt eis. Sciatis fratres nos mandatum habere a Kadi & Melich interficere vos, quod tamen faciemus inuiti, quia vos estis boni homines & sancti, sed non audemus aliter facere; quia si iussa sua non perficeremus, & nos cum liberis nostris & vxoribus moreremur. Tunc fratres responderunt, vos qui hûc venistis, & tale mandatum recepistis, vt per mortem temporalem vitam æternam adipiscamur, quod vobis iniunctum est perficite; quia pro amore domini nostri Iesu Christi, qui pro nobis crucifigi & mori dignatus est, & pro fide nostra, parati sumus omnia tormenta, & etiam mortem libenter sustinere. Christianus autem qui fratres comitabatur, multum cum illis quatuor armatis altercatus est dicens, quod si gladium haberet, vel eos à nece tam sanctorum hominum impediret, vel ipse cum eis interfectus esset. Tunc armati fecerunt fratres se exspoliare, & frater Thomas primus iunctis manibus in modū crucis genu flectens capitis abscissionē suscepit: Fratrem verò Iacobum vnus percussit in capite, & eum vsque ad oculos scidit, & alio ictu totum caput abscidit. Frater autem Demetrius primò percussus est cum gladio in pectore, & secundò caput suum abscissum est: Statim vt fratres suum martyrium compleuerunt, aër ita lucidus factus est, quod omnes admirati sunt, & luna maximam claritatem ostendit. Statim quasi subito tanta tonitrua, & fulgura, & coruscationes, & obscuritas fiebant, quòd omnes mori crediderunt: Nauis etiam illa quæ illos debuerat deportasse submersa est cum omnibus quæ in se habuit, ita quod nunquam de illa postea aliquid scitum est. Facto mane misit Kadi pro rebus fratrum prædictorum nostrorum, & hinc inuentus est frater Petrus de Senis quartus socius fratrum prædictorum, quem ad Kadi duxerunt: Cui Kadi, & alij Saraceni maxima

promittentes persuaserunt quòd fidem suam renueret, & legem Machometi confiteretur, & teneret. Frater autem Petrus de illis irridebat, eos multum deridendo, quem de mane vsque ad meridiem diuersis pœnarum ac tormentorum generibus affixerunt ipso semper constantissimè in fide, & in Dei laudibus persistente, & fidem illorum Machometi deridente & destruente. Videntes autem Saraceni eum nō posse a suo proposito euelli, eum super quandam arborē suspenderunt, in qua de nona vsq; ad noctem viuus & illæsus pependit: nocte verò ipsum de arbore sumpserunt, & videntes ilium lætū, viuum, & illæsum per medium suum corpus diuiserunt, mane autē facto nihil de corpore eius inuentum est, vnī tamen personæ fide dignæ reuelatum est, quod Deus corpus eius occultauerat reuelandū in certo tempore, quandō Deo placuerit Sanctorum corpora manifestare. Vt autem Deus ostenderet animas suorum martyrum iam in cœlis consistere, & congaudere cum Deo & Angelis & alijs Sanctis eius, die sequenti post martyriū fratrum prædictorū Melich dormitioni se dedit, & ecce apparuerunt sibi isti fratres gloriosi, & sicut Sol, lucidi, singulos enses tenentes in manibus, & supra eum eos sic vibrantes, quod vt si eum perfodere ac diuidere vellent: qui excitatus horribiliter exclamauit, sic, quòd totā familiā terruit: quæ sibi accurrens quæsiuit, quid sibi esset? quibus ille, Illi Raban Franchi quos interfici iussi, venerunt huc ad me cum ensibus, volentes me interficere. Et statim Melich misit pro Kadi, referens sibi visionē, & petens consilium, & consolationem, quia timuit per eos finaliter interire. Tunc Kadi sibi consuluit, vt illis maximas eleemosynas faceret, si de manibus interfectorū euadere vellet. Tunc misit pro Christianis quos in carcere intrudi præceperat: A quibus cum ad eum venissent indulgentiam petijt pro facto suo, dicens se esse amodò socium eorū, & confratrem: Præcepit autem & legem statuit, quòd pro tempore suo, si quis aliquē Christianū offenderet, statim moreretur, & sic omnes illæsos, & indemnes abire permisit. Pro illis autē quatuor fratribus interfectis quatuor mosquetas. (i.) Ecclesias ædificari fecit, quas per Sacerdotes Saracenorum inhabitari fecit. Audiens autem imperator Dodsi istos tres fratres talem sententiam subijsse, misit pro Melich, vt vinctus ad eum duceretur, A quo cùm adductus esset, quæsiuit imperator, quare ita crudeliter illos fratres iusserat interfici, respondit, quia subuertere volebant legem nostram, & malum & blasphemiam de propheta nostro dicebant: & imperator ad eum; O crudelissime canis, cùm videres quod Deus omnipotens bis ab igne eos liberauerit, quo modo ausus fuisti illis mortem inferre tam crudelem. Et edicta sententia, ipsum Melich cum tota sua familia per medium scindi fecit, sicut ipse talem mortem fratri infixerat. Kadi verò audiens, de terra illa, & etiam de imperatoris illius dominio clàm fugit, & sic euasit.

De miraculis quatuor fratrum occisorum.

ESt autem consuetudo in terra illa, quòd corpora mortua non traduntur sepulturæ, sed in campis dimittuntur, & ex calore Solis citò resoluuntur, & sic consumuntur: Corpora autem triū fratrū prædictorum per 14. dies illic in feruore Solis iacuerunt, & ita recentia & redolentia inuenta fuerunt sicut illa die quandò martirizati erant: quod videntes Christiani qui in illa terra habitabant, prædicta corpora ceperunt, & honorificè sepelierunt. Ego autem Odoricus audiens factum & martyrium illorū fratrum, iui illuc, & corpora eorū effodi, & ossa omnia mecum accepi, & in pulchris towallijs colligaui, & in Indiam superiorem ad vnū locū fratrum nostrorū ea deportaui, habens mecum socium, & vnū famulū. Cum autē essemus in via, hospitabamus in domo cuiusdā hospitarij, & ipsa ossa capiti meo supposui, & dormiui; Et dùm dormirem domus illa à Saracenis subitò accendebatur, vt me cum domo comburerent. Domo autē sic accensa, socius meus & famulus de domo exierunt, & me solum cum ossibus dimiserunt, qui videns ignem supra me, ossa accepi & cum illis in angulos domus recollegi. Tres autem anguli domus statim cōbusti fuerunt, angulo in quo steti cū ossibus saluo remanente: Supra me autē ignis se tenuit in modū aēris lucidi, nec descendit quamdiu ibi persistebam; quàm citò autē cum ossibus exiui, statim tota pars illa sicut aliæ priores igne consumpta est, & multa alia loca circumadiacentia cōbustā sunt. Aliud miraculū contigit, me cum ossibus per mare proficiente ad ciuitatē Polumbrū vbi piper nascitur abūdanter, quia nobis ventus totaliter defecit: quapropter venerunt Idolatræ adorantes Deos suos pro vento prospero,

prospero, quẽ tamen nõ obtinuerunt: Tunc Saraceni suas inuocationes, & adorationes laboriose fecerũt, sed nihil profecerũt; Et præceptũ est mihi & socio meo vt orationes funderemus Deo nostro. Et dixit rector nauis in Armenico mihi, quod alij nõ intelligerent: quòd nisi possemus ventũ prosperũ à Deo nostro impetrare, nos cum ossibus in mare proijceret: Tunc ego & socius fecimus orationes, vouentes multas missas de beata virgine celebrare, sic quòd ventũ placeret sibi nobis impetrare. Cum autẽ tẽpus transiret, & ventus non veniret, accepi vnũ de ossibus, & dedi famulo, vt ad caput nauis iret, & clàm in mare proijceret; quo proiecto statim affuit ventus prosper qui nunquã nobis defecit, vsquequò peruenimus ad portũ, meritis istorũ martyrũ cum salute. Deinde ascendimus aliã nauẽ vt in Indiam superiorẽ iremus; Et venimus ad quandã ciuitatem vocatã Carchan in qua sunt duo loca fratrum nostrorum, & ibi reponere istas reliquias volebamus. In naui autem illa erant plus 700. mercatores & alij: Nunc illi Idolatræ istam consuetudinem habebant, quòd semper antequàm ad portum applicuerint, totam nauem perquirerent, si isti aliqua ossa mortuorum animalium inuenirent, qui reperta statim in mare proijcerent, & per hoc bonum portum attingere, & mortis periculũ euadere crederent. Cùm autem frequentèr perquirerent, & illa ossa frequenter tangerent, semper oculi delusi fuerunt, sic quòd illa non perpenderunt; & sic ad locum fratrum deportauimus cum omni reuerentia, vbi in pace requiescunt; vbi etiã inter idolatras Deus continuè miracula operatur. Cum enim aliquo morbo grauantur, in terra illa vbi fratres passi sunt ipsi vadunt; & de terra vbi corpora sanguinolenta iacuerunt sumunt quam abluunt, & ablutionem bibunt, & sic ab infirmitatibus suis liberantur.

Quo modo habetur Piper, & vbi nascitur.

VT autem videatur quo modo habetur piper, sciendum quòd in quodam imperio ad quod applicui, nomine *Minibar, nascitur, & in nulla parte mundi tantum, quantum ibi; Nemus enim in quo nascitur, continet octodecim dietas, & in ipso nemore sunt duæ ciuitates vna nomine Flandrini, alia nomine Cyncilim: In Flandrina habitant Iudæi aliqui & aliqui Christiani, inter quos est bellum frequenter, sed Christiani vincunt Iudæos semper: In isto nemore habetur piper per istum modum. Nam primò nascitur in foliis olerum, quæ iuxta magnas arbores plantantur, sicut nos ponimus vites; & producunt fructum, sicut racemi nostri producunt vuas; sed quandò maturescunt sunt viridis coloris, & sic vindemiantur vt inter nos vindemiãtur vuæ, & ponuntur grana ad solem vt desiccentur: quæ desiccata reponuntur in vasis terreis, & sic fit piper, & custoditur. In isto autẽ nemore sunt flumina multa in quibus sunt Crocodili multi, & multi alij serpentes sunt in illo nemore, quos homines per stupam & paleas comburunt, & sic ad colligendum piper securè accedunt. A capite illius nemoris versus meridiem est ciuitas Polumbrum in qua maxima mercimonia cuiuscunque generis reperiuntur. Omnes autem de terra illa bouem viuum sicut Deum suum adorant quem 6. annis faciunt laborare, & in septimo faciunt ipsum quiescere ab omni opere; ponentes ipsum in loco solemni, & communi, & dicentes ipsum esse animal sanctum. Hunc autem ritum obseruant: quolibet mane accipiunt duas pelues de auro, vel de argento, & vnam subiiciunt vrinæ bouis, & aliam stercori, de vrina lauant sibi faciem & oculos, & omnes 5. sensus: de stercore verò ponunt in vtróque oculo, posteà liniunt summitates genarum, & tertiò pectus, & ex tunc dicunt se sanctificatos pro toto die illo: & sicut facit populus, ita etiam facit rex & regina. Isti etiam aliud idolum mortuum adorant, quod in medietate vna superior est homo, & in alia est bos, & illud idolum dat eis responsa, & aliquotiẽns pro stipendio petit sanguinẽ, 40. virginum: & ideò homines illius regionis ita vouent filias suas & filios, sicut Christiani aliqui alicui religioni, vel sancto in cœlis. Et per istum modum immolant filios & filias, & multi homines per istum ritum moriuntur ante idolum illud, & multa alia abominabilia facit populus ille bestialis, & multa mirabilia vidi inter eos quæ nolui hîc inserere. Aliam consuetudinem vilissimam habet gens illa: Nam quãdo homo moritur, comburunt ipsum mortuum, & si vxorẽ habet, ipsam comburunt viuam, quia dicunt quòd ipsa ibit in aratũra, & cultura cum viro suo in alio mundo: Si autem vxor illa habeat liberos ex viro suo, potest manere cum eis si velit sine verecundia & improperio, communiter tamen omnes præcigunt comburi cum marito; si autem vxor præmoriatur viro, lex illa non obligat virum,*

Malibar.

Polumbrum ciuitas.

Adoratio bouis.

Combustio mortuorum.

virum, sed potest aliā vxorem ducere. Aliam consuetudinem habet gens illa, quòd fœminæ ibi bibunt vinum, & homines non: fœminæ etiā faciunt sibi radi cilia, & supercilia, & barbam, & homines non: & sic de multis alijs vilibus contra naturam sexus eorum. Ab isto regno iui decem dietas ad aliud regnum dictum Mobar, quod habet in se multas ciuitates, & in illo requiescit in vna ecclesia corpus beati Thomæ Apostoli, & est ecclesia illa plena idolis, & in circuitu ecclesiæ simul Canonici viuunt in 15. domibus Nestoriani, id est, mali Christiani, & schismatici.

Mobar regnum vel Maliapor.

De quodam idolo mirabili, & de quibusdam ritibus eorum.

IN hoc regno est vnum Idolum mirabile, quod omnes Indi reuerentur: & est statura hominis ita magni, sicut noster Christophorus depictus, & est totum de auro purissimo & splendidissimo, & circa collum habet vnam chordulam sericam cum lapidibus pretiosissimis, quorū aliquis valet plus quàm vnum regnum: Domus idoli est tota de auro, scilicet in tecto, & pauimento, & superficie parietum interius & exterius. Ad illud idolum peregrinantur Indi, sicut nos ad S. Petrum: Alij veniunt cum chorda ad collum, alij cum manibus retrò ligatis, alij cum cultello in brachio vel tibia defixo, & si post peregrinationē fiat brachium marcidum, illum reputant sanctum, & benè cum Deo suo. Iuxta ecclesiam illius idoli est lacus vnus manufactus, & manifestus, in quem peregrini proijciunt aurum & argentum, & lapides pretiosos in honorem Idoli, & ad ædificationem ecclesiæ suæ, & ideò quando aliquid debet ornari, vel repararij vadunt homines ad hunc lacum, & proiecta extrahunt: die autem annua constructionis illius idoli, rex & regina cum toto populo & omnibus peregrinis accedunt, & ponunt illud idolum in vno curru pretiosissimo ipsum de ecclesia educentes cum Canticis, & omni genere musicorum, & multæ virgines antecedunt ipsum binæ & binæ, processionaliter combinatæ modulantes: Peregrini etiam multi ponunt se sub curru, vt transeat Deus supra eos; & omnes super quos currus transit, comminuit, & per medium scindit, & interficit, & per hoc reputant se mori pro deo suo sanctè & securè: & in omni anno hoc modo moriuntur in via sub idolo plusquam 500 homines, quorum corpora comburuntur, & cineres sicut reliquiæ custodiuntur, quia sic pro Deo suo moriuntur. Alium ritum habent, quando aliquis homo offert se mori pro deo suo, conueniunt omnes amici eius & parentes cum histrionibus multis, facientes sibi festum magnum, & post festum appendunt collo eius 5 cultellos acutissimos ducentes eum ante idolum, quò cum peruenerit, sumit vnum ex cultellis, & clamat alta voce, pro deo meo incido mihi de carne mea, & frustum incisum proijcit in faciem idoli: vltima verò incisione per quam seipsum interficit, dicit, me mori pro deo meo permitto, quo mortuo corpus eius comburitur, & sanctum fore ab omnibus creditur. Rex illius regionis est ditissimus in auro & argento, & gemmis pretiosis; ibi etiam sunt margaritæ pulchriores de mundo. Indè transiens iui per mare oceanum versus meridiem per 50 dietas ad unam terram vocatam Lammori, in qua ex immensitate caloris, tam viri quam fœminæ omnes incedunt nudi in toto corpore: Qui videntes me vestitum, deridebant me, dicentes Deum, Adam & Euam fecisse nudos. In illa regione omnes mulieres sunt communes, ita quòd nullus potest dicere, hæc est vxor mea, & cùm mulier aliqua parit filium vel filiam dat cui vult de hijs qui concubuerunt: Tota etiam terra illius regionis habetur in communi, ita quòd non meum & tuum in diuisione terrarū, domos tamen habent speciales: Carnes humanæ quando homo est pinguis ita benè comeduntur, sicut inter nos bouinæ: & licet gens sit pestifera, tamen terra optima est, & abundat in omnibus bonis, carnibus, bladis, riso, auro, argento, & lignis Aloe, canfari, & multis alijs. Mercatores autem cum accedunt ad hanc regionem ducunt secum homines pingues vendentes illos genti illius regionis, sicut nos vendimus porcos, qui statim occidunt eos & comedunt. In hac insula versus meridiem est aliud regnum vocatū Symolcra, in quo tam viri quam mulieres signant se ferro calido in facie, in 12. partibus, Et hij semper bellant cum hominibus nudis in alia regione. Vltra transiui ad aliam insulam quæ vocatur Iaua cuius ambitus per mare est trium milliū milliarium, & rex illius insulæ habet sub se 7. reges coronatos, & hæc insula optimè inhabitatur, & meliōr secunda de mundo reputatur. In ea nascūtur in copia garyophylli, cubibez, & nuces muscatæ: & breuiter omnes species

Crudelissimi Satanæ tyrannis, & carnificina.

Platonica *κοινωνία.*

Simoltra vel Samotra.

Iaua.

species ibi sunt, & maxima abundantia omniū victualium præterquam vini. Rex illius terræ habet palatium nobilissimū inter omnia quæ vidi altissimè stat, & gradus & scalas habet altissimos, quorum semper vnus gradus est aureus, alius argenteus; Pauimentum verò vnum laterem habet de auro, aliū de argēto. Parietes verò omnes interius sunt laminati laminis aureis, in quibus sculpti sunt Equites de auro habentes circa caput circulum aureum plenum lapidibus pretiosis: Tectum est de auro puro. Cum isto rege ille magnus Canis de Katay frequenter fuit in bello: Quem tamen semper ille Rex vicit & superauit.

De arboribus dantibus farinam, & mel, & venenum.

IVxta istam Insulam est alia contrata vocata Panten, vel alio nomine Tathalamasim, & Rex illius contratæ multas insulas habet sub se. In illa terra sunt arbores dantes farinam, & mel, & vinum, & etiam venenum periculosius quod sit in mundo, quia contra illud non est remedium, nisi vnum solum, & est illud. Si aliquis illud venenum sumpsisset, si velit liberari, sumat stercus hominis & cum aqua temperet. & in bona quantitate bibat, & statim fugat venenū faciens exire per inferiores partes. Farinam autem faciunt arbores hoc modo, sunt magnæ & basse, & quandò inciduntur cum securi propè terram, exit de stipite liquor quidam sicut gummæ, quem accipiunt homines & ponunt in sacculis de folijs factis, & per quindecim dies in sole dimittunt, & in fine decimi quinti diei ex isto liquore desiccato fit farina, quā primò ponunt in aqua maris, posteà lauant eam cum aqua dulci, & fit pasta valdè bono & odorifera, de qua faciunt cibos vel panes sicut placet eis. De quibus panibus ego comedi, & est panis exterius pulcher, sed interius aliquantulum niger. In hac contrata est mare mortuum quod semper currit versus meridiem, in quod si homo ecciderit, nunquam posteà comparet. In contrata illa inueniūtur Cannæ longissimæ plures passus habentes quàm 60 & sunt magnæ vt arbores. Aliæ etiā Cannæ sunt ibi quæ vocantur Cassan quæ per terrā diriguntur vt gramen, & in quolibet nodo earū ramuli producuntur qui etiam prolongantur super terram per vnum miliare ferè: in hijs Cannis reperiuntur lapides, quorum si quis vnum super se portauerit, non poterit incidi aliquo ferro, & ideò communiter homines illius contratæ portant illos lapides super: Multi etiam faciunt pueros suos dum sunt parui incidi in vno brachio, & in vulnere ponunt vnum de illis lapidibus, & faciunt vulnus recludere se per vnum puluerem de quodam pisce, cuius nomen ignoro, qui puluis statim vulnus consolidat & sanat: & virtute illorum lapidum communitèr isti homines triumphant in bellis, & in mari, nec possent isti homines lædi per aliqua arma ferra: Vnum tamen remedium est, quòd aduersarij illius gentis scientes virtutem lapidum, prouident sibi propugnacula ferrea contra spicula illorum, & arma venenata de veneno arborum, & in manu portant palos ligneos acutissimos & ita duros in extremitate sicut esset ferrum: Similitèr sagittant cum sagittis sine ferro, & sic confundūt aliquos & perforant inermes ex lapidum securitate. De istis etiam Canis Cassan faciunt sibi vela pro suis nauibus & domunculas paruas, & multa sibi necessaria. Inde recessi per multas dietas ad aliud regnum vocatum Campa, pulcherrimum, & opulentissimum in omnibus victualibus. Cuius rex quādo fui ibi tot habuit vxores, & alias mulieres, quòd de illis 300. filios & filias habuit. Iste rex habet decies millesies & quatuor elephātum domesticorū, quos ita facit custodiri sicut inter nos custodiunt boues, vel greges in pascuis.

Vel Malauri.

Mare quod semper currit versus meridiem.

Vela ex arundinibus facta.

Campa.

De multitudine Piscium, qui se proijciunt in aridam.

IN hac contrata vnū mirabile valdè reperitur, quòd vnaquæq; generatio piscium in mari ad istā contratam venit in tanta quantitate, quòd per magnū spatium maris nil videtur nisi dorsa piscium, & super aridam se proijciunt quando propè ripam sunt, & permittūt homines per tres dies venire, & de illis sumere quantum placuerint, & tunc redeūt ad mare: Post illā speciem per illum modum venit alia species, & offert se, & sic de omnibus speciebus, semel tamen tantum hoc faciunt in anno. Et quæsiui à gente illa quomodo & qualiter hoc possit fieri? responderunt quòd hoc modo pisces per naturā docentur venire, & imperatorem suum reuereri. Ibi etiā sunt testudines ita magnæ sicut est vnus furnus, & multa alia vidi quæ

Testudines magnæ.

quæ incredibilia forent, nisi homo illa vidisset. In illa etiã contrata homo mortuus cõburitur, & vxor viua cum eo, sicut superius de alia cõtrata dictũ est, quia dicunt homines illi quòd illa vadit ad alium mundum ad morandum cum eo, ne ibi alium vxorẽ accipiat. Vltra transiui per mare Oceanum versus meridiem, & transiui per multas contratas & insulas, quarum vna vocatur Moumoran, & habet in circuitu 2000. milliaria, in qua homines *portãt* facies caninas & mulieres similitèr, & vnũ bouem adorant pro Deo suo, & ideò quilibet vnũ bouẽ aureum vel argenteũ in fronte portat: Homines illius cõtratæ & mulieres vadunt totaliter nudi, nisi quòd vnum pannum lineum portant ante verenda sua. Homines illius regionis sunt maximi & fortissimi, & quia vadunt nudi, quando debent bellare, portant vnum scutum de ferro, quod cooperit eos à capite vsq; ad pedes, & si contingat eos aliquem de aduersarijs capere in bello qui pecunia non possit redimi, statim comedunt eum; si autem possit se redimere pecunia, illum abire permittunt: Rex eorum portat 300. margaritas ad collum suum maximas & pulcherrimas, & 300. orationes omni die dicit Deo suo: Hic etiam portat in digito suo vnum lapidem longitudinis vnius spansæ, & dum habet illũ videtur ab alijs quasi vna flamma ignis, & ideò nullus audet sibi appropinquare, & dicitur quòd non est lapis in mundo pretiosior illo. Magnus autem imperator Tartarorum de Katai, nunquam vi, nec pecunia, nec ingenio illum obtinere potuit, cùm tamen circa hoc laborauerit.

Moumoran.

De Insula Ceilan, & de monte vbi Adam planxit Abel filium suum.

Ceilan insula.

TRansiui per aliam insulam vocatam Ceilan, quæ habet in ambitu plusquã duo millia milliaria, in qua sunt serpentes quasi infiniti, & maxima multitudo leonum, vrsarum, & omnium animalium rapacium, & siluestrium, & potissimè elephantũ. In illa contrata est mons maximus, in quo dicunt gentes illius regionis quòd Adam planxit Abel filium suum 500. annis. In medio illius montis est planicies pulcherrima, in qua est lacus paruus multum habens de aqua, & homines illi dicunt aquam illam fuisse de lachrymis Adæ & Euæ, sed probaui hoc falsum esse, quia vidi aquam in lacu scaturire: hæc aqua plena est hirudinibus & sanguisugis, & lapidibus pretiosis; istos lapides rex non accepit sibi, sed semel vel bis in anno *permittit* pauperes *sub* aqua ire pro lapidibus, & omnes quot possunt colligere illis concedit, vt orent pro anima sua. Vt autẽ possint sub aqua ire accipiunt lymones, & cum illis vngunt se valdè benè, & sic nudos se in aquam submergunt, & sanguisugæ illis nocere non possunt. Ab isto lacu aqua exit & currit vsq; ad mare, & in transitu quandò retrahit se, fodiuntur Rubiæ, & adamantes, & margaritæ, & aliæ gemmæ pretiosæ: vndè opinio est quod rex ille magis abundat lapidibus pretiosis, quàm aliquis in mundo. In contrata illa sunt quasi omnia genera animalium & auium; & dixerunt mihi gentes illæ, quòd animalia illa nullũ forensem inuadunt, nec offendunt, sed tantũ homines illius regionis. Vidi in illa insula aues ita magnas sicut sunt hîc anseres, habentes duo capita, & alia mirabilia quæ non scribo. Vltra versus meridiem transiui, & applicui, ad insulam quandam quæ vocatur Bodin, quod idem est quod immundum in lingua nostra. In ea morãtur pessimi homines, qui comedunt carnes crudas, & omnem immunditiã faciunt quæ quasi excogitari nõ poterit; nam pater comedit filium, & filius patrẽ, & maritus vxorem, & è contrario, & hoc per hunc modum: si pater alicuius infirmetur, filius vadit ad Astrologum sacerdotem, scz. rogans eum quòd consulat Deum suum, si pater de tali infirmitate euadet, vel non. Tunc ambo vadunt ad idolum aureum, vel argenteum, faciẽtes orationes in hac forma. Domine, tu es Deus noster, te adoramus, & rogamus vt nobis respondeas, debetnè talis à tali infirmitate mori vel liberari? Tunc Dæmon respõdet, & si dicat, viuet, filius vadit & ministrat illi vsq; ad plenã conualescentiã: Si autẽ dicat, morietur, Sacerdos ibit ad eum, & vnum pannum super os eius ponet, & suffocabit eum, & ipsum mortuum incidet in frusta, & inuitabuntur omnes amici, & parentes eius ad comedendum eum cum canticis, & omni lætitia, ossa tamen eius honorificè sepelient. Cùm autẽ ego eos de tali ritu reprehendi, quærens causam: Respondit vnus mihi, hoc facimus ne vermes carnes eius comedant, tunc eius anima magnã pœnam sustineret, nec poteram euellere eos ab isto errore: & multæ aliæ nouitates sunt ibi, quas nõ crederent, nisi qui viderent. Ego autem

Bodin Insula.

coram

coram Deo nihil hîc refero, nisi illud de quo certus sum sicut homo certificari poterit. De ista insula inquisiui à multis expertis, qui omnes vno ore responderunt mihi, dicentes, quod ista India 4400. insulas continet sub se, siue in se, in qua etiam sunt 64. reges coronati, & etiam dicunt quod maior pars illius insulæ benè inhabitatur. Et hîc istius Indiæ facio finem.

De India superiori, & de Prouincia Manci.

INprimis refero, quòd cum transirem per mare Oceanum per multas dietas versus Orientem, perueni ad illam magnã prouinciam Manci, quæ India vocatur à Latinis. De ista India superiori inquisiui à Christianis, Saracenis, idolatris, & omnibus, qui officiales sunt domini Canis magni, qui omnes vno ore responderunt, quòd hæc prouincia Manci habet plusquam 2000. magnarũ ciuitatum, & in ipsa est maxima copia omniũ victualium, puta, panis, vini, risi, carniũ, pisciũ, &c. Omnes homines istius prouinciæ sunt artifices & mercatores, qui pro quacunq; penuria, dummodo proprijs manibus iuuare se possent per labores, nunquãab aliquo eleemosynã peterent. Viri istius prouinciæ sunt satis formosi, sed pallidi, & rasas & paruas barbas habentes; fœminæ verò sunt pulcherrimæ inter omnes de mundo. Prima ciuitas ad quam veni de ista India vocatur Ceuskalon, & distat à mari per vnã dietam, positáq; est super flumen, cuius aqua propè mare cui contignatur, ascendit super terram per 12. dietas. Totus populus illius Indiæ idolatrat. Ista autem ciuitas tantum nauigiũ habet, quod incredibile foret nisi videnti. In hac ciuitate vidi quod 300. libræ de bono & recenti zinzibero habentur pro minori quàm pro vno grosso: Ibi sunt anseres grossiores & pulchriores, & maius forũ de illis, quàm sit in mundo, vt credo, & sunt albissimi sicut lac, & habent vnum os super caput quantitatis oui, & habet colorem sanguineũ, sub gula habent vnã pellem pendentem semipedalem: Pinguissimi sunt, & optimi fori: & ita est de anatibus, & gallinis, quæ magnæ sunt valdè in illa terra plusquam duæ de nostris. Ibi sunt serpentes maximi, & capiuntur & à gente illa comeduntur: vnde qui faceret festũ solemne, & non daret serpẽtes, nihil reputaret se facere: brenitèr in hac ciuitate sunt omnia victualia in maxima abundantia. Indè transiui per ciuitates multas, & veni ad ciuitatẽ nomine Kaitan, in qua fratres Minores habent duo loca, ad quæ portaui de ossibus fratrũ nostrorum pro fide Christi interfectorum, de quibus supra. In hac est copia omnium victualium pro leuissimo foro, hæc ciuitas ita magna est, sicut bis Bononia, & in ea multa monasteria religiosorum, qui omnes idolis seruiũt. In vno autem istorũ monasteriorum ego fui, & dictum est mihi quòd inerant 3000. religiosorum habentiũ 11000. idolorum, & vnum illorum, quod quasi parũ inter cætera mihi videbatur, est ita magnũ sicut Christophorus noster. Isti religiosi omni die pascunt Deos suos, vnde semel iui ad videndũ comestionem illam, & vidi quòd illa quæ detulerunt sibi comestibilia sunt, & calidissima, & multũ fumigãtia, ita quòd fumus ascendit ad idola, & dixerũt Deos illo fumo recreari. Totum autẽ cibum illi reportauerũt & comederũt, & sic de fumo tantũ Deos suos pauerunt.

Vel Ceuscala.

Hi sunt alcatrari vel onocratoli.

Vel Zaiton.

De Ciuitate Fuko.

VLtra versus Orientem veni ad ciuitatem quæ vocatur Fuko, cuius circuitus cõtinet 30. milliaria, in qua sunt Galli maximi & pulcherrimi, & gallinæ omnes ita albæ sicut nix, lanam solum pro pennis habentes sicut pecudes. Hæc ciuitas pulcherrima est, & sita supra marẽ. Vltra iui per 18. dietas, & pertransij multas terras & ciuitates, & in transitu veni ad quendãm montem magnum, & vidi quòd in vno latere montis omnia animalia erant nigra vt carbo, & homines & mulieres diuersum modum viuendi habent: ab alio autem latere omnia animalia erant alba sicut nix, & homines totaliter diuersè ab alijs vixerunt. Ibi omnes fœminæ quæ sunt desponsatæ portant in signum quòd habent maritos vnum magnum barile de cornu in capite. Inde transiui per 18. dietas alias, & veni ad quoddã magnum flumen, & intraui ciuitatem vnã, quæ transuersum illius fluminis habet pontem maximũ, & hospitabar in domo vnius hospitarij, qui volens mihi complacere, dixit mihi: si velis videre piscari, veni mecum; & duxit me super pontem, & vidi in brachijs suis mergos ligatos super perticas, ad quorum gulã vbi ille ligauit vnũ filum, ne illi capientes pisces, comederent eos: Postea in brachio vno posuit 3. cistas magnas, & tunc dissoluit mergos de perticis, qui statim in aquã intrauerunt,

Vel Foquien.

Magnum flumen.

runt, & pisces ceperunt, & cistas illas repleuerunt in parua hora, quibus repletis vir ille dissoluit fila à collis eorũ, & ipsi reintrantes flumen se de piscibus recreauerũt, & recreati ad perticas redierunt, & se ligari sicut priùs permiserunt: Ego autẽ de illis piscibus comedi, & optimi mihi videbãtur. Inde transiens per multas dictas veni ad vnã ciuitatem quæ vocatur * Kanasia, quæ sonat in lingua nostra ciuitas cœli: Nunquam ita magnã ciuitatem vidi, Circuitus enim eius cõtinet 100. miliaria, nec in ea vidi spatiũ quin benè inhabitaretur; Imò vidi multas domus habentes 10. vel 12. solaria vnũ supra aliud: hæc habet suburbia maxima continentia maiorẽ populum quàm ipsa ciuitas contineat. 12. portas habet principales, & in via de qualibet illarũ portarum ad 8. milliaria sunt ciuitates fortè maiores vt æstimo, quàm est ciuitas Venetiarũ, & Padua. Hæc ciuitas sita est in aquis quæ semper stant, & nec fluunt, nec refluunt, vallum tamẽ habet propter ventum sicut ciuitas Venetiarum. In ea sunt plus decem mille & 2. pontium, quorum multos numerauí & transiui, & in quolibet ponte stant custodes ciuitatis continuè custodientes ciuitatem pro magno Cane imperatore Catai. Vnum mandatum dicunt gentes illius ciuitatis a domino se recepisse. Nam quilibet ignis soluit vnũ balis, i. 5. cartas bombicis, qui vnum florenũ cum dimidio valent, & 10. vel 12. supellectiles facient vnum ignem, & sic pro vno igne soluent. Isti ignes sunt benè 85. Thuman, eum alijs 4. Saracenorum quæ faciunt 89. Thuma verò vnum decem milia ignium facit, reliqui autem de populo ciuitatis sunt alij Christiani, alij mercatores, & alij transeuntes per terram, vndè maximè fuí miratus quo modo tot corpora hominũ poterant simul habitare: In ea est maxima copia victualium, scz. panis & vini, & carnium de porco præcipuè cum alijs necessarijs.

Abiã Cansai, vel Quinsai.

De monasterio vbi sunt multa animalia diuersa in quodam monte.

IN illa ciuitate 4. fratres nostri conuerterant vnum potentem ad fidẽ Christi, in cuius hospitio continuè habitabã, dum fui ibi, qui semèl dixit mihi, Ara, i. pater, vis tu venire & videre ciuitatem istã; & dixi quòd sic, & ascendimus vnã barcham, & iuimus ad vnũ monasterium maximũ, dę quo vocauit vnũ religiosum sibi notũ, & dixit sibi de me. Iste Raban Frãcus, i. religiosus venit de indè vbi sol occidit, & nunc vadit Cambaleth, vt deprecetur vitã pro magno Cane, & ideò ostendas sibi aliquid, quòd si reuertatur ad contratas suas possit referre quòd tale quid nouũ vidi in Canasia ciuitate: tunc sumpsit ille religiosus duos mastellos magnos repletos reliquijs quæ supererant de mensa, & duxit me ad vnã perclusam paruam, quam aperuit cum claue, & aparuit viridarium grauiosum & magnũ in quod intrauimus, & in illo viridario stat vnus monticulus sicut vnũ campanile, repletus amœnis herbis & arboribus, & dum staremus ibi, ipse sumpsit cymbalũ, & incœpit percutere ipsum sicut percutitur quandò monachi intrant refectoriũ, ad cuius sonitũ multa animalia diuersa descenderunt de monte illo, aliqua vt simiæ, aliqua vt Cati, Maymones, & aliqua faciem hominis habentia, & dum sic starem congregauerunt se circa ipsum, 4000. de illis animalibus, & se in ordinibus collocauerunt, coram quibus posuit paropsidem & dabat eis comedere, & cum comedissent iterum cymbalum percussit, & omnia ad loca propria redierunt. Tunc admiratus inquisiui quæ essent animalia ista? Et respondit mihi quod sunt animæ nobilium virorũ, quas nos hîc pascimus amore Dei, qui regit orbẽ, & sicut vnus homo fuit nobilis, ita anima eius post mortem in corpus nobilis animalis intrat. Animæ verò simpliciũ & rusticorũ, corpora vilium animaliũ intrant. Incœpi istã abusionẽ improbare, sed nihil valuit sibi, nõ enim poterat credere, quòd aliqua anima posset sine corpore manere. Indè transiui ad quandam ciuitatem nomine Chilenso, cuius muri per 40. milliaria circuerunt. In ista ciuitate sunt 360. pontes lapidei pulchriores quàm vnquam viderim, & benè inhabitatur, & nauigiũ maximum habet, & copia omnium victualiũ, & aliorum bonorũ. Inde iui ad quoddã flumen dictũ Thalay, quod vbi est strictius habet in latitudine 7. milliaria, & illud flumen per medium terræ Pygmæorum transit, quorum ciuitas vocatur Kakam, quæ de pulchrioribus ciuitatibus mũdi est. Isti Pigmæi habent longitudinẽ trium spansarum mearũ, & faciunt maiora & meliora goton, & bombicinã quàm aliqui homines in mundo. Indè per illud flumen transiens, veni ad vnam ciuitatẽ Ianzu, in qua est vnus locus fratrum nostrorũ, & sunt in ea tres ecclesiæ Nestorianorũ: hæc ciuitas nobilis est, & magna, habens in se 48. Thuman ignium, & in ea omnia victualia, & animalia

Pythagorica μετεμψύχωσις.

Chilenso.

Thalay.

Kakam.

in

in magna copia, de quo Christiani viuunt: Dominus istius ciuitatis solum de sale habet in redditibus 50. Thuman Balisi, & valet balisus vnum florenū cum dimidio: Ita quòd vnum Thuman facit 15. millia florenorum, vnā tamen gratiam facit dominus populo, quia dimittit ei, ne sit caristia in eo, 200. Thuman. Habet hæc ciuitas consuetudinem, quòd quando vnus vult facere conuiuium amicis suis, ad hoc sunt hospitia deputata, & vbi ille circuit per hospites, dicens sibi tales amicos meos habebis, quos festabis nomine meo, & tātum in festo volo expendere, & per illum modum meliùs conuiuant amici in pluribus hospitijs quam facerent in vno. Per 10. milliaria ab ista ciuitate in capite fluminis Thalay est vna ciuitas vocata Montu, quæ maius nauigium habet, quàm viderim in toto mundo; Et omnes naues ibi sunt albæ sicùt nix, & in ipsis sunt hospitia, & multa alia quæ nullus homo crederet nisi viderentur. Montu.

De ciuitate Cambaleth.

INdè transiui per 8. dietas per multas terras & ciuitates, & veni tandem per aquam dulcem ad quādam ciuitatem nomine Leneyn, quæ est posita super flumen vocatum Caramoran, quod per medium Catai transit, & magnum damnum sibi infert, quando erumpit. Indè transiens per flumen versus Orientem per multas dietas & ciuitates, veni ad vnam ciuitatem nomine Sumacoto, quæ maiorem copiam habet de serico, quàm aliqua ciuitas in mundo; Quando enim est maior caristia Serici, ibi 40. libræ habentur pro minori quàm pro 8. grossis. In ea est copia omnium mercimoniorū, & omnium victualium, panis, vini, carnium, piscium, & omnium specierum electarum. Inde transiui versus Orientem per multas ciuitates, & veni ad illam nobilem, & nominatam Cambaleth quæ est ciuitas multum antiqua, & est in prouincia Catai, & eam ceperunt Tartari: Et iuxta eam ad dimidium miliare aliam ciuitatem fecerunt, quæ vocatur Caido & hæc 12. portas habet, & semper inter vnam & aliam sunt duo miliaria, & medium inter illas ciuitates benè inhabitatur, ita quòd faciunt quasi vnam ciuitatem; Et ambitus istarum duarum ciuitatum est plusquàm 40. milliaria. In hac ciuitate magnus imperator Canis habet sedem suam principalem, & suum magnum palatium, cuius muri benè 4. milliaria continent; & infra illud palatium sunt multa alia palatia dominorum de familia sua. In palatio etiam illo est vnus mons pulcherrimus cōsitus arboribus, propter quod mons viridis nominatur, & in monte palatium amœnissimum in quo communiter Canis residet: A latere autem montis est vnus lacus magnus, supra quem pons pulcherrimus est factus, & in illo lacu est magna copia anserum & anatum, & omnium auium aquaticarum; & in silua montis copia omnium auium & ferarum siluestrium, & ideò quandò dominus Canis vult venari non oportet eum exire palatium suum. Palatium verò principale, in quo sedes sua est, est magnum valdè, & habet interius 14. columnas, aureas, & omnes muri eius cooperti sunt pellibus rubeis quæ dicuntur nobiliores pelles de mundo: Et in medio palatij est vna pigna altitudinis duorum passuum, quæ tota est de vno lapide pretioso nomine merdochas; & est tota circumligata auro, & in quolibet angulo eius est vnus serpens de auro qui verberatos fortissimè: Habet etiam hæc pignaretia de margaritis, & per istam pignam defertur potus per meatus & conductus qui in curia regis habetur; & iuxta eam pendent multa vasa aurea cum quibus volentes bibere possunt. In hoc autem palatio sunt multi pauones de auro; & cùm aliquis Tartarus facit festum domino suo, tunc quando conuiuantes colliduntmanus suas præ gaudio & lætitia, pauones emittunt alas suas, & expandunt caudas, & videntur tripudiare; Et hoc credo factū arte Magica, vel aliqua cautela subterranea. Caramoran. Cambalec. Mesdquil cap. 33.

De gloria magni Canis.

QVando autem magnus ille Imperator Canis in sede sua imperiali residet, tunc a sinistro latere sedet Regina, & per vnum gradum inferius duo mulieres quas ipse tenet pro se; quando non potest ad Reginam accedere: In infimo autem gradu resident omnes dominæ de sua parentela. Omnes autem mulieres nuptæ portant supra caput suum vnum pedem hominis, longitudinis vnius brachij cum dimidio; & subter illum pedem sunt pennæ gruis, & totus ille pes ornatur maximis margaritis. A latere verò dextro ipsius Canis residet filius eius primogenitus, regnaturus post ipsum, & inferius ipso omnes qui sunt de sanguine regio: Ibi

etiam sunt 4. scriptores scribentes omnia verba quæ dicit rex; Ante cuius conspectum sunt Barones sui, & multi alij nobiles cum sua gente maxima, quorum nullus audet loqui nisi à domino licentia petatur exceptis fatuis & histrionibus, qui suum dominum consolari habent; Illi etiam nihil audent facere, nisi secundum quod Dominus voluerit eis legem imponere. Ante portam palatij sunt Barones custodientes, nè aliquis limen portæ tangat. Cùm autem ille Canis voluerit facere conuiuium, habet secum 14000. Barones portantes circulos, & coronulas in capite, & domino suo seruientes; Et quilibet portat vnam vestem de auro & margaritis tot quot valent plus quàm decies millies florenorum. Curia eius optime ordinatur per denarios, centenarios, & millenarios, & taliter quòd quilibet in suo ordine peragit officium sibi deputatum, nec aliquis defectus reperitur. Ego frater Odoricus *fui* ibi per tres annos, & multotiens in istis festis suis *fui*, quiâ nos fratres minores in sua curia habemus locum nobis deputatum, & oportet nos sempèr ire, & dare sibi nostram benedictionem: Et inquisiui ab illis de curia, de numero illorum qui sunt in curia domini, & responderunt mihi quòd de histrionibus sunt bene 18. Thuman; Custodes autem canum & bestiarum, & auium sunt 15. Thuman; Medici verò pro corpore Regis sunt 400. Christiani autem 8. & vnus Saracenus. Et ego quando fui ibi, hij omnes omnia necessaria tam ad victum, quam ad vestitum habebant de Curia domini Canis. Quando autè vult equitare de vna terra ad aliam, habet 4. exercitus equitum, & vnus per vnam dietam ipsum antecedit, secundus aliam, & tertius similitèr, & quartus; ita quòd semper ipse se tenet in medio in modum crucis; & ita omnes exercitus habent omnes dietas suas ordinatas, quòd inueniunt omnia victualia parata sine defectu. Illémet autem dominus Canis per illum modum vadit; Sedet in curru cum duabus rotis in quo facta est pulcherrima sella tota de lignis Aloe, & auro ornata, & margaritis maximis, & lapidibus pretiosis; & 4. Elephantes benè ordinati ducunt istum currum, quos præcedunt 4. equi altissimi optimè cooperti. Iuxta currum à lateribus sunt 4. Barones tenentes currum, nè aliquis appropinquet domino suo. Supra currum sedent duo Gerfalcones albissimi, & dùm videt aues quos vult capere, dimittit Falcones volare, & capiunt eas; Et sic habet solatium suum equitando, & per iactum vnius lapidis nullus audet appropinquare currui nisi populus assignatus: vndè incredibile esset homini qui non vidisset de numero gentis suæ, & reginæ, & primogeniti sui. Istæ Dominus Canis imperium suum diuisit in 12. partes, & vna habet sub se 200. magnarum ciuitatum: vndè ita latum & longum est suum imperium, quòd ad quamcunq; partem iret, satis haberes facere in sex mensibus, exceptis insulis, quæ sunt bene 5000.

De hospitijs paratis per totum imperium pro transeuntibus.

ISte Dominus, vt transeuntes habeant omnia necessaria sua per totum suum imperium, fecit hospitia præparari vbique per vias; in quibus sunt omnia parata quæ ad victualia pertinent: Cum autem aliqua nouitas oritur in imperio suo, tunc si distat, ambassiatores super equos vel dromedarios festinant, & cùm lassantur in cursu, pulsant cornu, & proximum hospitium parat vnum similitèr equum, qui quando alius venit fessus accipit literam, & currit ad hospitium, & sic per hospitia, & per diuersos cursores rumor per 30. dietas, vno die naturali venit ad imperatorem; & ideò nihil ponderis potest fieri in imperio suo, quin statim scitur ab eo. Cum autem ipse Canis vult ire venatum; istum modum habet. Extra Cambaleth ad 20. dietas, est vna foresta quæ 6. dietas continet in ambitu; in qua sunt tot genera animalium & auium quòd mirabile est dicere: Ad illud nemus vadit in fine trium annorum vel quatuor cum tota gente, cum qua ipsum circuit, & canes intrare permittit, qui animalia, scilicet leones, ceruos, & alia animalia reducunt ad vnam planitiem pulcherrimam in medio nemoris, quia ex clamoribus canum maximè tremunt omnes bestiæ syluæ. Tunc accedit magnus Canis super tres elephantes & 5. sagittas mittit in totam multitudinem animalium, & post ipsum omnes Barones, & post ipsos alij de familia sua emittunt sagittas suas; & omnes sagittæ sunt signatæ certis signis & diuersis: Tunc vadit ad animalia interfecta, dimittens vna nemus reintrare vt aliàs habeat ex eis venationem suam, & quilibet illud animal habebit in cuius corpore inuenit sagittam suam quam iaciebat.

De

De quatuor festis quæ tenet in anno Canis in curia.

QVatuor magna festa in anno facit Dominus Canis, scilicet festum natiuitatis, festum circumcisionis, coronationis, & desponsationis suæ; & ad ista festa conuocat omnes Barones, & histriones, & omnes de parentela sua. Tunc domino Cane in suo throno sedente, accedunt Barones cum circulis & coronis in capite, vestiti vario modo, quia aliqui de viridi, scilicet primi, secundi de sanguineo, & tertij de croceo, & tenent in manibus vnam tabulam eburneam de dentibus Elephantum, & cinguntur cingulis aureis vno semisse latis, & stant pedibus silentium tenentes. Circa illos stant histriones cum suis instrumentis: In vno autem angulo cuiusdã magni palatij resident Philosophi omnes ad certas horas, & puncta attendentes; & cùm deuenitur ad punctũ & horam petitam à philosopho, vnus præco clamat valentèr. Inclinetis vos omnes imperatori vestro: tunc omnes Barones cadunt ad terram; & iterum clamat, Surgite omnes, & illi statim surgunt. Iterum Philosophi ad aliud punctum attendunt, & cùm peruentum fuerit, iterum præco clamat; ponite digitum in aurem, & statim dicit, extrahite ipsum; iterùm ad aliud punctum clamat, Buratate farinam: & multa alia faciunt, quæ omnia dicunt certam significationẽ habere, quæ scribere nolui, nec curaui, quia vana sunt & risu digna. Cùm autem peruentũ fuerit ad horam histrionum, tunc Philosophi dicunt, facite festum domino, & omnes pulsant instrumenta sua, & faciunt maximum sonitum; & statim alius clamat; Taceant omnes, & omnes tacent: Tunc accedunt histrionatrices ante dominum dulcitèr modulantes, quod mihi plus placuit. Tunc veniunt leones, & faciunt reuerentiam domino Cani; Et tunc histriones faciunt ciphos aureos plenos vino volare per aërem, & ad ora hominum se applicare vt bibant. Hæc & multa alia mirabilia in curia illius Canis vidi, quæ nullus crederet nisi videret; & ideò dimitto ea. De alio mirabili audiui à fide dignis, quòd in vno regno istius Canis in quo sunt montes Kapsei (& dicitur illud regnum Kalor) nascuntur pepones maximi, qui quando sunt maturi aperiuntur, & intùs inuenitur vna bestiola similis vni agnello: sicut audiui quòd in mari Hybernico stant arbores supra ripam maris & portant fructum sicut essent cucurbitæ, quæ certo tempore cadunt in aquam & fiunt aues vocatæ Bernakles, & illud est verum.

De diuersis Prouincijs & ciuitatibus.

DE isto imperio Katay recessi post tres annos, & transiui 50. dietas versus Occidentẽ; & tandem veni ad terram Pretegoani, cuius ciuitas principalis Kosan vocatur, quæ multas habet sub se ciuitates. Vltra per multas dietas iui, & peruenì ad vnam prouinciam vocatam Kasan; & hæc est secunda melior prouincia mundi, vt dicitur, & est optimè habitata: Sic quod quando exitur à porta vnius ciuitatis, videntur portæ alterius ciuitatis, sicut egomet vidi de multis. Latitudo Prouinciæ est 50. dietarum, & longitudo plusquam 60. In ea est maxima copia omnium victualium, & maximè castaneorum; & hæc est vna de 12. prouincijs magni Canis. Vltra veni ad vnum regnum vocatum Tibek quod est subiectum Cani, in quo est maior copia panis & vini, quam sit in toto mundo vt credo. Gens illius terræ moratur communiter in tentorijs factis ex feltris nigris: Principalis ciuitas sua murata est pulcherrimè ex lapidibus albissimis, & nigerrimis interescalariter dispositis & curiosè compositis, & omnes viæ eius optimè pauatæ. In ista contrata nullus audet effundere sanguinem hominis, nec alicuius animalis, ob reuerentiam vnius Idoli. In ista ciuitate moratur Abassi i. Papa eorum, qui est caput & princeps omnium Idolatrarum; quibus dat & distribuit beneficia secundum morem eorum; sicut noster Papa Romanus est caput omnium Christianorum. Fœminæ in hoc regno portant plusquam centum tricas, & habent duos dentes in ore ita longos sicut apri. Quando etiam pater alicuius moritur, tunc filius conuocat omnes sacerdotes & histriones, & dicit se velle patrem suum honorare, & facit eum ad campum duci sequentibus parentibus omnibus, amicis, & vicinis, vbi sacerdotes cum magna solemnitate amputant caput suum, dantes illud filio suo, & tunc totum corpus in frusta concidunt, & ibi dimittunt, cum orationibus cum eo redeuntes; Tunc veniunt vultures, de monte assuefacti ad huiusmodi, & carnes omnes asportant: Et ex tunc currit fama de eo quòd sanctus est, quia angeli domini ipsum portant in paradisum: Et iste est maximus honor, quem reputat filius posse fieri patri suo

Cassa.

Tibec regio alias Tebet Guillielmo de Rubrico.

Eadem historia de eodem populo apud Guillielmũ de Rubricis.

suo mortuo : Tunc filius sumit caput patris, & coquit ipsum, & comedit, de testa eius faciens ciphum in quo ipse cum omnibus de domo & cognatione eius bibunt cum solemnitate & lætitia in memoriam patris comesti. Et multa vilia & abominabilia facit gens illa quæ non scribo, quia non valent, nec homines crederent nisi viderent.

De diuite qui pascitur à 50. Virginibus.

DVm fui in prouincia Manzi transiui iuxta palatium vnius hominis popularis, qui habuit 50. domicellas virgines sibi continuè ministrantes, in omnibus pascentes eum sicut auis auiculas, & habet semper 5. fercula triplicata; & quando pascunt eum, continuè cantant dulcissimè: Iste habet in redditibus Tagaris risi 30. Thuman, quorū quodlibet decies millies facit: vnū autem Tagar pondus est asini. Palatium suum duo millaria tenet in ambitu; cuius pauimentum semper vnum laterem habet aureum, alium argenteum: Iuxta ambitum istius palatij est vnus monticulus artificialis de auro & argento, super quo stant Monasteria, & campanilia, & alia delectabilia pro solatio illius popularis; Et dictum fuit mihi, quòd quatuor tales homines sunt in regno illo. Nobilitas virorum est longos habere vngues in digitis, præcipuè pollicis quibus circueunt sibi manus: Nobilitas autem & pulchritudo mulierum est paruos habere pedes: Et ideò matres quandò filiæ suæ sunt tenellæ ligant pedes earum, & non diuittunt crescere. Vltra transiens versus meridiem applicui ad quandam contratam, quæ vocatur Milestorite, quæ pulchra est valdè & fertilis; Et in ista cōtrata erat vnus vocatus Senex de monte, qui inter duos montes fecerat sibi vnum murum circumeuntem istos montes. Infra istum murum erant fontes pulcherrimi de mundo; Et iuxta fontes erant pulcherrimæ virgines in maximo numero, & equi pulcherrimi, & omne illud quod ad suauitatem, & delectationem corporis fieri poterit, & ideò illum locum vocant homines illius contratæ Paradisum. Iste senex cùm viderit aliquē iuuenem formosum & robustum, posuit eum in illo paradiso; Per quosdam autem conductus descendere facit vinum & lac abundantèr. Iste Senex cùm voluerit se vindicare, vel interficere regem aliquem vel Baronem, dicit illi qui præerat illi paradiso vt aliquem de notis illius regis, vel Baronis introduceret in paradisum illum, & illum delicijs frui permitteret, & tunc daret sibi potionem vnam, quæ ipsum sopiebat in tantum, quòd insensibilem redderet, & ipsum sic dormientem faceret extra paradisum deportari: qui excitatus & se extra paradisum conspiciens, in tanta tristitia positus foret, quòd nesciret quid faceret: Tunc ad illum senem iret, rogans eum, vt iterùm in paradisum introduceretur; qui sibi dicit, tu illic introduci non poteris, nisi talem vel talem interficias; & siue interfeceris, siue non, reponam te in paradiso, & ibidem poteris semper manere: Tunc ille sic faceret, & omnes seni odiosos interficeret; Et ideò omnes reges orientales illum senem timuerunt, & sibi tributum magnum dederunt.

Mulierum parui pedes.

Milestorite.

De morte Senis de monte.

CVm autem Tartari magnam partem mundi cepissent, venerunt ad istum Senem, & dominium illius Paradisi ab eo abstulerunt, qui multos sicarios de Paradiso illo emisit, & nobiliores Tartarorum interfici fecit. Tartari autem hoc videntes ciuitatem, in qua erat senex obsederunt, eum ceperunt, & pessima morte interfecerunt. Hanc gratiam habent fratres ibidem, quòd citissimè per virtutem nominis Christi Iesu, & in virtute illius sanguinis pretiosi, quem effudit in cruce pro salute generis humani, dæmonia ab obsessis corporibus expellunt; Et quia multi ibidem sunt obsessi, ducuntur per decem dietas ad fratres ligati, qui liberati statim credunt in Christum, qui liberauit eos habentes ipsum pro Deo suo, & baptizati sunt, & idola sua, & pecorum suorum statim dant fratribus, quæ sunt communitèr de feltro, & de crinibus mulierum: & fratres ignem in communi loco faciunt ad quem populus confluit, vt videat Deos vicinorum suorum comburi, & fratres coram populo Idola in ignem proijciunt; Et prima vice de igne exierunt; Tunc fratres ignem cum aqua benedicta conspersserunt, & iterùm Idola in ignem proiecerunt, & dæmones in effigie fumi nigerrimi fugerunt, & Idola remanserunt, & combusta sunt. Posteà auditur clamor per aërem talis, vide, vide, quo modo de habitatione mea expulsus sum. Et per istum modum fratres maximam multitudinem baptizant, qui citò recidiuant ad idola pecorum: qui fratres continuè quasi stent

stent cum illis, & illos informent. Aliud terribile fuit quod ego vidi ibi. Nam cùm irem per vnam vallem, quæ sita est iuxta fluuium deliciarum, multa corpora mortua vidi, & in illa valle audiui sonos musicos dulces & diuersos, & maximè de cytharis, vndè multum timui. Hæc vallis habet longitudinem septem, vel octo milliarium ad plus, in quam si quis intrat, moritur, & nunquam viuus potest transire per medium illius vallis, & ideò omnes de contrata declinant à latere: Et tentatus eram intrare, & videre, quid hoc esset. Tandem orans & Deo me recommendans, & cruce signans, in nomine Iesu intraui, & vidi tot corpora mortua ibi, quòd nullus crederet nisi videret. In hac valle ab vno eius latere, in vno saxo vnam faciem hominis vidi, quæ ita terribiliter me respexit, quòd omninò credidi ibi fuisse mortuus: Sed semper hoc verbum (verbum caro factum est & habitauit in nobis) protuli, & cruce me signaui, nec propiùs quàm per 7. passus, vel 8. accedere capiti ausus fui: Iui autem fugiens ad aliud caput vallis, & super vnum monticulum arenosum ascendi, in quo vndique circumspiciens nihil vidi nisi cytharas illas, quas per se (vt mihi videbatur) pulsari & resonare mirabiliter audiui. Cùm verò fui in cacumine montis, inueni ibi argentum in maxima quantitate, quasi fuissent squamæ piscium. Congregans autem inde in gremio meo pro mirabili ostendendo, sed ductus conscientia, in terram proieci, nihil mecum reseruans, & sic per gratiam Dei liber exiui. Cùm autem homines illius contratæ sciuerunt me viuum exisse, reuerebantur me multum, dicentes me baptizatum & sanctum: & corpora illa fuisse dæmonum infernalium qui pulsant cytharas vt homines alliciant intrare, & interficiant. Hæc de visis certudinaliter ego frater Odoricus hîc inscripsi; & multa mirabilia omisi ponere, quia homines non credidissent nisi vidissent.

De honore & reuerentia factis Domino Cani.

VNum tantùm referam de magno Cane quod vidi. Consuetudo est in partibus illis quòd quando prædictus dominus per aliquam contratam transit, homines ante ostia sua accendunt ignem & apponunt aromata, ac faciunt fumum, vt dominus transiens suauem sentiat odorem, & multi obuiam sibi vadunt. Dum autem semel veniret in Cambeleth, & fama vndique diuulgaretur de suo aduentu, vnus noster Episcopus, & aliqui nostri minores fratres & ego iuimus obuiàm sibi benè per duas dietas: Et dum appropinquaremus ad eum, posuimus crucem super lignum, & ego habebam mecum in manu thuribulum, & incepimus cantare alta voce dicentes: Veni creator spiritus: Et dum sic cantaremus audiuit voces nostras, fecitque nos vocari, ac iussit nos ad eum accedere; cùm vt suprà dictum est, nullus audeat appropinquare currui suo ad iactum lapidis, nisi vocatus, exceptis illis qui currum custodiunt. Et dum iuissemus ad eum, ipse deposuit galerum suum, siue capellù inestimabilis quasi valoris, & fecit reuerentiam Cruci; & statim incensum posui in thuribulo; Episcopus noster accepit thuribulum, & thurificauit eum; ac sibi prædictus Episcopus dedit benedictionem suam. Accedentes verò ad prædictum dominum, sempèr sibi aliquid offerendum deferunt; secum illam antiquam legem obseruantes; Non apparebis in conspectu meo vacuus; Idcircò portauimus nobiscum poma, & ea sibi super vnum incisorium reuerentèr obtulimus; & ipse duo accepit, & de vno aliquantulum comedit: Et tunc fecit nobis signum quòd recederemus, ne equi venientes in aliquo nos offenderent; statimque ab eo discessimus, atque diuertimus, & iuimus ad aliquos Barones per fratres nostri ordinis ad fidem conuersos, qui in exercitu eius erant, & eis obtulimus de pomis prædictis, qui cum maximo gaudio ipsa accipientes ita videbantur lætari, ac si præbuissemus eis familiariter magnum munus. Hæc prædicta frater Guilelmus de Solangna in scriptis redegit, sicùt prædictus frater Odoricus ore tenus exprimebat. Anno Domini 1330. mense Maij in loco Sancti Antonij de Padua; Nec curauit de latino difficili, & stilo ornato; Sed sicut ipse narrabat ad hoc vt homines faciliùs intelligerent quæ dicuntur. Ego frater Odoricus de Foro Iulij de quadam terra quæ dicitur Portus Vabonis de ordine minorum testificor, & testimonium perhibeo reuerendo patri Guidoto ministro prouinciæ Sancti Antonij in Marchia Triuisana, cùm ab eo fuerim per obedientiam requisitus, quòd hæc omnia quæ superiùs scripta sunt, aut proprijs oculis ego vidi, aut a fidedignis audiui: Communis etiam loquutio illarum terrarum illa quæ nec vidi testatur esse; Multa etiam alia ego dimisissem, nisi illa proprijs oculis conspexissem. Ego autem de die

in

in diem me propono contratus seu terras accedere, in quibus mori, & viuere me dispono, si placuerit Deo meo.

De morte fratris Odorici.

ANno igitur Domini 1331. disponente se prædicto fratre Odorico ad perficiendum iter suæ peregrinationis, prout mente conceperat, & etiam vt via & labor esset sibi magis ad meritum, decreuit primò præsentiam adire Domini & patris omnium summi Pontificis Domini Ioannis Papæ 22. cuius benedictione obedientiáque recepta cum societate fratrum secum ire volentium ad partes infidelium se transferret: Cúmque sic eundo versus summum Pontificem, non multum distaret à ciuitate Pisana, in quadam via occurrit sibi quidam senex in habitu peregrini eum salutans ex nomine, Aue (inquiens) frater Odorice: Et cùm frater quæreret quo modo ipsius haberet noticiam? Respondit, Dum eras in India noui te, tuúmque noui sanctum propositum; Sed & tu modò ad conuentum vndè venisti reuertere, quia die sequenti decimo ex hoc mundo migrabis. Verbis igitur senis attonitus & stupefactus, præsertim cùm Senex ille statim post dictum ab eius aspectu disparuit; reuerti decreuit; Et reuersus est in bona prosperitate nullam sentiens grauedinem corporis, seu aliquam infirmitatem; Cúmque esset in conuentu suo Vtinensi. N. in prouincia Paduana decimo die, prout facti sibi fuit reuelatio, acceptа communione, ipsóque ad Deum disponente, etiam corpore existens incolumis in Domino fœliciter requieuit: Cuius sacer obitus Domino summo Pontifici præfato sub manu Notarij publici transmittitur; qui sic scribit.

Anno Domini 1331. decima quarta die mensis Ianuarij obijt in Christo Beatus Odoricus ordinis fratrum Minorum, cuius precibus omnipotens Deus multa, & varia miracula demonstrauit; quæ ego Guetelus notarius communis Vtini, filius domini Damiani de portu Gruario, de mandato & voluntate nobilis viri Domini Conradi de Buardigio Castaldionis, & consilij Vtini, scripsi, sicut potui, bona fide, & fratribus Minoribus exemplum dedi; sed non de omnibus, quiá sunt innumerabilia, & mihi difficilia ad scribendum.

Here beginneth the iournall of Frier Odoricus, one of the order of the Minorites, concerning strange things which hee sawe among the Tartars of the East.

ALbeit many and sundry things are reported by diuers authors concerning the fashions and conditions of this world: notwithstanding I frier Odoricus of Friuli, de portu Vahonis being desirous to trauel vnto the foreign and remote nations of infidels, sawe and heard great and miraculous things, which I am able truely to auoch. First of al therefore sayling from Pera by Constantinople, I arriued at Trapesunda. This place is right commodiously situate, as being an hauen for the Persians and Medes, and other countreis beyonde the sea. In this lande I beheelde with great delight a very strange spectacle, namely a certaine man leading about with him more then foure thousande partriges. The man himselfe walked vpon the ground, and the partriges flew in the aire, which he ledde vnto a certaine castle called Zauena, being three dayes iourney distant from Trapesunda. The saide partriges were so tame, that when the man was desirous to lie downe and rest, they would all come flocking about him like chickens. And so hee led them vnto Trapesunda, and vnto the palace of the Emperour, who tooke as many of them as he pleased, and the rest the saide man carried vnto the place from whence he came. In this citie lyeth the body of Athanasius, vpon the gate of the citie. And then I passed on further vnto Armenia maior, to a certaine citie called Azaron, which had bene very rich in olde time, but nowe the Tarters haue almost layde it waste. In the saide citie there was abundance of bread and flesh, and of all other victuals except wine and fruites. This citie also is very colde, and is reported to be higher situated, then any other city in the world. It hath most holesome and sweete waters about it: for the veines of the said waters seeme to spring and flow from the mighty riuer of Euphrates, which is but a dayes iourney from the saide city. Also, the said citie stands directly in the way to Tauris. And I passed on vnto a certaine mountaine called Sobissacalo. In the foresaide countrey there is the very same mountaine whereupon the Arke of Noah rested: vnto the which I would willingly haue ascended, if my company would haue stayed for me. Howbeit the people of that countrey report, that no man could euer ascend the

Pera.

Trapesunda.

The citie of Azaron in Armenia maior.

Sobissacalo.

the said mountaine, because (say they) it pleaseth not the highest God. And I trauailed on further vnto Tauris that great and royal city, which was in old time called Susis. This city is accompted for traffique of marchandize the chiefe city of the world: for there is no kinde of victuals, nor any thing else belonging vnto merchandize, which is not to be had there in great abundance. This city stands very commodiously: for vnto it all the nations of the whole worlde in a maner may resort for traffique. Concerning the saide citie, the Christians in those parts are of opinion, that the Persian Emperour receiues more tribute out of it, then the King of France out of all his dominions. Neare vnto the said city there is a salt-hill yeelding salt vnto the city: and of that salt ech man may take what pleaseth him, not paying ought to any man therefore. In this city many Christians of all nations do inhabite, ouer whom the Saracens beare rule in all things. Then I traueiled on further vnto a city called *Soldania, wherein the Persian Emperour lieth all Sommer time: but in winter hee takes his progresse vnto another city standing vpon the Sea called *Baku. Also the foresaid city is very great and colde, hauing good and holesome waters therein, vnto the which also store of marchandize is brought. Moreouer I trauelled with a certaine company of Carauans toward vpper India: and in the way, after many days iourney, I came vnto the citie of the three wise men called *Cassan, which is a noble and renowmed city, sauing that the Tartars haue destroyed a great part thereof, and it aboundeth with bread, wine, and many other commodities. From this city vnto Ierusalem (whither the three foresaid wisemen were miraculously led) it is fiftie days iourney. There be many wonders in this citie also, which, for breuities sake, I omit. From thence I departed vnto a certaine city called *Geste, whence the Sea of Sand is distant, one dayes iourney, which is a most wonderful and dangerous thing. In this city there is abundance of all kinds of victuals, and especially of figs, reisins, and grapes; more (as I suppose) then in any part of the whole world besides. This is one of the three principall cities in all the Persian Empire. Of this city the Saracens report, that no Christian can by any meanes liue therein aboue a yeere. Then passing many dayes iourney on forward, I came vnto a certaine citie called *Comum, which was an huge and mightie citie in olde time, conteyning well nigh fiftie miles in circuite, and hath done in times past great damage vnto the Romanes. In it there are stately palaces altogether destitute of inhabitants, notwithstanding it aboundeth with great store of victuals. From hence traueiling through many countreys, at length I came vnto the land of Iob named Hus, which is full of all kinde of victuals, and very pleasantly situated. Thereabouts are certaine mountaines hauing good pastures for cattell upon them. Here also Manna is found in great aboundance. Four partriges are here solde for lesse then a groat. In this countrey there are most comely olde men. Here also the men spin and card, and not the women. This land bordereth vpon the North part of Chaldæa.

Tauris a citie of Persia.

Or, Soldania.

The Caspian sea.

Or, Cassibia.

Geste.

Comos.

Of the maners of the Chaldæans, and of India.

FRom thence I traueled into Chaldæa, which is a great kingdome, and I passed by the tower of Babel. This region hath a language peculiar vnto it selfe, and there are beautifull men, and deformed women. The men of the same countrey vse to haue their haire kempt, and trimmed like vnto our women: and they weare golden turbants vpon their heades richly set with pearle, and pretious stones. The women are clad in a course smock onely reaching to their knees, and hauing long sleeues hanging downe to the ground. And they goe bare-footed, wearing breeches which reach to the ground also. They weare no attire vpon their heads, but their haire hangs disheaueled about their eares: and there be many other strange things also. From thence I came into the lower India, which the Tartars ouerran and wasted. And in this countrey the people eat dates for the most part, whereof 42. li. are there sold for lesse then a groat. I passed further also many dayes iourney vnto the Ocean sea, and the first land where I arriued, is called *Ormes, being well fortified, and hauing great store of marchandize and treasure therein. Such and so extreme is the heat in that countrey, that the priuities of men come out of their bodies and hang down euen vnto their mid-legs. And therefore the inhabitants of the same place, to preserue their owne liues, do make a certaine ointment, and anointing their priuie members therewith, do lap them vp in certaine bags fastened vnto their bodies,

The tower of Babel.

Ormos.

for

for otherwise they must needs die. Here also they vse a kinde of Bark or shippe called Iase being compact together onely with hempe. And I went on bourd into one of them, wherein I could not finde any yron at all, and in the space of 28. dayes I arriued at the city of Thana, where-in foure of our friers were martyred for the faith of Christ. This countrey is well situate, hauing abundance of bread and wine, and of other victuals therein. This kingdome in olde time was very large and vnder the dominion of king Porus, who fought a great battell with Alexander the great. The people of this countrey are idolaters worshipping fire, serpents and trees. And ouer all this land the Saracens do beare rule, who tooke it by maine force, and they themselues are in subiection vnto King Daldilus. There be diuers kinds of beasts, as namely blacke lyons in great abundance, and apes also, and monkeis, and battes as bigge as our doues. Also there are mise as bigge as our countrey dogs, and therefore they are hunted with dogs, because cats are not able to incounter them. Moreouer in the same countrey euery man hath a bundle of great boughs standing in a water-pot before his doore, which bundle is as great as a pillar, and it will not wither, so long as water is applied thereunto: with many other neuelties and strange things, the relation whereof would breed great delight.

Thana, whereof Frederick Caesar maketh mention.

How peper is had: and where it groweth.

MOreouer, that it may be manifest how peper is had, it is to be vnderstood that it groweth in a certaine kingdome whereat I my selfe arriued, being called * Minibar, and it is not so plentifull in any other part of the worlde as it is there. For the wood wherein it growes conteineth in circuit 18. dayes iourney. And in the said wood or forrest there are two cities, one called * Flandrina, and the other Cyncilim. In Flandrina both Iewes and Christians doe inhabite, betweene whom there is often contention and warre: howbeit the Christians ouercome the Iewes at all times. In the foresaid wood pepper is had after this maner: first it groweth in leaues like vnto pot-hearbs, which they plant neere vnto great trees as we do our vines, and they bring forth pepper in clusters, as our vines doe yeeld grapes, but being ripe, they are of a greene colour, and are gathered as we gather grapes, and then the graines are layed in the Sunne to be dried, and being dried are put into earthen vessels: and thus is pepper made and kept. Now, in the same wood there be many riuers, wherein are great store of Crocodiles, and of other serpents, which the inhabitants thereabout do burne vp with straw and with other dry fewel, and so they go to gather their pepper without danger. At the South end of the said forrest stands the city of Polumbrum, which aboundeth with marchandize of all kinds. All the inhabitants of that countrey do worship a liuing oxe, as their god, whom they put to labour for sixe yeres, and in the seuenth yere they cause him to rest from al his worke, placing him in a solemne and publique place, and calling him an holy beast. Moreouer they vse this foolish ceremonie: Euery morning they take two basons, either of siluer, or of gold, and with one they receiue the vrine of the oxe, and with the other his dung. With the vrine they wash their face, their eyes, and all their fiue senses. Of the dung they put into both their eyes, then they annoint the bals of their cheeks therewith, and thirdly their breast: and then they say that they are sanctified for all that day; And as the people doe, euen so doe their King and Queene. This people worshippeth also a dead idole, which, from the nauel vpward, resembleth a man, and from the nauel downeward an oxe. The very same Idol deliuers oracles vnto them, and sometimes requireth the blood of fourtie virgins for his hire. And therefore the men of that region do consecrate their daughters and their sonnes vnto their idols, euen as Christians do their children vnto some Religion or Saint in heauen. Likewise they sacrifice their sonnes and their daughters, and so, much people is put to death before the said Idol by reason of that accursed ceremony. Also, many other hainous and abominable villanies doeth that brutish beastly people commit: and I sawe many moe strange things among them which, I meane not here to insert. Another most vile custome the foresaide nation doeth retaine: for when any man dieth they burne his dead corps to ashes: and if his wife surviueth him, her they burne quicke, because (say they) she shall accompany her husband in his tilthe and husbandry, when he is come into a new world. Howbeit the said wife hauing children by her husband, may if she will, remaine still alive with

Malabar.

Or, Alandrina.

Polumbrum.

The burning of their dead.

with them, without shame or reproch: notwithstanding, for the most part, they all of them make choice to be burnt w their husbands. Now, albeit the wife dieth before her husband, that law bindeth not the husband to any such incõuenience, but he may mary another wife also. Likewise, ỹ said nation hath another strange custome, in that their women drink wine, but their men do not. Also the women haue the lids & browes of their eyes & beards shauen, but the men haue not: with many other base & filthy fashions which the said women do vse contrary to the nature of their sexe. Frõ that kingdom I traueiled 10. daies iourney vnto another kingdome called Mobar, which containeth many cities. Within a certaine church of the same countrey, the body of S. Thomas the Apostle is interred, the very same church being full of idols: and in 15. houses round about the said Church, there dwell certaine priests who are Nestorians, that is to say, false, and bad Christians, and schismatiques. Mobar, or Maliapor.

Of a strange and vncouth idole: and of certaine customes and ceremonies.

IN the said kingdome of Mobar there is a wonderfull strang idole, being made after the shape and resemblance of a man, as big as the image of our Christopher, & consisting all o most pure and glittering gold. And about the neck thereof hangeth a silke riband, ful o most rich & precious stones, some one of which is of more value then a whole kingdome. The house of this idol is all of beaten gold, namely the roofe, the pauement, and the sieling of the wall within and without. Vnto this idol the Indians go on pilgrimage, as we do vnto S. Peter. Some go with halters about their necks, some with their hands bound behind them, some other with knives sticking on their armes or legs: and if after their peregrination, the flesh of their wounded arme festereth or corrupteth, they esteeme that limme to be holy, & thinke that their God is wel pleased with them. Neare vnto the temple of that idol is a lake made by the hands of men in an open & common place, whereinto the pilgrimes cast gold, siluer, & precious stones, for the honour of the idol and the repairing of his temple. And therefore when any thing is to be adorned or mended, they go vnto this lake taking vp the treasure which was cast in. Moreouer at euery yerely feast of the making or repairing of the said idol, the king and queene, with the whole multitude of the people, & all the pilgrimes assemble themselues, & placing the said idol in a most stately & rich chariot, they cary him out of their temple with songs, & with all kind of musical harmonie, & a great company of virgins go procession-wise two and two in a rank singing before him. Many pilgrims also put themselues vnder the chariot wheeles, to the end that their false god may go ouer them: and al they ouer whom the chariot runneth, are crushed in pieces, & diuided asunder in the midst, and slaine right out. Yea, & in doing this, they think themselues to die most holily & securely, in the seruice of their god. And by this meanes euery yere, there die vnder the said filthy idol, mo then 500. persons, whose carkases are burned, and their ashes are kept for reliques, because they died in that sort for their god. Moreouer they haue another detestable ceremony. For when any man offers to die in the seruice of his false god, his parents, & all his friends assemble themselues together with a consort of musicians, making him a great & solemne feast: which feast being ended, they hang 5. sharpe kniues about his neck carying him before the idol, & so soone as he is come thither, he taketh one of his kniues crying with a loud voice, For the worship of my god do I cut this my flesh, and then he casteth the morsel which is cut, at ỹ face of his idol: but at the very last wound wherewith he murthereth himselfe, he vttereth these words: Now do I yeeld my self to death in the behalfe of my god, and being dead, his body is burned, & is esteemed by al men to be holy. The king of the said region is most rich in gold, siluer, and precious stones, & there be the fairest vnions in al the world. Traueling from thence by the Ocean sea 50. daies iourney southward, I came vnto a certain land named Lamori, where, in regard of extreeme heat, the people both men and women go stark-naked from top to toe: who seeing me apparelled scoffed at me, saying that God made Adam & Eue naked. In this countrey al women are common, so that no man can say, this is my wife. Also when any of the said women beareth a son or a daughter, she bestowes it vpon any one that hath lien with her, whõ she pleaseth. Likewise al the land of Perhaps he meaneth Comori.

that region is possessed in cõmon, so that there is not mine & thine, or any propriety of possession in the diuision of lands: howbeit euery man hath is owne house peculiar vnto himselfe. Mans flesh, if it be fat, is eaten as ordinarily there, as beefe in our country. And albeit the people are most lewd, yet the coũtry is exceeding good, abounding with al cõmodities, as flesh, corne, rise, siluer, gold, wood of aloes, Camphair, and many other things. Marchants comming vnto this region for traffique do vsually bring w them fat men, selling them vnto the inhabitants as we sel hogs, who immediatly kil & eat them. In this island towards the south, there is another kingdome called Simoltra, where both men and women marke theraselues with red-hot yron in 12. sundry spots of their faces: and this nation is at cõtinual warre with certaine naked people in another region. Then I traueled further vnto another island called Iaua, the compasse whereof by sea is 3000. miles. The king of this Iland hath 7. other crowned kings vnder his iurisdiction. The said Island is throughly inhabited, & is thought to be one of the principall Ilands of ỹ whole world. In the same Iland there groweth great plenty of cloues, cubibez, and nutmegs, and in a word all kinds of spices are there to be had, and great abundance of all victuals except wine. The king of the said land of Iaua hath a most braue and sumptuous pallace, the most loftily built, that euer I saw any, & it hath most high greeses & stayers to ascend vp to the roomes therein contained, one stayre being of siluer, & another of gold, throughout the whole building. Also the lower roomes were paued all ouer with one square plate of siluer, & another of gold. All the wals vpon the inner side were seeled ouer with plates of beaten gold, whereupon were ingrauen ỹ pictures of knights, hauing about their temples, ech of them a wreath of golde, adorned with precious stones. The roofe of the palace was of pure gold. With this king of Iaua the great Can of Catay hath had many conflicies in war: whom notwithstanding the said king hath alwayes ouercome & vanquished.

Sumatra

Iaua.

Of certaine trees yeelding meale, hony, and poyson.

NEere vnto the said Iland is another countrey called Panten, or Tathalamasin. And the king of the same country hath many Ilands vnder his dominion. In this land there are trees yeelding meale, hony, & wine, & the most deadly poison in all ỹ whole world: for against it there is but one only remedy: & that is this: if any man hath taken of ỹ poyson, & would be deliuered from the danger therof, let him temper the dung of a man in water, & so drinke a good quantitie thereof, & it expels the poyson immediatly, making it to auoid at the fundement. Meale is produced out of the said trees after this maner. They be mighty huge trees, and when they are cut with an axe by the ground, there issueth out of the stocke a certain licour like vnto gumme, which they take and put into bags made of leaues, laying them for 15 daies together abroad in the sun, & at the end of those 15 dayes, when the said licour is throughly parched, it becõmeth meale. Then they steepe it first in sea water, washing it afterward with fresh water, and so it is made very good & sauorie paste, whereof they make either meat or bread, as they thinke good. Of which bread I my selfe did eate, & it is fayre without & somewhat browne within. By this countrey is the sea called Mare mortuũ, which runneth continually Southward, into ỹ which whosoeuer falleth is neuer seene after. In this countrey also are found canes of an incredible length, namely of 60 paces high or more, & they are as bigge as trees. Other canes there be also called Cassan, which ouerspread the earth like grasse, & out of euery knot of them spring foorth certaine branches, which are continued vpon the ground almost for the space of a mile. In the sayd canes there are found certaine stones, one of which stones, whosoeuer carryeth about with him, cannot be wounded with any yron: & therefore the men of that countrey for the most part, carry such stones with them, whithersoeuer they goe. Many also cause one of the armes of their children, while they are yong, to be launced, putting one of the said stones into the wound, healing also, and closing vp the said wound with the powder of a certaine fish (the name whereof I do not know) which powder doth immediatly consolidate and cure the said wound. And by the vertue of these stones, the people aforesaid doe for the most part triumph both on sea and land. Howbeit there is one kind of stratageme, which the enemies of this nation, knowing

A sea running still foutward.

the

the vertue of the sayd stones, doe practise against them: namely, they prouide themselues armour of yron or steele against their arrowes, & weapons also poisoned with the poyson of trees, & they carry in their hands wooden stakes most sharpe & hard-pointed, as if they were yron: likewise they shoot arrowes without yron heads, and so they confound & slay some of their vnarmed foes trusting too securely vnto the vertue of their stones. Also of the foresayd canes called Cassan they make sayles for their ships, and litle houses, and many other necessaries. From thence after many dayes trauell, I arriued at another kingdome called Campa, a most beautiful and rich countrey, & abounding with all kind of victuals: the king wherof, at my being there, had so many wiues & concubines, that he had 300 sonnes & daughters by the. This king hath 10004 tame Elephants, which are kept euen as we keepe droues of oxen, or flocks of sheepe in pasture.

Sayles made of reedes.

Campa.

Of the abundance of fishes, which cast themselues vpon the shore.

IN this countrey there is one strange thing to be obserued, ỹ euery seueral kind of fishes in those seas come swimming towards the said countrey in such abundance, that, for a great distance into the sea, nothing can be seene but ỹ backs of fishes: which, casting themselues vpon the shore when they come neere vnto it, do suffer men, for the space of 3. daies, to come & to take as many of them as they please, & then they returne againe vnto the sea. After that kind of fishes comes another kind, offering it selfe after the same maner, and so in like sort all other kinds whatsoeuer: notwithstanding they do this but once in a yere. And I demaunded of the inhabitants there, how, or by what meanes this strange accident could come to passe: They answered, that fishes were taught, euen by nature, to come & to do homage vnto their Emperour. There be Tortoises also as bigge as an ouen. Many other things I saw which are incredible, vnlesse a man should see them with his own eies. In this country also dead men are burned, & their wiues are burned aliue with them, as in the city of Polumbrum aboue mentioned: for the men of that country say that she goeth to accompany him in another world, that he should take none other wife in mariage. Moreouer I trauelled on further by the ocean-sea towards the south, & passed through many countries and islands, wherof one is called Moumoran, & it cōtaineth in compasse ii. M. miles, wherin men & women haue dogs faces, and worship an oxe for their god: and therefore euery one of them cary the image of an oxe of gold or siluer vpon their foreheads. The men and the women of this country go all naked, sauing that they hang a linen cloth before their priuities. The men of the said country are very tall and mighty, and by reason that they goe naked, when they are to make battell, they cary yron or steele-targets before them, which do couer and defend their bodies from top to toe: and whomsoeuer of their foes they take in battel not being able to ransom himselfe for money, they presently deuoure him: but if he be able to redeeme himselfe for money, they let him go free. Their king weareth about his necke 300. great and most beautifull vnions, and saith euery day 300. prayers vnto his god. He weareth vpon his finger also a stone of a span long, which seemeth to be a flame of fire, and therefore when he weareth it, no man dare once approch vnto him: and they say that there is not any stone in the whole world of more value then it. Neither could at any time the great Tartarian Emperour of Katay either by force, money, or policie obtaine it at his hands: notwithstanding that he hath done the vtmost of his indeuour for this purpose.

Tortoises

Moumoran.

Of the Island of Sylan: and of the mountaine where Adam mourned for his sonne Abel.

I Passed also by another island called Sylan, which conteineth in cōpasse aboue ii. M. miles: wherin are an infinit number of serpents, & great store of lions, beares, & al kinds of rauening & wild beasts, and especially of elephants. In the said country there is an huge mountaine, whereupon the inhabitants of that regiō do report that Adam mourned for his son Abel ỹ space of 500. yeres. In the midst of this mountain there is a most beautiful plain, wherin is a litle lake cōteining great plēty of water, which water ỹ inhabitants report to haue proceeded frō the teares of Adam & Eue: howbeit I proued that to be false, because I saw the water flow in

the lake. This water is ful of hors-leeches, & blood-suckers, & of precious stones also: which precious stones the king taketh not vnto his owne vse, but once or twise euery yere he permitteth certaine poore people to diue vnder the water for ỹ said stones, & al that they can gẽt he bestoweth vpon them, to the end they may pray for his soule. But ỹ they may with lesse danger diue vnder the water, they take limons which they pil, anointing themselues throughly with the iuice therof, & so they may diue naked vnder ỹ water, the hors-leeches not being able to hurt them. From this lake the water runneth euen vnto the sea, and at a low ebbe the inhabitants dig rubies, diamonds, pearls, & other pretious stones out of the shore: wherupon it is thought, that ỹ king of this island hath greater abũdance of pretious stones, then any other monarch in the whole earth besides. In the said country there be al kinds of beasts and foules: & the people told me, that those beasts would not inuade nor hurt any stranger, but only the natural inhabitants. I saw in this island fouls as big as our countrey geese, hauing two heads, and other miraculous things, which I will not here write off. Traueling on further toward the south, I arriued at a certain island called Bodin, which signifieth in our language vnclean. In this island there do inhabit most wicked persons, who deuour & eat raw flesh cõmitting al kinds of vncleannes & abominations in such sort, as it is incredible. For the father eateth his son, & the son his father, the husband his owne wife, & the wife her husband: and that after this maner. If any mans father be sick, the son straight goes vnto the sooth-saying or prognosticating priest, requesting him to demand of his god, whether his father shall recouer of that infirmity or no: Then both of them go vnto an idol of gold or of siluer, making their praiers vnto it in maner folowing: Lord, thou art our god, & thee we do adore, beseeching thee to resolue vs, whether such a man must die, or recouer of such an infirmity or no: Then the diuel answereth out of ỹ foresaid idol: if he saith (he shal liue) then returneth his son and ministreth things necessary vnto him, til he hath attained vnto his former health: but if he saith (he shal die) then goes ỹ priest vnto him; & putting a cloth into his mouth doth strangle him therewith: which being done, he cuts his dead body into morsels, & al his friends and kinsfolks are inuited vnto the eating thereof, with musique and all kinde of mirth: howbeit his bones are solemnely buried. And when I found fault with that custome demanding a reason thereof, one of them gaue me this answere: this we doe, least the wormes should eat his flesh, for then his soule should suffer great torments, neither could I by any meanes remoue them from that errour. Many other nouelties and strange things there bee in this countrey, which no man would credite, vnles he saw them with his owne eyes. Howbeit, I (before almighty God) do here make relation of nothing but of that only, whereof I am as sure, as a man may be sure. Concerning the foresaid islands I inquired of diuers wel-experienced persons, who al of them, as it were with one consent, answered me saying, That this India contained 4400. islands vnder it, or within it: in which islands there are sixtie and foure crowned kings: and they say moreouer, that the greater part of those islands are wel inhabited. And here I conclude cõcerning that part of India.

Or, Dadin.

Or, China.

Of the vpper India: and of the prouince of Mancy.

FIrst of al therefore, hauing traueled many dayes iourney vpõ the Ocean-sea toward the East, at length I arriued at a certaine great prouince called Mancy, being in Latine named India. Concerning this India I inquired of Christians, of Saracens, & of Idolaters, and of al such as bare any office vnder the great Can. Who all of them with one consent answered, that this prouince of Mancy hath mo then 2000. great cities within the precincts thereof, & that it aboundeth with all plenty of victuals, as namely with bread, wine, rise, flesh, and fish. All the men of this prouince be artificers & marchants, who, though they be in neuer so extreme penurie, so long as they can helpe themselues by the labor of their hands, wil neuer beg almes of any man. The men of this prouince are of a faire and comely personage, but somewhat pale, hauing their heads shauen but a litle: but the women are the most beautiful vnder the sunne. The first city of ỹ said India which I came vnto, is called Ceuskalon, which being a daies iourney distant frõ the sea, stands vpon a riuer, the water whereof, nere vnto the mouth, where it exonerateth it selfe into the sea, doth ouerflow the land for the space of

Or, Ceuskala.

12.

12. daies iourney. All the inhabitants of this India are worshippers of idols. The foresaid city of Ceuskalon hath such an huge nauy belonging thereunto, that no man would beleeue it vnlesse he should see it. In this city, I saw 300.li. of good & new ginger sold for lesse then a groat. There are the greatest, and the fairest geese, & most plenty of them to be sold in al the whole world, as I suppose: they are as white as milke, and haue a bone vpon the crowne of their heads as bigge as an egge, being of the colour of blood: vnder their throat they haue a skin or bag hanging downe halfe a foot. They are exceeding fat & wel sold. Also they haue ducks and hens in that country, one as big as two of ours. There be mōstrous great serpents likewise, which are taken by the inhabitants & eaten: whereupon a solemne feast among them without serpents is not set by: and to be briefe, in this city there are al kinds of victuals in great abundance. From thence I passed by many cities & at length I came vnto a city named Caitan, wherin ẏ friers Minorites haue two places of aboad, vnto the which I transported the bones of the dead friers, which suffred martyrdom for the faith of Christ, as it is aboue mentioned. In this city there is abundance of al kind of victuals very cheap. The said city is as big as two of Bononia, & in it are many monasteries of religious persons, al which do worship idols. I my selfe was in one of those Monasteries, & it was told me, that there were in it iii. M. religious men, hauing xi. M. idols: and one of ẏ said idols which seemed vnto me but litle in regard of the rest, was as big as our Christopher. These religious men euery day do feed their idol-gods: wherupon at a certaine time I went to behold the banquet: and indeed those things which they brought vnto them were good to eat, & fuming hote, insomuch that the steame of the smoke thereof ascended vp vnto their idols, & they said that their gods were refreshed with the smoke: howbeit all the meat they conueyed away, eating it vp their owne selues, and so they fed their dumb gods with the smoke onely.

He meaneth Pellicans, which the Spaniards cal Alcatrarai.

Or, Zaiton.

Of the citie Fuco.

TRaueling more eastward, I came vnto a city named Fuco, which conteineth 30. miles in circuit, wherin be exceeding great & faire cocks, and al their hens are as white as the very snow, hauing wol in stead of feathers, like vnto sheep. It is a most stately & beautiful city & standeth vpon the sea. Then I went 18. daies iourney on further, & passed by many prouinces & cities, and in the way I went ouer a certain great mountaine, vpon ẏ one side whereof I beheld al liuing creatures to be as black as a cole, & the men and women on that side differed somwhat in maner of liuing frō others: howbeit, on the other side of the said hil euery liuing thing was snow-white, & the inhabitants in their maner of liuing, were altogether vnlike vnto others. There, all maried women cary in token that they haue husbands, a great trunke of horne vpon their heads. From thence I traueiled 18. dayes iourney further, and came vnto a certaine great riuer, and entered also into a city, whereunto belongeth a mighty bridge to passe the said riuer. And mine hoste with whom I soiourned, being desirous to shew me some sport, said vnto me: Sir, if you will see any fish taken, goe with me. Then hee led me vnto the foresaid bridge, carying in his armes with him certaine diue-doppers or water-foules, bound vnto a company of poles, and about euery one of their necks he tied a threed, least they should eat the fish as fast as they tooke them: and he caried 3. great baskets with him also: then loosed he the diue-doppers from the poles, which presently went into the water, & within lesse then the space of one houre, caught as many fishes as filled the 3. baskets: which being full, mine hoste vntyed the threeds from about their neckes, and entering the second time into the riuer they fed themselues with fish, and being satisfied they returned and suffered themselues to be bound vnto the saide poles as they were before. And when I did eate of those fishes, me thought they were exceeding good. Trauailing thence many dayes iourneys, at length I arriued at another city called * Canasia, which signifieth in our language, the city of heauen. Neuer in all my life did I see so great a citie; for it conteineth in circuit an hundreth miles: neither sawe I any plot thereof, which was not throughly inhabited: yea, I sawe many houses of tenne or twelue stories high, one aboue another. It hath mightie large suburbs containing more people then the citie it selfe. Also it hath

A great riuer.

Foules catching fish.

Or Cansai, or Quinsai.

hath twelue principall gates: and about the distance of eight miles, in the high way vnto euery one of the saide gates standeth a city as big by estimation as Venice, and Padua. The foresaid city of Canasia is situated in waters or marshes, which alwayes stand still neither ebbing nor flowing: howbeit it hath a defence for the winde like vnto Venice. In this citie there are mo then 10002. bridges, many whereof I numbred and passed ouer them: and vpon euery of those bridges stand certaine watchmen of the citie, keeping continuall watch and ward about the said city, for the great Can the Emperour of Catay. The people of this countrey say, that they haue one duetie inioyned vnto them by their lord: for euery fire payeth one Balis in regard of tribute: and a Balis is fiue papers or pieces of silke, which are worth one floren and an halfe of our coine. Tenne or twelue households are accounted for one fire, and so pay tribute but for one fire onely. Al those tributary fires amount vnto the number of 85. Thuman, with other foure Thuman of the Saracens, which make 89. in al; And one Thuman consisteth of 10000. fires. The residue of the people of the city are some of them Christians, some marchants, and some trauelers through the countrey: whereupon I marueiled much howe such an infinite number of persons could inhabite and liue together. There is great aboundance of victuals in this citie, as namely of bread and wine, and especially of hogs-flesh, with other necessaries.

The Italian copy in Ramusius, hath 12000. bridges.

Of a Monastery where many strange beastes of diuers kindes doe liue vpon an hill.

IN the foresaide citie foure of our friers had conuerted a mighty and riche man vnto the faith of Christ, at whose house I continually abode, for so long time as I remained in the citie. Who vpon a certaine time saide vnto me: Ara, that is to say, Father, will you goe and beholde the citie? And I said, yea. Then embarqued we our selues, and directed our course vnto a certaine great Monastery: where being arriued, he called a religious person with whom he was acquainted, saying vnto him concerning me: this Raban Francus, that is to say, this religious Frenchman commeth from the Westerne parts of the world, and is now going to the city of Cambaleth to pray for the life of the great Can, and therefore you must shew him some rare thing, that when hee returnes into his owne countrey, he may say, this strange sight or nouelty haue I seene in the city of Canasia. Then the said religious man tooke two great baskets full of broken reliques which remained of the table, and led me vnto a little walled parke, the doore whereof he vnlocked with his key, and there appeared vnto vs a pleasant faire green plot, into the which we entred. In the said greene stands a litle mount in forme of a steeple, replenished with fragrant herbes, and fine shady trees. And while we stood there, he tooke a cymball or bell, and rang therewith, as they vse to ring to dinner or beuoir in cloisters, at the sound whereof many creatures of diuers kinds came downe from the mount, some like apes, some like cats, some like monkeys, and some hauing faces like men. And while I stood beholding of them, they gathered themselues together about him, to the number of 4200. of those creatures, putting themselues in good order, before whom he set a platter, and gaue them the said fragments to eate. And when they had eaten he rang vpon his cymbal the second time, and they al returned vnto their former places. Then, wondring greatly at the matter, I demanded what kind of creatures those might be? They are (quoth he) the soules of noble men which we do here feed, for the loue of God who gouerneth the world: and as a man was honorable or noble in this life, so his soule after death, entreth into the body of some excellent beast or other, but the soules of simple and rusticall people do possesse the bodies of more vile and brutish creatures. Then I began to refute that foule error: howbeit my speach did nothing at all preuaile with him: for hee could not be perswaded that any soule might remaine without a body. From thence I departed vnto a certaine citie named Chilenso, the walls whereof conteined 40. miles in circuit. In this city there are 360. bridges of stone, the fairest that euer I saw: and it is wel inhabited, hauing a great nauie belonging thereunto, & abounding with all kinds of victuals and other commodities. And thence I went vnto a certaine riuer called Thalay, which where it is most narrow, is 7. miles broad: and it runneth through the midst of the land of Pygmaia, whose chiefe city is called Cakam, and is one of the goodliest cities in the world.

Chilenso.

Thalay.

Cakam.

These

These Pigmeans are three of my spans high, and they make larger and better cloth of cotten and silke, then any other nation vnder the sunne. And coasting along by the saide riuer, I came vnto a certaine citie named Ianzu, in which citie there is one receptacle for the Friers of our order, and there be also three Churches of the Nestorians. This Ianzu is a noble and great citie, containing 48 Thuman of tributarie fiers, and in it are all kindes of victuals, and great plenty of such beastes, foules and fishes, as Christians doe vsually liue vpon. The lord of the same citie hath in yeerely reuenues for salt onely, fiftie Thuman of Balis, and one balis is worth a floren and a halfe of our coyne: insomuch that one Thuman of balis amounteth vnto the value of fifteene thousand florens. Howbeit the sayd lord fauoureth his people in one respect, for sometimes he forgiueth them freely two hundred Thuman, least there should be any scarcity or dearth among them. There is a custome in this citie, that when any man is determined to banquet his friends, going about vnto certaine tauernes or cookes houses appointed for the same purpose, he sayth vnto euery particular hoste, you shall haue such, and such of my friendes, whom you must intertaine in my name, and so much I will bestowe vpon the banquet. And by that meanes his friendes are better feasted at diuerse places, then they should haue beene at one. Tenne miles from the sayde citie, about the head of the foresayd riuer of Thalay, there is a certaine other citie called Montu, which hath the greatest nauy that I saw in the whole world. All their ships are as white as snow, and they haue banqueting houses in them, and many other rare things also, which no man would beleeue, vnlesse he had seene them with his owne eyes. Ianzu.

Of the citie of Cambaleth.

TRauelling eight dayes iourney further by diuers territories and cities, at length I came by fresh water vnto a certaine citie named Lenchyn, standing vpon the riuer of * Karauoran, which runneth through the midst of Cataie, and doeth great harme in the countrey when it ouerfloweth the bankes, or breaketh foorth of the chanell. From thence passing along the riuer Eastward, after many dayes trauell, and the sight of diuers cities, I arriued at a citie called * Sumakoto, which aboundeth more with silke then any other citie in the world: for when there is great scarcitie of silke, fortie pound is sold for lesse then eight groates. In this citie there is abundance of all merchandize, and of all kindes of victuals also, as of bread, wine, flesh, fish, with all choise and delicate spices. Then trauelling on still towards the East by many cities, I came vnto the noble and renowmed citie of Cambaleth, which is of great antiquitie, being situate in the prouince of Cataie. This citie the Tartars tooke, and neere vnto it within the space of halfe a mile, they built another citie called Caido. The citie of Caido hath twelue gates, being each of them two miles distant from another. Also the space lying in the midst betweene the two foresayd cities is very well and throughly inhabited, so that they make as it were but one citie betweene them both. The whole compasse or circuit of both cities together, is 40. miles. In this citie the great emperour Can hath his principall seat, and his imperiall palace, the walls of which palace containe foure miles in circuit: and neere vnto this his palace are many other palaces and houses of his nobles which belong vnto his court. Within the precincts of the sayd palace Imperiall, there is a most beautifull mount, set and replenished with trees, for which cause it is called the Greene mount, hauing a most royall and sumptuous palace standing thereupon, in which, for the most part, the great Can is resident. Vpon the one side of the sayd mount there is a great lake, whereupon a most stately bridge is built, in which lake is great abundance of geese, ducks, and all kindes of water foules: and in the wood growing vpon the mount there is great store of all birds, and wilde beasts. And therefore when the great Can will solace himselfe with hunting or hauking, he needs not so much as once to step forth of his palace. Moreouer, the principall palace, wherein he maketh his abode, is very large, hauing within it 14 pillers of golde, and all the walles thereof are hanged with red skinnes, which are sayd to be the most costly skinnes in all the world. In the midst of the palace standes a cisterne of two yards high, which consisteth of a pretious stone called Merdochas, and is wreathed about with golde, & at each corner thereof is the golden image of a serpent, as it were furiously Karamoron. for Sumacoto.

riously shaking and casting forth his head. This cisterne also hath a kind of networke of pearle wrought about it. Likewise by the sayd cisterne there is drinke conueyed thorow certeine pipes and conducts, such as vseth to be drunke in the emperors court, vpon the which also there hang many vessels of golde, wherein, whosoeuer will may drinke of the sayd licour. In the foresayd palace there are many peacocks of golde: & when any Tartar maketh a banquet vnto his lord, if the guests chance to clap their hands for ioy and mirth, the sayd golden peacocks also will spread abroad their wings, and lift vp their traines, seeming as if they danced: and this I suppose to be done by arte magike or by some secret engine vnder the ground.

Of the glory and magnificence of the great Can.

MOreouer, when the great emperor Can sitteth in his imperiall throne of estate, on his left hand sitteth his queene or empresse, and vpon another inferior seate there sit two other women, which are to accompany the emperor, when his spouse is absent, but in the lowest place of all, there sit all the ladies of his kinred. All the maried women weare vpon their heads a kind of ornament in shape like vnto a mans foote, of a cubite and a halfe in length, and the lower part of the sayd foote is adorned with cranes feathers, and is all ouer thicke set with great and orient pearles. Vpon the right hand of the great Can sitteth his first begotten sonne and heire apparent vnto his empire, and vnder him sit all the nobles of the blood royall. There bee also foure Secretaries, which put all things in writing that the emperor speaketh. In whose presence likewise stand his Barons and diuers others of his nobilitie, with great traines of folowers after them, of whom none dare speake so much as one word, vnlesse they haue obtained licence of the emperor so to doe, except his iesters and stage-players, who are appointed of purpose to solace their lord. Neither yet dare they attempt to doe ought, but onely according to the pleasure of their emperor, and as hee enioineth them by lawe. About the palace gate stand certaine Barons to keepe all men from treading vpon the threshold of the sayd gate. When it pleaseth the great Can to solemnize a feast, he hath about him 14000. Barons, carying wreathes & litle crownes vpon their heads, and giuing attendance vpon their lord, and euery one of them weareth a garment of gold and precious stones, which is woorth ten thousand Florens. His court is kept in very good order, by gouernours of tens, gouernours of hundreds, and gouernours of thousands, insomuch that euery one in his place performeth his duetie committed vnto him, neither is there any defect to bee found. I Frier Odoricus was there present in person for the space of three yeeres, and was often at the sayd banquets; for we friers Minorites haue a place of aboad appointed out for vs in the emperors court, and are enioined to goe and to bestow our blessing vpon him. And I enquired of certaine Courtiers concerning the number of persons pertaining to the emperors court? And they answered mee, that of stage-players, musicians, and such like, there were eighteene Thuman at the least, and that the keepers of dogs, beasts and foules were fifteene Thuman, and the physicians for the emperours body were foure hundred; the Christians also were eight in number, together with one Saracen. At my being there, all the foresayd number of persons had all kind of necessaries both for apparell and victuals out of the emperors court. Moreouer, when he will make his progresse from one countrey to another, hee hath foure troupes of horsemen, one being appointed to goe a dayes iourney before, and another to come a dayes iourney after him, the third to march on his right hand, and the fourth on his left, in the maner of a crosse, he himselfe being in the midst, and so euery particular troupe haue their daily iourneys limited vnto them, to the ende they may prouide sufficient victuals without defect. Nowe the great Can himselfe is caried in maner following; hee rideth in a chariot with two wheeles, vpon which a maiesticall throne is built of the wood of Aloe, being adorned with gold and great pearles, and precious stones, and foure elephants brauely furnished doe drawe the sayd chariot, before which elephants foure great horses richly trapped and couered doe lead the way. Hard by the chariot on both sides thereof, are foure Barons laying hold and attending thereupon, to keepe all persons from approching neere vnto their emperour. Vpon the chariot also two milke-white Ier-falcons doe

sit,

sit, and seeing any game which hee would take, hee letteth them flie, and so they take it, and after this maner doeth hee solace himselfe as hee rideth. Moreouer, no man dare come within a stones cast of the chariot, but such as are appointed. The number of his owne followers, of his wiues attendants, and of the traine of his first begotten sonne and heire apparant, would seeme incredible vnto any man, vnlesse hee had seene it with his owne eyes. The foresayd great Can hath deuided his Empire into twelue partes or Prouinces, and one of the sayd prouinces hath two thousand great cities within the precincts thereof. Whereupon his empire is of that length and breadth, that vnto whatsoeuer part thereof he intendeth his iourny, he hath space enough for six moneths continual progresse, except his Islands which are at the least 5000.

Of certaine Innes or hospitals appointed for trauailers throughout the whole empire.

THe foresayd Emperor (to the end that trauailers may haue all things necessary throughout his whole empire) hath caused certaine Innes to be prouided in sundry places vpon the high wayes, where all things pertaining vnto victuals are in a continuall readinesse. And when any alteration or newes happen in any part of his Empire, if he chance to be farre absent from that part, his ambassadors vpon horses or dromedaries ride post vnto him, and when themselues and their beasts are weary, they blow their horne, at the noise whereof, the next Inne likewise prouideth a horse and a man, who takes the letter of him that is weary, and runneth vnto another Inne: and so by diuers Innes, and diuers postes, the report, which ordinarily could skarce come in 30. dayes, is in one naturall day brought vnto the emperor: and therefore no matter of any moment can be done in his empire, but straightway he hath intelligence thereof. Moreouer, when y great Can himselfe will go on hunting, he vseth this custome. Some twenty dayes iourney from the citie of Kambaleth there is a forrest containing sixe dayes iourney in circuit, in which forrest there are so many kinds of beasts and birds, as it is incredible to report. Vnto this forrest, at the ende of euery third or fourth yeere, himselfe with his whole traine resorteth, and they all of them together enuiron the sayd forrest, sending dogs into the same, which by hunting do bring foorth the beasts: namely, lions and stags, and other creatures, vnto a most beautifull plaine in the midst of the forrest, because all the beasts of the forrest doe tremble, especially at the cry of hounds. Then commeth the great Can himselfe, being caried vpon three elephants, and shooteth fiue arrowes into the whole herd of beasts, and after him all his Barons, and after them the rest of his courtiers and family doe all in like maner discharge their arrowes also, and euery mans arrow hath a sundry marke. Then they all goe vnto the beasts which are slaine (suffering the liuing beasts to returne into the wood that they may haue more sport with them another time) and euery man enioyeth that beast as his owne, wherein he findeth his arrow sticking.

Of the foure feasts which the great Can solemnizeth euery yeere in his Court.

FOure great feasts in a yeere doeth the emperor Can celebrate: namely the feast of his birth, the feast of his circumcision, the feast of his coronation, and the feast of his mariage. And vnto these feasts he inuiteth all his Barons, his stage-players, and all such as are of his kinred. Then the great Can sitting in his throne, all his Barons present themselues before him, with wreaths and crownes vpon their heads, being diuersly attired, for some of them are in greene, namely, the principall: the second are in red, and the third in yellow, and they hold each man in his hand a little Iuorie table of elephants tooth, and they are girt with golden girdles of halfe a foote broad, and they stand vpon their feete keeping silence. About them stand the stage-players or musicians with their instruments. And in one of the corners of a certaine great pallace, all the Philosophers or Magicians remaine for certaine howers, and doe attend vpon points or characters: and when the point and hower which the sayd Philosophers expected for, is come, a certaine crier crieth out with a loud voyce, saying, Incline or bowe your selues before your Emperour: with that all the Barons fall flat vpon the earth. Then hee crieth out againe; Arise all, and immediately they all arise. Likewise the Philosophers attend vpon a point or character the second time, and when it is

fulfilled, the crier crieth out amaine; Put your fingers in your eares: and foorthwith againe he saieth; Plucke them out. Againe, at the third point he crieth, Boult this meale. Many other circumstances also doe they performe, all which they say haue some certaine signification: howbeit, neither would I write them, nor giue any heed vnto them, because they are vaine and ridiculous. And when the musicians hower is come, then the Philosophers say, Solemnize a feast vnto your Lord with that all of them sound their instruments, making a great and a melodious noyse. And immediately another crieth, Peace, peace, and they are all whist. Then come the women-musicians and sing sweetly before the Emperour, which musike was more delightfull vnto me. After them come in the lions and doe their obeisance vnto the great Can. Then the iuglers cause golden cups full of wine to flie vp and downe in the ayre, and to apply themselues vnto mens mouthes that they may drinke of them. These and many other strange things I sawe in the court of the great Can, which no man would beleeue vnlesse he had seen them with his owne eies, and therefore I omit to speake of them. I was informed also by certaine credible persons, of another miraculous thing, namely, that in a certaine kingdome of the sayd Can, wherein stand the mountains called Kapsei (the kingdomes name is Kalor) there growe great Gourds or Pompions, which being ripe, doe open at the tops, and within them is found a little beast like vnto a yong lambe, euen as I my selfe haue heard reported, that there stand certaine trees vpon the shore of the Irish sea, bearing fruit like vnto a gourd, which, at a certaine time of the yeere doe fall into the water, and become birds called Bernacles, and this is most true.

A lambe in a gourd.

Of diuers prouinces and cities.

His returne Westward.

ANd after three yeeres I departed out of the empire of Cataie, trauailing fiftie dayes iourney towards the West. And at length I came vnto the empire of Pretegoani, whose principall citie is Kosan, which hath many other cities vnder it. From thence passing many dayes

Casan.

trauell, I came vnto a prouince called Casan, which is for good commodities, one of the onely prouinces vnder the Sunne, and is very well inhabited, insomuch that when we depart out of the gates of one city we may behold the gates of another city, as I my selfe saw in diuers of them. The breadth of the sayd prouince is fifty dayes iourney, & the length aboue sixty. In it there is great plenty of all victuals, and especially of chesnuts, and it is one of the twelue prouinces of the great Can. Going on further, I came vnto a certaine kingdome called ‖ Tebek, which is in subiection vnto the great Can also, wherein I thinke there is more plenty of bread & wine then in any other part of the world besides. The people of the sayd countrey do, for the most part, inhabit in tents made of blacke felt. Their principall city is inuironed with faire and beautifull walles, being built of most white and blacke stones, which are disposed chekerwise one by another, and curiously compiled together: likewise all the high wayes in this countrey are exceedingly well paued. In the sayd countrey none dare shed the bloud of a man, or of any beast, for the reuerence of a certaine idole. In the foresayd city their Abassi, that is to say, their Pope is resident, being the head and prince of all idolaters (vpon whom he bestoweth and distributeth gifts after his maner) euen as our pope of Rome accounts himselfe to be the head of all Christians. The women of this countrey weare aboue an hundreth tricks and trifles about them, and they haue two teeth in their mouthes as long as the tushes of a boare. When any mans father deceaseth among them, his sonne assembleth together all the priests and musicians that he can get, saying that he is determined to honour his father: then causeth he him to be caried into the field (all his kinsfolks, friends, and neighbours, accompanying him in the sayd action) where the priests with great solemnity cut off the fathers head, giuing it vnto his sonne, which being done, they diuide the whole body into morsels, and so leaue it behinde them, returning home with prayers in the company of the sayd sonne. So soone as they are departed, certaine vultures, which are accustomed to such bankets, come flying from the mountaines, and cary away all the sayd morsels of flesh: and from thenceforth a fame is spread abroad, that the sayd party deceased was holy, because the angels of God carried him into

‖ Or, Thebet.

into paradise. And this is the greatest and highest honour, that the sonne can deuise to performe vnto his deceased father. Then the sayd sonne taketh his fathers head, seething it and eating the flesh thereof, but of the skull he makes a drinking cup, wherein himselfe with all his family and kinred do drinke with great solemnity and mirth, in the remembrance of his dead and deuoured father. Many other vile and abominable things doth the sayd nation commit, which I meane not to write, because men neither will nor will beleeue, except they should haue the sight of them.

The same story concerning the very same people is in William de Rubricis.

Of a certaine rich man, who is fed and nourished by fiftie virgins.

WHile I was in the prouince of Mancy, I passed by the palace of a certaine famous man, which hath fifty virgin damosels continually attending vpon him, feeding him euery meale, as a bird feeds her yoong ones. Also he hath sundry kindes of meat serued in at his table, and three dishes of ech kinde: and when the sayd virgins feed him, they sing most sweetly. This man hath in yeerely reuenues thirty thuman of tagars of rise, euery of which thuman yeeldeth tenne thousand tagars, and one tagar is the burthen of an asse.[40] His palace is two miles in circuit, the pauement whereof is one plate of golde, and another of siluer. Neere vnto the wall of the sayd palace there is a mount artificially wrought with golde and siluer, whereupon stand turrets and steeples and other delectable things for the solace and recreation of the foresayd great man. And it was tolde me that there were foure such men in the sayd kingdome. It is accounted a great grace for the men of that countrey to haue long nailes vpon their fingers, and especially vpon their thumbes, which nailes they may folde about their hands: but the grace and beauty of their women is to haue small and slender feet: and therefore the mothers when their daughters are yoong, do binde vp their feet, that they may not grow great. Trauelling on further towards the South, I arriued at a certaine countrey called Melistorie, which is a pleasant and fertile place. And in this countrey there was a certeine aged man called Senex de monte, who round about two mountaines had built a wall to inclose the sayd mountaines. Within this wall there were the fairest and most chrystall fountaines in the whole world: and about the sayd fountaines there were most beautifull virgins in great number, and goodly horses also, and in a word, euery thing that could be deuised for bodily solace and delight, and therefore the inhabitants of the countrey call the same place by the name of Paradise.

Long nailes.

Melistorie.

The sayd olde Senex, when he saw any proper and valiant yoong man, he would admit him into his paradise. Moreouer by certaine conducts he makes wine and milke to flow abundantly. This Senex, when he hath a minde to reuenge himselfe or to slay any king or baron, commandeth him that is gouernor of the sayd paradise, to bring thereunto some of the acquaintance of the sayd king or baron, permitting him a while to take his pleasure therein, and then to giue him a certaine potion being of force, to cast him into such a slumber as should make him quite voide of all sense, and so being in a profound sleepe to conuey him out of his paradise: who being awaked, & seeing himselfe thrust out of the paradise would become so sorowfull, that he could not in the world deuise what to do, or whither to turne him. Then would he goe vnto the foresaid old man, beseeching him that he might be admitted againe into his paradise: who saith vnto him, You cannot be admitted thither, vnlesse you will slay such or such a man for my sake, and if you will giue the attempt onely, whether you kill him or no, I will place you againe in paradise, that there you may remaine alwayes: then would the party without faile put the same in execution, indeuouring to murther all those against whom the sayd olde man had conceiued any hatred. And therefore all the kings of the east stood in awe of the sayd olde man, and paid vnto him great tribute.

Of the death of Senex de monte.

And when the Tartars had subdued a great part of the world, they came vnto the sayd olde man, and tooke from him the custody of his paradise: who being incensed thereat, sent abroad diuers desperate and resolute persons out of his forenamed paradise, and caused many

of the Tartarian nobles to be slaine. The Tartars seeing this, went and besieged the city wherein the said olde man was, tooke him, and put him to a most cruell and ignominious death. The friers in that place haue this speciall gift and prerogatiue: namely, that by the vertue of the name of Christ Iesu, and in the vertue of his pretious bloud, which he shedde vpon the crosse for the saluation of mankinde, they doe cast foorth deuils out of them that are possessed. And because there are many possessed men in those parts, they are bound and brought ten dayes iourney vnto the sayd friers, who being dispossessed of the vncleane spirits, do presently beleeue in Christ who deliuered them, accounting him for their God, and being baptised in his name, and also deliuering immediatly vnto the friers all their idols, and the idols of their cattell, which are commonly made of felt or of womens haire: then the sayd friers kindle a fire in a publike place (whereunto the people resort, that they may see the false gods of their neighbors burnt) and cast the sayd idols thereinto: howbeit at the first those idols came out of the fire againe. Then the friers sprinkled the sayd fire with holy water, casting the idols into it the second time, and with that the deuils fled in the likenesse of blacke smoake, and the idols still remained till they were consumed vnto ashes. Afterward, this noise & outcry was heard in the ayre: Beholde and see how I am expelled out of my habitation. And by these meanes the friers doe baptise great multitudes, who presently reuolt againe vnto their idols: insomuch that the sayd friers must eftsoones, as it were, vnderprop them, and informe them anew. There was another terrible thing which I saw there: for passing by a certaine valley, which is situate beside a pleasant riuer, I saw many dead bodies, and in the sayd valley also I heard diuers sweet sounds and harmonies of musike, especially the noise of citherns, whereat I was greatly amazed. This valley conteineth in length seuen or eight miles at the least, into the which whosoeuer entreth, dieth presently, and can by no meanes passe aliue thorow the middest thereof: for which cause all the inhabitants thereabout decline vnto the one side. Moreouer, I was tempted to go in, and to see what it was. At length, making my prayers, and recommending my selfe to God in the name of Iesu, I entred, and saw such swarmes of dead bodies there, as no man would beleeue vnlesse he were an eye witnesse thereof. At the one side of the foresayd valley vpon a certaine stone, I saw the visage of a man, which beheld me with such a terrible aspect, that I thought verily I should haue died in the same place. But alwayes this sentence, The word became flesh, and dwelt amongst vs, I ceased not to pronounce, signing my selfe with the signe of the crosse, and neerer then seuen or eight paces I durst not approch vnto the said head: but I departed & fled vnto another place in the sayd valley, ascending vp into a little sande mountaine, where looking round about, I saw nothing but the sayd citherns, which me thought I heard miraculously sounding and playing by themselues without the helpe of musicians. And being vpon the toppe of the mountaine, I found siluer there like the scales of fishes in great abundance: and I gathered some part thereof into my bosome to shew for a wonder, but my conscience rebuking me, I cast it vpon the earth, reseruing no whit at all vnto my selfe, and so, by Gods grace I departed without danger. And when the men of the countrey knew that I was returned out of the valley aliue, they reuerenced me much, saying that I was baptised and holy, and that the foresayd bodies were men subiect vnto the deuils infernall, who vsed to play vpon citherns, to the end they might allure people to enter, and so murther them. Thus much concerning those things which I beheld most certainely with mine eyes, I frier Odoricus haue heere written: many strange things also I haue of purpose omitted, because men will not beleeue them vnlesse they should see them.

Of the honour and reuerence done vnto the great Can.

I Will report one thing more, which I saw concerning the great Can. It is an vsuall custome in those parts, that when the foresayd Can trauileth thorow any countrey, his subiects kindle fires before their doores, casting spices thereinto to make a perfume, that their lord passing by may smell the sweet and delectable odours thereof, and much people come forth to meet him. And vpon a certaine time when he was comming towardes Cambaleth, the fame of his approch being published, a bishop of ours with certaine of our minorite friers and my selfe went

went two dayes iourney to meet him: and being come nigh vnto him, we put a crosse vpon wood, I my selfe hauing a censer in my hand, and began to sing with a loud voice: Veni creator spiritus. And as we were singing on this wise, he caused vs to be called, commanding vs to come vnto him: notwithstanding (as it is aboue mentioned) that no man dare aproch within a stones cast of his chariot, vnlesse he be called, but such onely as keepe his chariot. And when we came neere vnto him, he vailed his hat or bonet being of an inestimable price, doing reuerence vnto the crosse. And immediatly I put incense into the censer, and our bishop taking the censer perfumed him, and gaue him his benediction. Moreouer, they that come before the sayd Can do alwayes bring some oblation to present vnto him, obseruing the antient law: Thou shalt not appeare in my presence with an empty hand. And for that cause we carried apples with vs, and offered them in a platter with reuerence vnto him: and taking out two of them he did eat some part of one. And then he signified vnto vs, that we should go apart, least the horses comming on might in ought offend vs. With that we departed from him, and turned aside, going vnto certaine of his barons, which had bene conuerted to the faith by certaine friers of our order, being at the same time in his army: and we offered vnto them of the foresayd apples, who receiued them at our hands with great ioy, seeming vnto vs to be as glad, as if we had giuen them some great gift.

All the premisses aboue written frier William de Solanga hath put downe in writing euen as the foresayd frier Odoricus vttered them by word of mouth, in the yeere of our Lord 1330. in the moneth of May, and in the place of S. Anthony of Padua. Neither did he regard to write them in difficult Latine or in an eloquent stile, but euen as Odoricus himselfe rehearsed them, to the end that men might the more easily vnderstand the things reported. I frier Odoricus of Friuli, of a certaine territory called Portus Vahonis, and of the order of the minorites, do testifie and beare witnesse vnto the reuerend father Guidotus minister of the prouince of S. Anthony, in the marquesate of Treuiso (being by him required vpon mine obedience so to doe) that all the premisses aboue written, either I saw with mine owne eyes, or heard the same reported by credible and substantiall persons. The common report also of the countreyes where I was, testifieth those things, which I saw, to be true. Many other things I haue omitted, because I beheld them not with mine owne eyes. Howbeit from day to day I purpose with my selfe to trauell countreyes or lands, in which action I dispose myselfe to die or to liue, as it shall please my God.

Of the death of frier Odoricus.

IN the yeere therefore of our Lord 1331 the foresayd frier Odoricus preparing himselfe for the performance of his intended iourney, that his trauel and labour might be to greater purpose, he determined to present himselfe vnto Pope Iohn the two and twentieth, whose benediction and obedience being receiued, he with a certaine number of friers willing to beare him company, might conuey himselfe vnto all the countreyes of infidels. And as he was trauelling towards the pope, and not farre distant from the city of Pisa, there meets him by the way a certaine olde man, in the habit and attire of a pilgrime, saluting him by name, and saying: All haile frier Odoricus. And when the frier demaunded how he had knowledge of him: he answered: Whilest you were in India I knew you full well, yea, and I knew your holy purpose also: but see that you returne immediatly vnto the couen from whence you came, for tenne dayes hence you shall depart out of this present world. Wherefore being astonished and amazed at these wordes (especially the olde man vanishing out of his sight, presently after he had spoken them) he determined to returne. And so he returned in perfect health, feeling no crazednesse nor infirmity of body. And being in his couen at Vdene in the prouince of Padua, the tenth day after the foresayd vision, hauing receiued the Communion, and preparing himselfe vnto God, yea, being strong and sound of body, hee happily rested in the Lord; whose sacred departure was signified vnto the Pope aforesaid, vnder the hand of the publique notary in these words following.

In the yeere of our Lord 1331, the 14. day of Ianuarie, Beatus Odoricus a Frier minorite deceased

deceased in Christ, at whose prayers God shewed many and sundry miracles, which I Guetelus publique notarie of Vtina, sonne of M. Damianus de Porto Gruaro, at the commandement and direction of the honorable Conradus of the Borough of Gastaldion, and one of the Councell of Vtina, haue written as faithfully as I could, and haue deliuered a copie thereof vnto the Friers minorites: howbeit not of all, because they are innumerable, and too difficult for me to write.

The voyage of Matthew Gourney, a most valiant English Knight, against the Moores of Algier in Barbarie and Spaine. M. Camden pag. 159.

NEc tacendum Matthæum Gourney in oppido quodam, vulgari lingua Stoke vnder Hamdon in comitatu Somersetensi appellato, sepultum esse, virum bellicosissimum regnante Edwardo tertio: qui 96. ætatis anno diem obiuit, cum (vt ex inscriptione videre licuit) obsidioni d' Algizer contra Saracenos, prælijs Benamazin, Sclusensi, Cressiaco, Ingenos, Pictauiensi, & Nazarano in Hispania dimicasset.

The same in English.

In the reigne of Edward the third. IT is by no meanes to be passed ouer in silence, that Matthew Gourney, being a most valiant warriour in the reigne of Edward the third, lyeth buried at a certaine towne, in the countie of Somerset, commonly called Stoke vnder Hamden: who deceased in the 96. yeare of his age; and that (as it is manifest by the inscription of his monument) after he had valiantly behaued himselfe at the siege of Algizer against the Sarazens, and at the battailes of Benamazin, of Sluce, of Cressie, of Ingenos, of Poicton, and of Nazaran in Spaine.

The comming of Lyon King of Armenia into England, in the yeere 1386, and in the ninth yeere of Richard the second, in trust to finde some meanes of peace or good agreement betweene the King of England and the French king. Iohn Proyssart lib. 3. cap. 56.

THus in abiding for the Duke of Berrie, and for the Constable, who were behind, then king Lyon of Armenia, who was in France, and had assigned him by the king, sixe thousande frankes by the yeare to maintaine his estate, tooke vpon him for a good intent to goe into England to speake with the king there and his Councell, to see if he might finde any matter of peace to be had, betweene the two Realmes, England and France: And so he departed from his lodging of Saint Albeyne beside Saint Denice, alonely with his owne company, and with no great apparell. So he rode to Boloine, and there he tooke a shippe, and so sayled foorth till he came to Douer; and there he found the Earle of Cambridge, and the Earle of Buckingham, and moe then a hundreth men of armes, and a two thousand Archers, who lay there to keepe that passage, for the brute ran, that the Frenchmen should lande there or at Sandwich, and the king lay at London, and part of his Councell with him, and daily heard tydings from all the Portes of England. When the king of Armenia was arriued at Douer, he had there good cheere, because he was a stranger, and so he came to the kings vncles there, who sweetly receiued him, and at a time conuenient, they demaunded of him from whence he came and whither he would. The king answered and sayd, that in trust of goodnesse he was come thither to see the king of England, and his Councell, to treate of peace betweene England and France, for he saide that he thought the warre was not meete: for he sayd, by reason of warre betweene these two Realmes, which hath indured so long, the Saracens, Iewes & Turkes are waxed proude, for there is none that make them any warre, and by occasion thereof I haue lost my land and Realme, and am not like to recouer them againe without there were firme peace in all Christendome: & I would gladly shew the matter that toucheth all Christendome to the king of England, and to his Councell, as I haue done to the French king. Then the kings Vncles demaunded of him if the French king sent him thither or no; he answered and sayd, no: there is no man that sent mee, but I am come hither by mine owne motion to see if the king of England & his Councel would any thing leane to any treaty of peace, then was he demaunded where the French king was, he answered I beleeue he be at Sluce, I sawe not him

him sithence I tooke my leaue of him at Senlize. Then he was demaunded, howe he could make any treatie of peace, and had no charge so to doe, and Sir, if yee be conueyed to the King our Nephew and to his Counsell, and the French King in the meane season enter with his puissance into England; yet may happe thereby to receiue great blame, and your person to be in great ieoperdy with the men of the Countrey. Then the King answered and said, I am in suretie of the French king, for I haue sent to him, desiring him till I returne againe, not to remoue from Sluce, and I repute him so noble and so well aduised, that he will graunt my desire, and that hee will not enter into the sea, till I come againe to him. Wherefore, sirs, I pray you in the instance of loue and peace, to conuey me to speake with the King, for I desire greatly to see him: or else yee that be his Vncles, if ye haue authoritie, to giue me answere to all my demaunds. Then the Earle of Buckingham sayd, syr king of Armenia, we be ordayned here to keepe and defend this passage, and the frontiers of England, by the King and his Counsell, and wee haue no charge to meddle any further with the businesse of the Realme, without we be otherwise commanded by the King. But sith ye be come for a good intent into this Countrey, ye be right welcome; but sir, as for any firme answere ye can haue none of vs, for as now we be not of the Councell, but we shall conuey you to the king without perill or danger. The king thanked them, and said: I desire nothing else but to see the king and to speake with him.

How the King of Armenia returned out of England, and of the answere that was made to him.

WHen the king of Armenia was refreshed at Douer a day, and had spoken with the kings Vncles at good leasure, then he departed towards London, with a good conduct that the Lords appointed to him, for feare of any recounters: so long he rode that he came to London, and in his ryding through London he was well regarded, because he was a stranger, and he had good cheare made him and so was brought to the king, who lay at the Royall at the Queenes wardrobe, and his Councell were in London at their lodgings: The Londoners were sore fortefying of their citie. When the comming of the king of Armenia was knowen, the kings Councell drew to the King to heare what tydings the King brought in that troublous season: When the king of Armenia was come into the kings presence, he made his salutation and then beganne his processe to the states, how he was come out of France principally to see the king of England who he had neuer seene before, & said, how he was right ioyous to be in his presence, trusting that some goodnesse might come thereby. And there he shewed by his words, that to withstande the great pestilence that was likely to be in England; therefore he was come of his owne good will to doe good therein if he might, not sent from the French king, willing to set some accorde and peace betweene the two Realmes England and France. Many faire pleasant words the king of Armenia spake to the king of England, and to his Counsell, then he was shortly answered thus: Syr king, ye be welcome into this Realme, for the king our Soueraine hath not here all his Councell, but shortly they shall be here, and then ye shall be answered. The king of Armenia was content therewith, and so returned to his lodging. Within foure dayes after the king was counselled (and I thinke he had sent to his Vncles to know their intents, but they were not present at the answere giuing) to goe to the pallace at Westminster and his Councell with him, such as were about him, and to send for the king of Armenia to come thither. And when he was come into the presence of the king of England and his Councell, the king sate downe, and the king of Armenia by him, and then the Prelates and other of his Councell. There the king of Armenia rehearsed againe his requestes that he made, and also shewed wisely how all Christendome was sore decayed and feeblished by occasion of the warres betweene England and France. And how that all the knights and Squires of both Realmes entended nothing else, but alwayes to be on the one part or of the other: whereby the Empire of Constantinople leeseth, and is like to leese; for before this warre the Knights and Squires were wont to aduenture themselues. And also the king of Armenia shewed that by occasion of this warre he had lost his Realme of Armenia, therefore he desired

sired for Gods sake that there might be some treaty of peace had betweene the two Realmes England and France. To these wordes answered the Archbishop of Canterburie, for he had charge so to doe; And he sayd, Sir king of Armenia, it is not the manner nor neuer was seene betweene two such enemies as the king of England and the French king, that the King my Soureigne lorde should be required of peace, and he to enter his land with a puissant army, wherefore sir, we say to you, that if it please you, ye may returne to the French king, and cause him and all his puissance to returne backe into their owne countreys. And when euery man be at home, then if it please you ye may returne againe hither, and then we shall gladly intende to your treatie.

This was all the answere the king of Armenia could get there, and so he dined with the king of England, and had as great honour as could bee deuised, and the king offered him many great gifts of golde and siluer, but he would take none though he had neede thereof, but alonely a ring to the value of a hundreth Frankes. After dinner he tooke his leaue and returned vnto his lodging, and the next day departed, and was two days at Douer, and there he tooke his leaue of such lords as were there, and so tooke the sea in a passager, and arriued at Calais and from thence went to Sluce, and there he spake with the French king and with his Vncles, and shewed them how he had bene in England, and what answere he had: the French king and his Vncles tooke no regard of his saying, but sent him backe againe into France, for their full intention was to enter into England as soone as they might haue winde and weather, and the Duke of Berrie and the Constable came to them: The winde was sore contrary to them, for therewith they could neuer enter into England but the winde was good to goe into Scotland.

The voyage of Henrie Earle of Derbie, after Duke of Hereford, and lastly Henry the fourth king of England, to Tunis in Barbarie, with an army of Englishmen written by Polidore Virgill. pag. 1389.

FRanci interim per inducias nacti ocium, ac simul Genuensium precibus defatigati, bellum in Afros, qui omnem oram insulásque Italiæ latrocinijs infestas reddebant, suscipiunt. Richardus quoque rex Angliæ rogatus auxilium, mittit Henricum comitem Derbiensem cum electa Anglicæ pubis manu ad id bellum faciendum. Igitur Franci Anglíque viribus & animis consociatis in Africâ traijciunt, qui vbi littus attigêre, eatenùs à Barbaris descẽsione prohibiti sunt, quoad Anglorum sagittariorum virtute factum est, vt aditus pateret: in terram egressi recta Tunetam vrbem regiam petunt, ac obsident. Barbari timore affecti de pace ad eos legatos mittunt, quam nostris dare placuit, vt soluta certa pecuniæ summa ab omni deinceps Italiæ, Galliæque ora manus abstinerent. Ita peractis rebus post paucos menses, quàm eo itum erat, domum repediatum est.

The same in English.

THe French in the meane season hauing gotten some leasure by meanes of their truce, and being sollicited and vrged by the intreaties of the Genuois vndertooke to wage warre against the Moores, who robbed and spoyled all the coasts of Italy, and of the Iles adiacent. Likewise Richard the second, king of England, being sued vnto for ayde, sent Henry the Earle of Derbie with a choice armie of English souldiers vnto the same warfare. Wherefore the English and French, with forces and mindes vnited, sayled ouer into Africa, who when they approched vnto the shore were repelled by the Barbarians from landing, vntill such time as they had passage made them by the valour of the English archers. Thus hauing landed their forces, they foorthwith marched vnto the royall citie of Tunis, and besieged it. Whereat the Barbarians being dismayed, sent Ambassadours vnto our Christian Chieftaines to treat of peace, which our men graunted vnto them, vpon condition that they should pay a certaine summe of money, and that they should from thencefoorth abstaine from piracies vpon all the coasts of Italy and France. And so hauing dispatched their businesse, within a fewe moneths after their departure they returned home.

This

This Historie is somewhat otherwise recorded by Froysard and Holenshed in manner following, pag. 473.

IN the thirteenth yeere of the reigne of king Richard the second, the Christians tooke in hand a iourney against the Saracens of Barbarie through sute of the Genouois, so that there went a great number of Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen of France and England, the Duke of Burbon being their Generall. Out of England there went Iohn de Beaufort bastarde sonne to the Duke of Lancaster (as Froysard hath noted) also Sir Iohn Russell, Sir Iohn Butler, Sir Iohn Harecourt and others. They set forwarde in the latter ende of the thirteenth yeere of the Kings reigne, and came to Genoa, where they remayned not verie long, but that the gallies and other vessels of the Genouois were ready to passe them ouer into Barbarie. And so about midsomer in the begining of the foureteenth yere of this kings reigne the whole army being embarked, sailed forth to the coast of Barbary, where neere to the city of Africa they landed: at which instant the English archers (as the Chronicles of Genoa write) stood all the company in good stead with their long bowes, beating backe the enemies from the shore, which came downe to resist their landing. After they had got to land, they inuironed the city of Africa (called by the Moores Mahdia) with a strong siege: but at length, constrained with the intemperancy of the scalding ayre in that hot countrey, breeding in the army sundry diseases, they fell to a composition vpon certaine articles to be performed in the behalfe of the Saracens: and so 61 dayes after their arriuall there they tooke the seas againe, and returned home, as in the histories of France and Genoa is likewise expressed. Where, by Polidore Virgil it may seeme, that the lord Henry of Lancaster earle of Derbie should be generall of the English men, that (as before you heard) went into Barbary with the French men and Genouois. The Chronicles of Genoa

The memorable victories in diuers parts of Italie of Iohn Hawkwood English man in the reigne of Richard the second, briefly recorded by M. Camden, pag. 339.

AD alteram ripam fluuij Colne oppositus est Sibble Heningham, locus natalis, vt accepi, Ioannis Hawkwoodi (Itali Aucuthum corruptè vocant) quem illi tantopere ob virtutem militarem suspexerunt, vt Senatus Florentinus propter insignia merita equestri statua & tumuli honore in eximiæ fortitudinis, fideique testimonium ornauit. Res eius gestas Itali pleno ore prædicant; Et Paulus Iouius in elogijs celebrat: sat mihi sit Iulij Feroldi tetrastichon adijcere.

Hawkwoode Anglorum decus, & decus addite genti
Italicæ, Italico presidiúmq; solo,
Vt tumuli quondam Florentia, sic simulachri
Virtutem Iouius donat honore tuam.

William Thomas in his Historie of the common wealthes of Italy, maketh honorable mention of him twise, to wit, in the commonwealth of Florentia and Ferrara.

The voyage of the Lord Iohn of Holland, Earle of Huntington, brother by the mothers side to King Richard the second, to Ierusalem and Saint Katherins mount.

The Lord Iohn of Holland, Earle of Huntington, was as then on his way to Ierusalem, and to Saint Katherins mount, and purposed to returne by the Realme of Hungarie. For as he passed through France (where he had great cheere of the King, and of his brother and vncles) hee heard how the king of Hungary and the great Turke should haue battell together: therefore he thought surely to be at that iourney. 1394. Froysart.

The voiage of Thomas lord Moubray duke of Norfolke to Ierusalem, in the yeere of our Lord 1399. written by Holinshed, pag. 1233.

THomas lord Moubray, second sonne of Elizabeth Segraue and Iohn lord Moubray her husband, was aduanced to the dukedome of Norfolke in the 21. yeere of y reigne of Richard the 2. Shortly after which, hee was appealed by Henry earle of Bullingbroke of treason; and caried to the castle of Windsore, where he was strongly & safely garded, hauing a time of combate granted to determine the cause betweene the two dukes, the 16. dav of September, in

in the 22. of the sayd king, being the yeere of our redemption 1398. But in the end the matter was so ordered, that this duke of Norfolke was banished for euer: whereupon taking his iourney to Ierusalem, he died at Venice in his returne from the said citie of Ierusalem, in the first yeere of King Henry the 4. about the yeere of our redemption, 1399.

The comming of the Emperor of Constantinople into England, to desire the aide of Henry the 4. against the Turkes, 1400.

Thomas Walsingham.

SVb eodem tempore Imperator Constantinopolitanus venit in Angliam, postulaturus subsidium contra Turcas. Cui occurrit rex cum apparatu nobili ad le Blackheath, die Sancti Thomæ Apostilo, susceptúque, prout decuit, tantum Heroem, duxítq; Londonias, & per multos dies exhibuit gloriosè, pro expensis hospitij sui soluens, & eum respiciens tanto fastigio donatiuis. Et paulò post: His auditis rumoribus, Imperator lætior recessit ab Anglis, honoratus à rege donarijs preciosis.

The same in English.

ABout the same time the emperor of Constantinople came into England, to seeke ayde against the Turkes: whom ỳ king accompanied with his nobilitie, met withalf vpon Blackheath vpon the day of saint Thomas the Apostle, and receiued him as beseemed so great a prince, and brought him to London, and roially entertained him for a long season, defraying the charges of his diet, and giuing him many honorable presents.» And a litle afterward: Vpon the hearing of these newes, the emperor departed with great ioy out of England, whom the king honoured with many precious gifts.

The Voiage of the bishop of Winchester to Ierusalem, in the sixt yeere of the reigne of Henry the fift, which was the yeere of our Lord, 1417. Thomas Walsing.

VLtimo die mensis Octobris, episcopus Wintoniensis accessit ad concilium Constanciense, peregrinaturus Hierosolymam post electionẽ summi pontificis celebratam, vbi tantum valuit eius facunda persuasio, vt & excitaret dominos Cardinales ad concordiam, & ad electionem summi pontificis se ocyùs præpararent.

The same in English.

THe last day of October the bishop of Winchester came to the Councell of Constance, which after the chusing of the Pope determined to take his iourney to Ierusalem: where his eloquent perswasion so much preuailed, that he both perswaded my lords the Cardinals to vnity and concord, and also moued them to proceed more speedily to the election of the Pope.

A preparation of a voyage of King Henrie the fourth to the Holy land against the infidels in the yere 1413, being the last yere of his reigne: wherein he was preuented by death: written by Walsingham, Fabian, Polydore Virgile, and Holenshed.

Order taken for building of ships and galies.

IN this foureteenth and last yere of king Henries reigne a councell was holden in the White friers in London, at the which among other things, order was taken for ships and galies to be builded and made ready, and all other things necessary to be prouided for a voyage, which he meant to make into the Holy land, there to recouer the city of Ierusalem from the infidels: for it grieued him to consider the great malice of Christian princes, that were bent vpon a mischieuous purpose to destroy one another, to the perill of their owne soules, rather then to make warre against the enemies of the Christian faith, as in conscience, it seemed to him, they were bound. We finde, sayeth Fabian in his Chronicle, that he was taken with his last sickenesse, while he was making his prayers at Saint Edwards shrine, there as it were, to take his leaue, and so to proceede foorth on his iourney. He was so suddenly and grieuously taken, that such as were about him feared least he would haue died presently:

sently: wherefore to relieue him, if it were possible, they bare him into a chamber that was next at hand, belonging to the Abbot of Westminster, where they layd him on a pallet before the fire, and vsed all remedies to reuiue him. At length he recouered his speech, and perceiuing himselfe in a strange place which he knew not, he willed to knowe if the chamber had any particular name, whereunto answere was made, that it was called Ierusalem. Then sayde the king, Laudes be giuen to the father of heauen: for now I knowe that I shall die here in this chamber, according to the prophesie of mee declared, that I should depart this life in Ierusalem.

Of this intended voyage Polydore Virgile writeth in manner following:

POst hæc Henricus Rex memor nihil homini debere esse antiquius, quàm ad officium iustitiæ, quæ ad hominum vtilitatem pertinet, omne suum studium conferre, protinùs omisso ciuili bello, quo pudebat videre Christianos omni tempore turpitèr occupari, de republica Anglica benè gubernanda, de bello in hostes communes sumendo, de Hierosolymis tandem aliquando recipiendis plura destinabat, classémque iam parabat, cum ei talia agenti atque meditanti casus mortem attulit: subito enim morbo tentatus, nulla medicina subleuari potuit. Mortuus est apud Westmonasterium, annum agens quadragesimum sextum, qui fuit annus salutis humanæ, 1413.

The same in English.

AFterward, King Henry calling to minde, that nothing ought to be more highly esteemed by any man, then to doe the vtmost of his indeuour for the performance of iustice, which tendeth to the good and benefite of mankinde; altogether abandoning ciuill warre (wherewith he was ashamed to see, how Christians at all times were dishonourably busied) entered into a more deepe consideration of well gouerning his Realme of England, of waging warre against the common enemie, and of recouering, in processe of time, the citie of Ierusalem, yea, and was prouiding a nauie for the same purpose, whenas in the very midst of this his heroicall action and enterprise, he was surprised with death: for falling into a sudden disease, he could not be cured by any kinde of physicke. He deceased at Westminster in the 46 yeare of his age, which was in the yeere of our Lord, 1413.

A briefe relation of the siege and taking of the Citie of Rhodes, by Sultan Soliman the great Turke, translated out of French into English at the motion of the Reuerend Lord Thomas Dockwray, great Prior of the order of Ierusalem in England, in the yeere, 1524.

Willing faithfully to write and reduce in veritie Historiall, the great siege, cruel oppugnation, and piteous taking of the noble and renowmed citie of Rhodes, the key of Christendome, the hope of many poore Christian men, withholden in Turkie to saue and keepe them in their faith: the rest and yeerely solace of noble pilgrimes of the holy sepulchre of Iesu Christ and other holy places: the refuge and refreshing of all Christian people: hauing course of marchandise in the parties of Leuant, I promise to all estates that shall see this present booke, that I haue left nothing for feare of any person, nor preferred it for fauour. And first I shall shewe the occasions that moued this cruell bloodshedder, enemie of our holy Christian faith, Sultan Soliman, now being great Turke, to come with a great hoste by sea and by lande, to besiege and assayle the space of sixe moneths, night and day, the noble and mightie citie of Rhodes, The yere of the incarnation of our Lord Iesu Christ, 1522.

The occasions why the great Turke came to besiege the Citie of Rhodes.

THe first and principall cause was that he did consider and sawe by experience, that there was none other Towne nor place in Leuant that warred against him nor kept him in doubt, but this poore rocke of Rhodes. And hearing that continuall complaintes of his subiectes as

well of Syria, as of Turkie, for the domages and prises dayly done of their bodies and goods by Christian men of warre receiued into Rhodes: And also of the shippes and gallies of the religion, he tooke conclusion in himselfe, that if he might put the sayde Towne in his power and subiection, that then he should be peaceable lord of all the parties of Leuant, and that his subiects should complaine no more to him.

The second, that he might followe the doings of his noble predecessours, and shewe himselfe very heire of the mightie and victorious lord Sultan Selim his father, willing to put in execution the enterprise by him left the yeere one thousand fiue hundred twentie and one. The which Selim the great Turke put in all redinesse his armie to the number of three hundreth sayles purposing for to send them against Rhodes, if mortalitie had not happened in his host, and he afterwarde by the will of our lorde was surprised and taken with death: wherefore he being in the latter ende of his dayes, (as some Turkes and false christian men that were at this siege shewed me) did charge by his testament, or caused to charge his sonne now being great Turke, that after his death hee should make his two first enterprises, the one against Bellegrado in Hungarie, and the other against Rhodes, for to get him honour, and to set his Countries and subiectes in rest and suretie. The which fatherly motion easilie entered into him and was imprinted in the heart and yoong will of the sayde Solyman, his sonne, the which soone after the death of his father put in effect the first enterprise, and raised an huge hoste both by water and by land, and went himselfe in person against Bellegrado, a right strong place in Hungarie. And after that hee had besieged it the space of two moneths or thereabout, for fault of ordinance and vitailes, it was yeelded to him by composition the eight day of September, in the yeere of our lord, one thousand fiue hundred twentie and one. The sayd Solyman hauing this victory, being swollen and raised in pride and vaineglory, turned his heart agaynst Rhodes. Neuerthelesse, he not ignorant of the strength of it, and considering the qualities of the people that were within it, of whom he should be well receiued as his predecessours had bene aforetimes, doubted much, and knew not how to furnish his enterprise. For his capitaines and Bashas turned him from it as much as they might by many reasons, they knowing the force of it, saue onely Mustofa Basha his brother in lawe, the which councelled and put him in minde to goe thither. Finally, hee purposed entirely to haue it by treason or by force. And also for the same cause and purpose, his father in his dayes had sent a Iewe physician into Rhodes as a spie, to haue the better knowledge of it: the sayd Solyman was informed that he was there yet, wherfore he sent him worde that he should abide there still for the same cause. And gaue in charge to one of the chiefe men in Sio, to send vnto the sayd Iewe all things needefull to maintaine him. And the same Iewe wrote to him of Sio, vnder priuie wordes, all that was done in Rhodes to giue knowledge thereof to the great Turke: and the better to hide his treason, the sayde Iewe made himselfe to bee baptised. And to bee the more named to be expert in Physike, he did some faire cures to such as were diseased, whereby he began to bee well trusted, and came in fauour with many substantiall folkes of the towne. Among all other things whereof hee aduertised the great Turke, one was of a wall that was taken downe for to be new builded at the bulwarke of Auuergne, certifying him that if hee came hastely with his hoste, hee might easilie and at vnawares surprise the towne in such estate as it was at that time. Many other aduertisements and warnings hee shewed the Turke, which shall bee declared hereafter. But beside his aduertisement, the sayd great Turke stirred and prouoked by a false traitour, a Portingale knight of ours, that time Chanceller of the sayd holy Religion, a man of great authoritie, dignitie, and vnderstanding, and one of the principall lordes of the counsell of the same, named Sir Andrew de Merall, by little and little was mooued and kindled to the sayd enterprise of treason, whereof was no marueil, for it was a great hope and comfort to haue such a person for him, that knew all the estate and rule of the religion and of the towne. And for to declare the occasions of the cursed and vnhappy will of the said traitor that had bene occasion of so great losse and damage, and shall be more at the length, if the diuine power set not to his hand.

The taking of Belgrade.

Feyned physicians become spies aforetimes.

A Portingale traitour.

And

And here it is manifestly to bee vnderstood of all men, that after the death of the noble and right prudent lord, Fabrice of Cacetto, great master of Rhodes, the sayd Sir Andrew enflamed with ambition and couetousnesse to bee great master, and seeing himselfe deceiued of his hope, by the election made the two and twentieth day of Ianuary, of the right reuerend and illustrate lord, Philip de Villiers Lisleadam, before him: from that time hee tooke so great enuie and desperation, enmitie and euil will, not onely against the sayde lord, but against all the holy religion, that hee set all his studie and purpose, to betray and sell his religion and the citie of Rhodes to the cursed misbeleeuers, forgetting the great honours and goodnesse that hee hath had of the religion, and hoped to receiue, with many other particuler pleasures that the sayd lord master had done to him. But the deuill, vnkindnesse, and wickednesse had so blinded the eyes of his thought, that hee in no wise could refraine him, but at euery purpose that was spoken afore him, hee was short and might not dissemble. And one day among other hee sayde before many knights, that hee would that his soule were at the deuill, and that Rhodes and the religion were lost. And many other foolish and dishonest purposes and wordes hee vttered, whereat none tooke heed, nor thought that hee had the courage to doe that thing that hee hath done. Howbeit, obstinate as Iudas, hee put in execution his cursed will: for soone after that the tidings of the election was sent Westward to the sayde noble lord, the sayd de Merall did send a Turke prisoner of his to Constantinople, vnder shadowe to fetch his ransome. By whom hee aduertised the great Turke and his counsell, of the maner and degree of Rhodes, and in what state and condicion the towne was in of all maner of things at that time, and what might happen of it, prouoking and stirring him to come with a great hoste to besiege the towne. And after the comming of the sayd renerend lord great master, he gaue other aduise to the great Turke, shewing him that hee could neuer haue better time to come, seeing that the great master was new come, and part of the wall taken downe, and that all Rhodes was in trouble by occasion of some Italian knights, rebels agaynst the lord great master: of the which rebellion he was causer, the better to bring his cursed mind to passe: and also gaue the sayde great Turke knowledge that all Christian princes were busie, warring each vpon other, and that he should not doubt but if the rebellion lasted among them, the towne should be his without faile, as it is seene by experience. And for lacke of succours of euery part, and especially of such as might easily haue holpen vs beyng our neighbours, with their gallies and men of warre, wherefore it is now in the handes of the enemies of the christian faith. The which monitions and reasons of the false traitor being vnderstood and pondered by the great Turke and his counsell, it was considered of them not to loose so good occasion and time. Wherefore hee made most extreme diligence to rigge and apparell many ships & vessels of diuers sorts, as galliasses, gallies, palandres, fustes, and brigantines, to the number of 350. sailes and moe.

Philip de Villiers great master.

When the prisoner that the sayd de Merall did send into Turkie had done his commission, hee returned into Rhodes, whereof euery man had maruell. And many folkes deemed euil of his comming againe, as of a thing vnaccustomed, but none durst say any thing, seeing the sayd de Merall of so great authoritie and dignitie, and he cherished the sayd prisoner more then he was woont to doe. Therefore belike hee had well done his message, and had brought good tidings to the damnable and shamefull mind of the sayd traitor de Merall.

How the great Turke caused the passages to be kept, that none should beare tidings of his hoste to Rhodes.

THe great Turke intending with great diligence to make readie his hoste both by sea and by land, the better to come to his purpose, and to take the towne vnwarily as hee was aduertised, thought to keepe his doings as secret as hee might, and commaunded that none of his subiects should goe to Rhodes for any maner of thing. And likewise he tooke all the barkes and brigantines out of the hauens and portes in those coastes, because they should giue no knowledge of his armie. And also hee made the passages by land to bee kept, that none should passe. Howbeit, so great apparell of an armie could not bee long kept close: for the spies which the lord great master had sent into Turkie, brought tidings to the castle of saint Peter, and

to

to Rhodes, of all that was sayd and done in Turkie. Neuerthelesse, the sayd lord gaue no great credence to all that was brought and told, because that many yeeres before, the predecessours of the great Turke had made great armies: and alway it was sayd that they went to Rhodes, the which came to none effect. And it was holden for a mocke and a by-word in many places, that the Turke would goe to besiege Rhodes. And for this reason doubt was had of this last armie, and some thought that it should haue gone into Cyprus or to Cataro, a land of the lordship of Venice. Howbeit the great master not willing to bee taken vnwarily, but the meane while as carefull and diligent for the wealth of his towne, & his people, vnderstanding these tidings of the Turkes armie, did all his diligence to repaire and strengthen the towne. Amongst all other things to build vp, and raise the bulwarke of Auuergne, and to cleanse and make deeper the ditches. And the more to cause the workemen to haste them in their businesse, the sayd lord ouersawe them twise or thrise euery day.

How the lord great master counselled with the lordes for prouision for the towne.

THen the sayd reuerend lord thought to furnish and store the towne with more vitailes for the sustenance thereof, and for the same many times hee spake with the lordes that had the handling and rule of the treasurie, and of the expenses thereof in his absence, and since his comming: That is to wit, with the great Commander Gabriel de pommerolles, lieutenant of the sayd lord: The Turcoplier Sir Iohn Bourgh of the English nation: and the Chancellor Sir Andrew de Meral, of whom is spoken afore, and of his vntruth agaynst his religion. The which three lordes sayd, that hee should take no thought for it, for the towne was well stored with vitailes for a great while, and that there was wheate ynough till new came in: Notwithstanding it were good to haue more, or the siege were laied afore the towne, and therefore it were behouesfull to send for wheate and other necessaries into the West for succours of the towne, and at that time to puruey for euery thing.

Sir Iohn Bourgh the English Turcoplier.

Of the prouision for vitailes and ordinance of warre.

AS touching the store and ordinance of warre, the sayd lordes affirmed that there was ynough for a yeere and more, whereof the contrary was found, for it failed a moneth or the citie was yeelded. It is of trueth that there was great store, and to haue lasted longer then it did. But it was needful to spend largely at the first comming of the enemies to keepe them from comming neere, and from bringing earth to the ditches sides as they did. And moreouer you are to consider the great number of them, and their power that was spred round about the towne, giuing vs so many assaults and skirmishes in so many places as they did, and by the space of sixe whole monethes day and night assailing vs, that much ordinance and store was wasted to withstand them in all points. And if it failed, it was no maruell. Howbeit the noble lord great master prouided speedily for it, and sent Brigantines to Lango, to the castle of saint Peter, and to the castels of his isle Feraclous and Lyndo, for to bring powder and saltpeter to strength the towne, but it suffised not.

And for to speake of the purueiance of vitailes, it was aduised by the lord great master and his three lords, that it was time to send some ships for wheat to places thereabout, before the Turks hoste were come thither. And for this purpose was appointed a ship named the Gallienge, whose captaine hight Brambois, otherwise called Wolfe, of the Almaine nation, an expert man of the sea, the which made so good diligence, that within a moneth he performed his voiage, and brought good store of wheat from Naples and Romania, which did vs great comfort.

How a Brigantine was sent to Candie for wine, and of diuers ships that came to helpe the towne.

AFter this, a motion was made to make prouision of wine for the towne, for the men of Candie durst not saile for to bring wine to Rhodes as they were woont to doe for feare of the Turkes hoste: and also they of the towne would send no ship into Candie, fearing to be taken and enclosed with the sayd hoste by the way. Howbeit soune merchants of the towne, were

were willing to haue aduentured themselues in a good ship of the religion, named the Mary, for to haue laden her *with* wine in Candie. But they could not agree with the three lordes of the treasure, and their let was but for a little thing: and all the cause came of the sayd traitour de Merall, faining the wealth of the treasure: for he intended another thing, and brake this good and profitable enterprise and will of the sayd merchants, seeing that it was hurtfull to the Turke, whose part the said traitour held in his diuelish heart: that notwithstanding, the reuerend lord great master, that in all things from the beginning to the ende, hath alway shewed his good will, and with all diligence and right that might bee requisite to a soueraigne captaine and head of warre, found other expedience, and sent a Brigantine into Candie, in the which he sent a brother sergeant named Anthonie of Bosus, a well sprighted man and wise, that by his wisedome wrought so well, that within a small time he brought fifteene vessels called Gripes, laden with wine, and with them men of warre the which came vnder shadow of those wines, because the gouernours of Candie durst let none of their men goe to the succour of Rhodes for feare of the Turke. And beside those fifteene Gripes came a good ship whose capitaine and owner was a rich yong gentleman Venetian, Messire Iohn Antonio de Bonaldi, which of his good will came with his ship laden with 700. buts of wine to succour the towne with his person and folkes, whose good and lowable will I leaue to the consideration of the readers of this present booke. For hee being purposed to haue had his wines to Constantinople, or he was enformed of the busines of Rhodes, and was in the porte du Castell in Candie, would not beare his vitailes to *the enemies* of the faith, but came out and returned his way toward Rhodes, forgetting all particular profite and aduantage. He being arriued at Rhodes, dispatched and sold his wine, which was a great encrease and comfort for the towne. And when he had so done, *he* presented his person, his ship, and his folke, to the reuerend great *master*, the which retained him, and set him in wages of the Religion. And during the siege, the sayd capitaine behaued him worthily *in his person, and put him*selfe in such places as worthy men ought to be, spending his goods largely without demanding any paiment or recompense for his doing, of the Religion.

How the corne was shorne downe halfe ripe and brought into the towne for feare of the Turkes hoste.

DVring these things, the reuerend lord great master carefull and busie to haue euery thing necessary, as men and other strengths, sent vessels called brigantines, for to cause the waffers of the sea to come vnto Rhodes for the keeping and fortifying of the towne, the which at the first sending came and presented their persons and ships to the seruice of the religion.

After that the sayd lord caused to shere downe the Rie of his isle, and caused it to bee brought into the towne, which was done in Aprill: and then in May in some places, he made to shere the wheate halfe ripe, howbeit the most part was left in the fields, because the Turkes hoste was come out of the streights of Coastantinople. And doubting that any number of ships should come before to take the people of the sayd Isle vnawares, the sayd lord made them to leaue shering of wheate, and caused the people of the furthest part of the Isle to come into the towne. Howest in April and May.

While that the great master prouided for all things after the course of time and tidings that hee had, there arriued a Carak of Genoa laden with spicerie from Alexandria, the which passed before the port of Rhodes the eight day of Aprill, and rid at anker at the Fosse, 7. or 8. miles from the towne, for to know and heare tidings of the Turkish hoste. Then the lord *willing to furnish him with people as most behouefull* for the towne, sent a knight of Prouence named sir Anastase de sancta Camilla, commander de la Tronquiere to *the captaine of* the Carak, praying him to come into the hauen with his ship for the defence of the towne, profering him what he would, assuring him his ship. The captaine excused him, saying, that the merchandise was not his owne, but belonged to diuers merchants to whom he must yeeld account. Howbeit at the last after many words and promises to him made, hee came into the hauen, the which captaine was named messire Domingo de Fournati, and hee in his person behaued him valiauntly in the time of the sayd siege.

How

How the great master caused generall musters to be made, and sent a vessell to the Turkes nauie, of whom he receiued a letter.

AFter the moneth of April the lord master seeing that the Turkes hoste drew neere, and that he had the most part of the wafters within the towne, he caused generall musters of men of armes to be made. And began at the knights, the which vpon holy Rood day in May made their musters before the Commissioners ordained by the sayd lord in places deputed to each of them called Aulberge. The which Commissioners made report to the lordes that they had found the knights in good order of harnesse & other things necessary for warre, & their araie faire & proper, with crosses on them. When the muster of the knights was done, the lord master thought to make the musters of them of the towne, and strangers together: but his wisedome perceiued that harme should come thereby, rather then good, doubting that the number of people should not bee so great as he would, or needed to haue, whereof the great Turke might haue knowledge by goers and commers into Rhodes, and therefore he caused them of the towne to make their musters seuerall by bandes and companies, and the strangers also by themselues, to the end that the number should not bee knowen, notwithstanding that there was good quantitie of good men and well willing to defend themselues. And the more to hearten and giue them courage and good will, some knights of the Crosse, decked their men with colours and deuises, and tooke with them men of the towne and strangers, and with great noyse of trumpets and timbrels, they made many musters, as enuying each other which should keepe best aray and order, and haue the fairest company. It was a great pleasure to see them all so well agree, and so well willing.

The number of the men of the towne amounted and were esteemed, three or foure thousand, beside men of the villages, that might be 1500. or 2000.

The eight day of the same moneth, the Turkes hearing of those tidings, made a fire for a token in a place called le Fisco, in the maine land right against Rhodes. And certaine dayes afore they had made another, that is to weet, when the ship of a knight named Menetow went thither, and had with him the clarke of the gallies named Iaques truchman, the which vnder shadow to speake with him, was withholden of the Turkes. For the great Turke had commanded to take him or some other man of the Rhodes to haue perfect knowledge in what estate the towne was then in euery thing. And they of the towne weening that the second fire was for to deliuer Iaques, the reuerend lord great master sent one of his galliasses, whose patron was called messire Boniface of Prouence, to know the cause thereof. And when hee arriued at the sayd place of le Fisco, he demaunded of the Turkes wherefore they had made the token of fire. And they said that it was because their lord had sent a letter to the great master, but as yet it was not come, and desired him to tary till it were brought. The patron as warie & wise in the businesse of the sea, thought in himselfe that the Turkes made such prolonging to some euill intent, or to surprise his vessell being alone, wherefore hee bade them giue him the letter speedily, or els he would goe his way, and neither tary for letter nor other thing: and told them of the euill and dishonest deed that they had done the dayes afore, to withhold the clarke vnder their words and safeconduct: and therewith he turned his galliasse to haue gone away. The Turkes seeing that, gaue him the letter, the which he tooke, and when he was arriued at Rhodes, he presented it to the lord great master, which assembled the lordes of his counsell, and made it to be red: The tenor whereof was such as foloweth.

The copie of the letter that the great Turke sent to the lord great master, and to the people of the Rhodes.

SVltan Solyman Basha by the grace of God, right mightie emperor of Constantinople, and of himselfe holding both the lands of Persia, Arabia, Syria, Mecha, and Ierusalem; of Asia, Europe, Ægypt, and of all the Sea, lord and possessor: To the reuerend father lord Philip, great master of Rhodes, to his counsailors, and to all the other citizens great and small, greeting. Sending conuenient and worthy salutations to your reuerences, wee giue you to weet, that

that we haue receiued your letters sent vnto our imperiall maiestie by George your seruant, the tenor whereof we doe well vnderstand; and for this occasion we send vnto you this our present commaundement, to the end that we will that ye know surely how by our sentence we will haue that Isle of Rhodes for many damages and euill deeds which we haue, and heare from day to day of the sayd place done to vs and our subiects, and ye with your good will shall hold it of vs & doe vs obeisance, and giue the citie to mine imperiall maiestie. And we sweare by God that made heauen and earth, and by 26000. of our prophets, and by the 4. Misaſi that fell from the skies, and by our first prophet Mahomet, that if ye doe vs homage, and yeeld you with good will vpon these othes, all you that will abide in the sayd place, great and small, shall not need to feare perill nor damage of mine imperiall maiestie, neither you, your goods, nor your men: and who so will goe to any other place with his goods and houshold, may so doe, and who so will dwell and inhabite in any other places vnder mine Imperiall maiestie, may remaine where they like best, without feare of any person. And if there bee any of the principals and woorthy men among you that is so disposed, wee shall giue him wages and prouision greater then hee hath had. And if any of you will abide in the sayd isle, yee may so doe after your auncient vsages and customes, and much better. And therefore if that yee will accept these our othes and intreatings, send vnto vs a man with your letters to mine Imperiall maiestie, or els know yee that wee will come vpon you with all prouisions of warre, and thereof shall come as it pleaseth God. And this wee doe, to the end that ye may know, and that ye may not say, but we haue giuen you warning. And if ye doe not thus with your good will, wee shall vault and vndermine your foundations in such maner, that they shalbe torne vpside downe, and shall make you slaues, and cause you to die, by the grace of God, as we haue done many, and hereof haue ye no doubt. Written in our court at Constantinople the first day of the moneth of Iune.

How the Turkes came to land in the Isle of Lango, and were driuen to their ships againe by the Prior of S. Giles.

WHen the lord great master and his counsell had heard the tenor of the letter, they would giue none answere to the great Turke, but that he should be receiued with good strokes of artillerie. So that to a foolish demaund behooued none answere. And it was very like that he would haue nothing. For sixe dayes after, that was the 14. day of the said moneth of Iune, the Brigantines that went toward Sio to know of the said armie, came againe and sayd, that of a trueth the said armie was comming, and that nigh to Lango an Isle of the religion, and 100. mile from Rhodes, they had seene and told 30. sailes that were most part gallies and fustes: the which vessels set men on land in ỹ isle of Lango. Thē the prior of S. Giles, Messire pre Iohn de Bidoux commander of the sayd place, taried not long from horsebacke with his knights and people of the isle, and he met so well with the Turkes, that he droue them to their ships, and slew a certaine number of them: and of the side of Pre Iohn some were hurt, and his horse was slaine. When the enemies were entered into their gallies, they went to a place called castle Iudeo on the maine land, betweene the sayd isle of Lango and the castle of S. Peter.

How part of the naule and armie of the great Turke came before the citie of Rhodes.

The 18. day of the said moneth of Iune, these 30. gallies went from the sayd place, and passed by the Cape of Crion, entering the gulfe of Epimes beside Rhodes, and were discouered from the shade of the hill of Salaco, a castle in the isle of Rhodes. On the morow they came out of the gulfe by plaine day, and sailing along by the coasts, they entered into a hauen on maine land called Malfata, where they abode three dayes. Then they went from thence, and returned to the gulfe of Epimes, where they abode two dayes and two nights.

The 24 day of the same moneth they issued out of Epimes, and traūersing the chanell, they came to the yle of Rhodes in a place before a castle called Faues, and they went to land, and burnt a great field of corne the same day, which was the feast of S. Iohn Baptist our patron. The guard of a castle named Absito in the yle of Rhodes discouered and spied the great

great hoste, and in great haste brought word to the lord master, and sayd that the sayd hoste, that was in so great number of sailes that they might not be numbred, was entered into the gulfe of Epimes. The 30 sailes that lay in the yle arose in the night, and went to the sayd hoste in the gulfe.

The 26 day of Iune the sayd great hoste arose and went out of Epimes an houre after the sun rising, & trauersing the chanell, they came to a place called the Fosse, eight miles from the towne. And the 30 first sailes turned backe toward the cape of S. Martin and other places to watch for ships of Christian men, if any passed by to Rhodes. The great hoste abode still till noone or one of the clocke, and then arose, not all, but about 80 or 100 ships, as gallies, galliasses, and fusts: and passed one after another before the towne and hauen of Rhodes three miles off, and came to shore in a place nigh to land, called Perambolin, sixe miles from the towne. In the which place the sayd hoste abode from that time to the end of that vnhappy siege.

The number and names of the vessels that came to besiege Rhodes.

THe number of the ships were these: 30 galliasses, 103 gallies, aswell bastards as subtill mahonnets, 15 taffours, 20 fusts, 64 great ships, sixe or seuen gallions, & 30 galleres, beside the nauy that waited for Christian men, if any came to succour vs. These were the vessels that came at the first to lay the siege. And sith that the sayd host came out of Perambolin, there came from Syria 20 other sailes, aswell gallies as fusts. And many other ships came sith, and ioyned with the sayd army in the time of the sayd siege. And it was sayd that there were 400 sailes and moe.

The same day that part of the host came to the sayd place, the reuerend lord great master ordeined a great brigandine to send into the West, to certifie our holy father the pope, and the Christian princes how the Turks army was afore Rhodes. And in the sayd vessel he sent two knights, one a French man named Sir Claude Dansoyuille called Villiers, and Sir Loys de Sidonia a Spaniard: and they went to the pope and to the emperour.

After the comming of the Turks nauy into the sayd place, it was 14 or 15 dayes or they set any ordinance on land, great or small, or any quantity of men came on shore, whereof we marueiled. And it was tolde vs by some that came out of the campe, and also by the spies that the lord great master had sent abroad arayed as Turks, that they abode the commandement of their great lord, vntill the hoste by land were come into the campe. Howbeit there came some number for to view the towne, but they went priuily, for the ordinance of the towne shot without cease.

All this while the gallies and galliasses went and came to land, bringing vitaile and people. At the which ships passing nigh the town, were shot many strokes with bombards, which made some slaughter of our enemies: and when the most part of them was past, they began to set ordinance on the land with great diligence. Then the lord great master departed from his palace, and lodged him nigh a church called The victory, because that place was most to be doubted: and also that at the other siege the great businesse and assault was there.

How the lord great master made his petition before the image of S. Iohn, and offered him the keyes of the towne.

The day before were made many predications and sermons, and the last was in the church of S. Iohn Baptist. When the sermon was done, a pontificall Masse was celebrate with all solemnities, and all the reliques taken downe, and the lord great master and all his knights with great deuotions and reuerence heard it. And when the Masse was ended, the lord great master made a pitious oration or prayer before Saint Iohn Baptist his protectour: and aboue all other words, which were too long to tell, he besought him meekly that it would please him to take the keyes of that miserable city. The which keyes he presented and layed vpon the altar before the image, beseeching S. Iohn to take the keeping and protection thereof, and of all the religion, as by his grace he had giuen to him vnworthy, the gouerning vnto that day:

day: and by his holy grace to defend them from the great power of the enemies that had besieged them.

How the women slaues would haue set fire in the towne.

THe eight day of July it was knowen that the Turkish women being slaues and seruaunts in many houses of the towne, had appointed to set fire in their masters houses at the first assault that should be made, to the end that the men should leaue their posterns & defenses to go and saue their houses and goods. And it was found that a woman of Marchopota being a slaue, was first mouuer thereof, the which was taken and put to execution.

The same day some of our men went out for to skirmish with the Turkes, and many of them were slaine with shot of our artillerie, and of our men but one.

How the Turkes layd their artillerie about the towne, and of the maner and quantitie of their pieces and gunshot.

THe 18. day of July, for the beginning and first day they set vp a mantellet, vnder the which they put three or foure meane pieces, as sacres, wherewith they shot against the posterns of England and Prouence. But the mantellet was soone broken and cast downe, and their pieces destroyed with the shot of the wall, and they that shot them were most part slaine. As this first mantellet was broken, by the great and innumerable people that they had they set all their ordinance on land, and caried it to the places where it should be bent, or nigh thereby.

And the 29. day of the same moneth, they set vp two other mantellets. One beside a church of saine Cosme and Damian, and another toward the West. And from these mantellets they shot great pieces, as Culuerings, double gunnes, and great bombards agaynst the wals of England and Spaine, to the which mantellets the ordinance of the towne gaue many great strokes, and often brake them. And the more to grieue the towne and to feare vs, they set vp many other mantellets in diuers places, almost round about the towne, and they were reckoned foure score: the which number was well lessened by the great quantitie of strokes of artillerie shot out of the towne from many places.

The artillerie of the Turkes was such as followeth.

FIrst there were sixe great gunnes, cantons perriers of brasse, that shot a stone of three foote and a halfe: also there were 15. pieces of iron that shot stones of fiue or sixe spannes about. Also there were 14. great bombards that shot stones of eleuen spans about. Also there were twelue basiliskes, whereof they shot but with 8. that is to weet, foure shot agaynst the posterns of England and Spaine, and two against the gate of Italy: the other two shot sometime against Saint Nicholas tower. Also there were 15. double gunnes casting bullets as basiliskes. The meane shot, as sacres and pasuolans, were in great number. The handgunshot was innumerable and incredible. Also there were twelue potgunnes of brasse that shot vpward, whereof eight were set behind the church of S. Cosme and Damian, and two at saint Iohn de la Fontaine toward the port of Italy, and the other two afore the gate of Auuergne, the which were shot night and day: and there were three sorts of them, whereof the greatest were of sixe or seuen spannes about. And the sayd stones were cast into the towne to make murder of people, which is a thing very inhumane and feareful, which maner of shooting is little vsed amongst christian men. Howbeit by euident myracle, thanked be God, the sayd pieces did no great harme, and slew not past 24. or 25. persons, and the most part women and children, and they began to shoot with the said pieces from the 19. day of the same moneth, vnto the end of August, & it was accounted that they shot 2000. times more or lesse.

Then the enemies were warned by the Iewe that wrote letters to them of all that was done and sayd in the towne, that the sayd potgunnes did no harme: wherefore they were angry, for they thought that they had slaine the third part of our people: and they were counselled by him to leaue that shooting, for it was but time lost, and pouder wasted, and then they

shot no more with them. It is of a trueth that they shot with the sayd potgunnes 12. or 15. times with bullets of brasse or copper, full of wild fire, and when they were in the ayre, they flamed foorth, and in falling on the ground, they brake, and the fire came out and did some harme. But at the last wee knew the malice thereof, and the people was warie from comming neere to them, and therefore they did hurt no more folke.

How the captaine Gabriel Martiningo came to the succor of Rhodes, and all the slaues were in danger to be slaine.

THe 24. day of the same moneth a brigantine arriued that was sent afore into Candie, wherein came a worthy captaine named Gabriel Martiningo with two other captains. And there went to receiue him messieur prou Iohn prior of S. Giles, and the prior of Nauarre. Then after his honourable receiuing as to him well appertained, they brought him before the lord great master, that louingly receiued him, and he was gladly seene and welcommed of the people, as a man that was named very wise and ingenious in feats of warre. Then came a Spaniard renegado from the host, that gaue vs warning of all that was done in the field, and of the approching by the trenches that our enemies made.

And in likewise there arose a great noise in the towne, that the slaues Turks that wrought for vs in the diches had slaine their keepers, and would haue fled, which was not so. Neuerthelesse, the rumour was great, and they rang alarme: wherefore the sayd slaues comming to prison, as it was ordeined in al the alarmes, were met of the people, which in great anger put them to death: so that there were slain an hundred & moe the same day. And if the lord great master had not commanded that none should hurt them, they had bene all slaine, and there were fifteene hundreth of them: which slaues did great seruice in time of the siege: for they laboured dayly to make our defences, and to cast earth out of the ditches, and in all works they were necessary at our needs.

How the great Turke arriued in person before Rhodes.

THe 25 day of the sayd moneth many of our men went out for to skirmish in the field and made great murder of Turks, and in likewise did our artillery. And it is to be noted that the 28 day of the same moneth the great Turke in person passed le Fisco a hauen in the maine land with a galley and a fust, and arriued about noone, where his army lay, the which day may be called vnhappie for Rhodes. For his comming, his presence and continuall abiding in the fielde is and hath beene cause of the victorie that he hath had. When the gallie that he came in was arriued, all the other shippes of the hoste hanged banners aloft in their toppes and on their sayle yerdes.

Soone after that the Turke was arriued, he went to land, and mounted on his horse, and rode to his pauilion which was in a high place called Megalandra, foure or fiue miles fro the towne out of the danger of the gunne shot. And on the morow, as it was reported to vs, hee came to a Church nigh the towne called Saint Steuen, for to vewe the Towne and fortresses, whereas they had set vp mantellets for to lay their ordinance.

THe last day of Iuly, one of our brigandines went out with a good company of men arayed as Turkes, and some of them could speake Turkish, and went by night to lande through the Turkes hoste, and demaunded if there were any that would passe ouer into Turkie, that they should haste them to come. The Turkes weening that they had beene of Turkie, there entred a 12. persons, the which were carried to Rhodes, by whom we knew what they did in the campe.

The first day of August the Captaine Gabriel Martiningo was made knight of the order of the religion by the lord great Master, and was made the first auncient of the Italian nation, of the first baliage or priorie that should be vacant. And in the meane season the religion should giue him twelue hundred ducates for pension euery yeere, and the same day he was receiued to the Councell in the roome of a baylife.

The

The fift day of the sayd moneth our master gunner was slaine with a gunne, which was great losse for vs at that time.

The 15. day of the sayd moneth was knowen and taken for a traitor, Messire Iohn Baptista, the physicion aforesayd, which confessed his euill and diuelish doings, and had his head striken of.

Of the marueilous mounts that the Turks made afore the towne, and how the capitaines were ordered in the trenches.

AFter the comming of the great Turke, the enemies began to shoote with ordinance of another sort then they did before, and specially with harquebushes and handguns, and also to make their trenches and approches. And also they did more diligence then afore, to bring ỹ earth nigh the towne with spades and pickaxes. And it is to weet, that they mooued the earth from halfe a mile off, and there were shot out of the towne innumerable strokes with ordinance against the sayd earth, and innumerable quantitie of people hid behind the sayd earth, were slaine. Neuerthelesse they neuer left working till they had brought it to the brimmes of the ditches: and when it was there, they raised it higher and higher in strengthning it behind. And in conclusion the sayd earth was higher then the wals of the towne by 10. or 12. foote, and it seemed a hill. And it was agaynst the gate of Auuergne and Spaine, and beat our men that were at the gates & bulwarks, in such wise, that none durst be seene till certaine defences and repaires were made of plankes and boards to couer our people and keepe them from the shot. And at the gate of Italy was made such another heape, and in none other part.

When the trenches were thus made to the ditches, the enemies made holes in the wals of the ditch outward: wherethorow they shot infinitely with handgunnes at our men aswell on the walles as on the bulwarks, and slew many of them. Then the bashas and captaines entred into the trenches, ech to his place after their order and dignity: that is to wit, Mustafa Basha as chiefe captaine entred the trench direct to the bulwarke of England with his people & captaines vnder him. Pery Bassha went to the trenches against the gate of Italy with his folkes and captaines vnder him. Acmek Bassha was in the trenches of Auuergne and Spaine with the Aga of the Ianizaires and the Beglarby of Romany with him. The Beglarby of Natolia was in the trenches of Prouence. Allibey was with his company against the gardins of saint Anthony on the North side, and diuers other captaines with him, and set his ordinance against the wall of the gate of Almaine, which was but weake, and set vp seuen mantellets by the milles toward the West: and by the space of eight or nine dayes they beat vpon the same wall: which put vs in great feare, if they had continued. Howbeit the noble lord great master forthwith caused repaires to be made within, and planks & tables to be set to fortifie the sayd weake wall: and abode there from the morning til night, to cause it to be the more hasted. The artillery of the gate of Almaine, and the Massif of the gate of the campe and of the palais beat so sore and so often vpon the sayd mantellets that it wearied the enemies to make and repaire them so often: and they tooke vp the pieces, and bare them away. And also they could not well beat the sayd wall because the brimmes of the ditch without were almost as hie as the wall that they beat. But or they bare the artillery away, they beat the steeple of S. Iohns church so, that the most part was broken and cast downe. The foresayd mantellets were appointed to beat S. Nicholas tower, and by the space of ten or twelue dayes they shot sore against it but they had so sharpe and vigorous answere, that there was not one mantellet that abode whole an houre. The captaine of the sayd tower and his folke did such diligence and businesse in shooting off their pieces, that the enemies durst set vp no more mantellets by day, nor shoot no more but onely by night, while the Moone did shine, which is a thing worthy of memory, of maruaile, and of praise. At the last when they had beaten against the sayd tower a certaine time, seeing that it furthered nothing, they tooke their ordinance frō thence, and bare it where they thought best.

During the shot in the sayd place, the other captaines were not idle nor in a sleepe, but without

out cease night and day they beat the wall of England and Spaine, and set foureteene mantellets against it, shooting great bombards, whereof some of the stones were fiue or sixe spannes about, and some other of nine or ten: and within a moneth and lesse they cast downe the wall almost euen smooth with the Barbican. And when the sayd wall was so beaten, they set to beat the bulwarke of Spaine for to raise the defences: and in their trenches they set three great bombards, which shot stones of eleuen spannes in compasse, and with the sayd pieces they beat the sayd bulwarke and wall in such wise, that they made great bracks, and the stones and earth that fell, serued the enemies for ladders, so that they might come vpon the plaine ground. In like sort they raised the defences from the height of the bulwarke at the posterne of Prouence, and set three great pieces on the brimme of the ditch, which shot stones of eleuen spannes against the wall, and within a while they made a breach as at the posterne of Spaine. The artillery of the towne did shoot without cease against the mantellets, and brake many of them, but they made other as it is sayd in the nights. For they had all things that belonged to them, & needed. And out of the posterne of England was shot a gunne that brake downe one of the sayd mantellets, and hit vpon one of the pieces, and slew foure or fiue men, and bare away both the legs of the master of the ordinance, which died soone after: whereof the great Turke was very ill content, and sayd that he had rather haue lost one of his basshas or captaines then the sayd master. Also it is to knowen that there were three or foure mantellets addressed against the plain ground of Italy, and by continuall beating of shot that they made, there was also a breach, and by the earth and stones that were fallen, they might come vp to it.

Of the politike repaires and defences that the ingenious captaine Gabriel Martiningo, made within the towne against the breaches in the walles.

THe captaine Gabriel Martiningo, prompt, diligent, and expert to giue remedies to the needful places, foorthwith caused to make the trauerses vpon the wall whereas the breach was, with good repaires, and gunnes small and great which were set in the sayd trauerses, the which shot not onely at the breaches but to the trenches, and made great murder of enemies aswell at the assaults that they made as otherwhiles. And beside the trauerses, the sayd captaine planted small artillery, as harquebushes, and handgunnes vpon certaine houses within the towne, that stood open against the breach, with good repaires: and from that place great slaughter of Turks was made at the assaults. Also it is of trueth that beside the sayd mantellets that shot against the wall of England and Spaine with great bombards, were two mantellets in an hie place toward the way to the gardin of Maupas, in the which were certaine double gunnes, as basilisks with holow stones and wilde fire in them, which shot against the wall into the towne at all auentures for to make murder of people: howbeit, thanked be God, they did no great harme but to the houses.

After these great & terrible beatings, and that the enemies had way to mount vpon the towne walles, and come to hand with vs by trauersing of their trenches to the fallen earth within the breach more surely, and without hurt of our gunshot, shooting thorow holes that they made in the walles of the ditch without, they cast vp much stone and earth, because it should couer them from the shot of the bulwarke of Auuergne. And also they shot feruently against the bulwarke of Spaine, for to raise the defences, of the which at the last they raised the most part, reseruing only a few gunners below in the mine of the sayd bulwarke, which litle or nothing damaged them. And this is touching the gunshot, whereof I say not the third part, because it is a thing incredible to them that haue not seene it. For some dayes they shot with those great bombards that were on the brimme of the ditch, and from the mantellets bent against the wall of England and Spaine 20 or 30 times and more. And I beleeue verily that since the creation of the world such artillery, and so great quantity was neuer bent and layed before any towne as hath bene against Rhodes at this siege. Wherfore it is no maruell if the walles be and haue bene beaten downe, and if there be breaches and clifts in many places.

Of

Of the mines that the Turks made: and how they ouerthrew part of the bulwarke of England.

ANd because as it is sayd before, that the greatest hope that the enemies had to get the towne of Rhodes, was by mining, therefore now after that I haue spoken of the gunshot and beatings, I shall shew of the mines that the Turks made, the which were in so great quantity, and in so many places, that I beleeue the third part of the towne was mined: and it is found by account made, that there were about 60 mines, howbeit, thanked be God, many of them came not to effect, by occasion of the countermines that they within made, and also trenches that the right prudent lord the great master caused to be made deepe within the ditches, vnto two or three foot of water. The which trenches and certaine pits that he had caused in the sayd ditches to be wrought, or the host arriued, serued right well since: for night and day there were men in them to watch and hearken when the enemies mined, for to meet them and cut their way, as was done many times.

And for to speake of the mines that had effect, and damaged vs, it is to wit, that the fourth day of September, about foure houres after noone, the enemies put fire in two mines, one was betweene the posterne of Spaine and Auuergne, which did no hurt but to the Barbican. The other was at the bulwarke of England, which was so fell and strong, that it caused most part of the town to shake, and cast down a great part of the sayd bulwarke at the spring of the day: and by the earth and stones that fell into the ditches, the enemies came vpon the bulwarke with their banners, and fought sore and mightily with our men, not with hands, but with shot of handgunnes. The lord great master that was come 15 dayes or more with his succours to the sayd bulwarke, went with his company to helpe them that fought. After that they had fought the space of two or three houres, the enemies repelled and driuen backe by our men from the sayd bulwarke, and beaten with ordinance on euery side, withdrew them with their losse, shame, and damage. And this was the first victory that our lord gaue vs, and there abode of our enemies a thousand and more.

A thousand & more Turkes slaine before the English bulwarke.

When this assault was done, they made another at the breach in the wall of Spaine, and mounted vpon it, but the ordinance of the trauerses of the walles and of the houses made so faire a riddance, that they were very willing to withdraw themselues: for at the retreat, and also at their comming the sayd ordinance of the bulwarke did them great damage, albeit that they had made some repaire of earth. Of our men died that day 20 or thereabout, as well knights as other. And the same day in the morning departed out of this world Gabriel de Pomerolles lieutenant to the lord master, which on a certaine day before fell from the wall as he went to see the trenches in the ditches, and hurt his breast, and for fault of good attendance he fell into a feuer, whereof he died.

How the Turks assailed the bulwarke of England, and how they were driuen away.

THe ninth day of the sayd moneth, at seuen in the morning the enemies put fire in two mines; one at the posterne of Prouence, which had none effect: the other was at the bulwarke of England, which felled another piece nigh to that that was cast downe afore. And the sayd mine was as fierce as the other, or more, for it seemed that all the bulwarke went downe, and almost all they that were in it ranne away. And when the standerd of the religion came into the sayd bulwarke, the enemies were at the breach ready to haue entered: but when they saw the sayd standerd, as people lost and ouercome, they went downe againe. Then the artillery of the bulwarke of Quosquino, and of other places, found them well enough, and slew many of them. Howbeit, their captaines made them to returne with great strokes of swordes and other weapons, and to remount vpon the earth fallen from the sayd bulwarke, and pight seuen banners nigh to our repaire. Then our men fought with morispikes and fixed speares against them the space of three whole houres, till at the last they being well beaten with great ordinance and small on euery side, withdrew themselues. And of their banners our men gate one, for it was not possible to get any more: for assoone as any of our men went vp on our repaires,

repaires, he was slaine with small gunnes of the trenches, and holes made in the walles of our ditches. And there was slaine of our enemies that day at the assault 2000 of meane men, and three persons of estate, which lay dead along in the ditch, with faire and rich harnesse. And it was reported to vs from the campe, they were three saniacbeis, that is to say, great seneschalles or stuards. And of Christian men of our part abode about thirty persons. And this was the second victory giuen to vs by the grace diuine.

Two thousand Turks slaine at the English bulwarke.

How Sir Iohn Bourgh Turcoplier of England was slaine at an assault of the English bulwarke.

THe 17 day of the same moneth, about midday, the enemy came againe to giue another assault to the sayd bulwarke, at the same place aforesayd, without setting of fire in mines, and brought fiue banners with them, nigh to the repaires. Then was there strong fighting on both parts, and there were gotten two of their banners, of the which sir Christopher Valdenare, that time Castelaine of Rhodes, gate one: the other was in the hands of sir Iohn Bourgh Turcoplier of England, chiefe captaine of the succours of the sayd posterne of England, a valiant man & hardy: and in holding of it he was slaine with the stroke of a handgunne, which was great damage. The sayd banner was recouered by one of our men. And after long fighting on both sides, the enemies seeing that they got nothing but stripes, returned into their trenches. At the sayd fray the lord prior of S. Gilles pre Iohn was hurt thorow the necke with a handgun, and was in great danger of death, but he escaped and was made whole. The same day, and the same houre of the sayd assault, the enemies mounted to the breach in the wall of Spaine, and came to the repaires to the handes of our men, and fought a great while: but the great quantity of artillery that was shot so busily and so sharply from our trauerses on ech side, and out of the bulwarks of Auuergne and Spaine, skirmished them so well, that there abode as many at that assault as at the other of England, well neere to the number of 5000. And they withdrew themselues with their great losse and confusion, which was the third time that they were chased and ouercome: thanked be our Lord, which gaue vs the force and power so to doe, for they were by estimation a hundred against one.

Also the 22 day of the same moneth of September they fired a mine betweene Italy and Prouence, which did no harme.

Of the terrible mine at the posterne of Auuergne.

AND the 23 day of the same moneth they fired two mines, one at the posterne of Spaine, and the other by the bulwarke of Auuergne, the which mine by Auuergne was so terrible, that it made all the towne to shake, and made the wall so open from aboue to beneath into the plaine ground: howbeit, it fell not, for the mine had vent or breath in two places, by one of the countermines, and by a rocke vnder the Barbican, the which did cleaue, and by that cleft the fury and might of the mine had issue. And if the sayd two vents had not bene, the wall had bene turned vpside downe. And for truth, as it was reported to vs out of the campe, the enemies had great hope in the sayd mine, thinking that the wall should haue bene ouerthrowen, and then they might haue entered into the towne at their pleasures: but when they saw the contrary, they were very ill pleased. And the captaines determined to giue assault at foure places at once, to make vs the more adoo, and to haue an entrance into the towne by one of the foure. And the sayd day and night they ceased not to shoot artillery: and there came in hope of the mine threescore thousand men and moe into the trenches.

How the bulwarke of Spaine was lost, and woone againe.

THe 24 day of the same moneth, a little before day, they gaue assault at the breach of Spaine, to the bulwarke of England, to the posterne of Prouence, and at the plaine ground of Italy, all at one houre & one time. The first that mounted to the breach of Spaine, was the Aga of the Ianissaries, a valiant man, and of great courage with his company, and bare three score or three score and tenne banners and signes, and fight them in the earth of the breach, and then fought with our men, and mounted on our repaires, making other maner of fray

and

and more rigorous then the other that were passed, and the sayd skirmish lasted about sixe houres. And forthwith, as the assault was giuen, a great sort of Turks entred into the bulwarke of Spaine, and set vp eight or nine signes or banners vpon it, and droue our men out, I can not tell how, vnwares or otherwise. And they were lords of it three houres and more. Howbeit there were of our men beneath in the mine of the sayd bulwarke, the which bulwarke so lost, gaue vs euill hope. But incontinently the lord great master being at the defence of the posterne of England, hauing knowledge of the sayd losse, and that there was great fighting and resistance on both sides at the breach of Spaine, marched thither with the banner of the crucifix, leauing the charge of the sayd bulwarke in the hands of the bailife de la Moree messieur Mery Combant. And the lord mounted on the wall of Spaine, whereas then began a great skirmish, and euery man layed his handes to worke, as well to put the enemies out of the breach, as to recouer the bulwarke that was lost. And the sayde lord sent a company of men into the bulwarke by the gate of the mine, or by the Barbican, the which entred at the sayd gate, and went vp, where they found but few Turkes. For the artillery of the posterne of England, right against the bulwarke of Spaine, had so well met and scattered them, that within a while our men had slaine all them that were left. And thus the sayde bulwarke was gotten and recouered againe, and with all diligence were made new repaires and strengths to the sayd place. And in like sort, the enemies were put from the breach, and few of them escaped, and all their banners and signes were left with vs. Surely it may be sayd, that after the grace of God (the trauerses of Spaine and Auuergne, and the small artillery set on the houses right against the sayd breaches, as it is sayd, with the comming and presence of the lord great master) hath giuen vs this dayes victory.

As touching the murder of the people, done by the artillery of the bulwarkes of England and Spaine, the quantity was such that a man could not perceiue nor see any ground of the ditches. And the stench of the mastifs carions was so grieuous, that we might not suffer it seuen or eight dayes after. And at the last, they that might saue themselues did so, and withdrew themselues to the trenches: and the reuerend lord great master abode victorious of the sayd place, and in like sort of the other three assaults, the which were but little lesse then that of Spaine, for they fought long. But in conclusion, the enemies beaten on all sides, and in so many sorts, with artillery were put backe, and vanquished, that there died that day at all the foure places fifteene or sixteene thousand. And the slaughter was so great at the plaine Italy, of the cursed enemies, that the sea was made redde with their blood. And on our side also died to the number of an hundred men or more. And of men of dignity in the towne, hauing charge, died Sir Francis de Frenolz commander of Romania, which Sir Francis was chiefe captaine of the great ship of Rhodes, and he was slaine at the plaine of Italy, wounded with two strokes of harquebushes: it was great dammage of his death, for he was a worthy man, perfect, and full of vertues. There died also messieur Nastasy de sancta Camilla aforenamed, hauing two hundred men vnder him of the lord great masters succours. There died also diuers other worthy men that day, and many were maimed. Among all other that lost any member, messieur Iohn de le Touz called Pradines, being at the sayd bulwarke, with a stroke of artillery had his arme smitten away, in great danger to haue lost his life; howbeit by the helpe of God he died not. In like sort the same day was hurt Sir William Weston aboue sayd, raptaine of the posterne of England, and had one of his fingers stricken away with an harquebush: which knight behaued himselfe right woorthily at all the assaults. Of the Turkes part, of great men, were two principall captaines slaine vnder the Aga of the Ianissaries, and another captaine that was come out of Surey to the campe certeine dayes before, with sixe hundred Mamelukes, and two or three thousand Moores. And of them that were hurt of great men the Beglarby of Natolia had a stroke with an arrow as he was in the trench of Prouence. And many other were wounded, whose names be not rehearsed here, because of shortnesse.

Sir Will. Weston captaine of the English posterne hurt.

How the great Turke for anger that he could not get the towne, would haue put his chiefe captaine to death, and how they made 11 mines vnder the bulwarke of England.

DVring this assault, the great Turke was by his pauillion in a place that he had caused to be made, and saw all the businesse, and how his people were so sharpely put backe, and the victory lost on his side, & was very sore displeased, and halfe in despaire: and he sent for Mustafa Basha with whom he was angry, and chid him bitterly, saying that he had caused him to come thither, and had made him to beleeue that he should take the towne in fifteene dayes, or a moneth at the furthest; and he had beene there already three moneths with his army, and yet they had done nothing. And after these wordes he was purposed to put him to death in the campe: but the other Bashas shewed him that he ought not to do iustice in the land of his enemies, for it would cõfort them and giue them courage. Whereby he did moderate his anger, and left him for that time, and thought to send him to Cairo, least the people there would rebell, by occasion of the captaine of Cairo which died a few dayes before. Howbeit he departed not so suddenly, and or he went he thought to assay if he might do some thing for to please the Turke, aswell for his honour as for to saue his person, and was marueilous diligent to make mines at the bulwarke of England for to ouerthrow it. And by account were made 11 mines aswell to the sayd bulwarke as elswhere, beside them spoken of before, and that they had fired. But the most part of the sayd mines came to no proofe though they put fire in them, and many were met with countermines, and broken by our men by the good diligence and sollicitude of sir Gabriel Du-chef steward of the house of the lord great master, which had the charge of the sayd countermines at the same bulwarke. In the which businesse he behaued himselfe well and worthily, and spared not his goods to cause the people to worke and trauell, but spent thereof largely.

How the Turks were minded to haue gone their way, and of the traitours within the towne, and of many great assaults.

THe Turks seeing that by mining they were nothing furthered, nor might not come to their intentions, and hauing but small store of gunpowder, were in deliberation and minde to haue raised the siege, and gone their way. And in deed some of them bare their cariages toward the shippes: and also certaine number of people went out of the trenches with their standards straight to the ships. And it was written vnto vs from the campe how the Ianissaries and other of the host would fight no more: and that they were almost all of one opinion for to go away, saue some of the captaines of the foresayd Mustafa Bassha or Acmek Bassha. And in the meane season the false traitours that were in the towne wrote letters to the campe, giuing them knowledge of all that was sayd and done among vs. And also an Albanese fled to the enemies campe, and warned them not to go, for the gunshot was nigh wasted, and that the most part of the knights and people should be theirs shortly.

In like sort then wrote the abouesayd Chanceller Sir Andrew de Merall, whose treason as then was not knowen: but when it commeth to the effect of his treason, I shall shew the knowledge that he gaue to the enemies at diuers times.

When the bashas and captaines of the hoste vnderstood the sayd warnings, they all purposed for to tary, and caused those tidings of the towne to be knowen ouer all the army. And beganne againe to shoot artillery faster then euer they did, for new shot was come into the campe. Then Mustafa Bassha being in despaire that he could do nothing by mines, by gunshot, nor by assaults, he being ready to depart for to goe into Surey by the great Turkes commandement, before his departing hee thought once againe to assay his aduenture, and made three assaults three dayes together. The first was on a Saturday the fourth day of October an houre before night. The other on Sunday in the morning. And the third on Munday after dinner. And the sayd three assaults were made to the bulwarke of England. And it was assailed but with stones and bagges full of artificiall fire. And at these three assaults many of our men were hurt with the sayd fire, and with the stones that came as thicke as raine or haile.

haile. But in the end the enemies got nothing but strokes, and returned into their trenches euill contented, and murmuring, and sware by their Mahomet that Mustafa Bassha shoulde not make them to mount any more to the sayd bulwarke. And that it was great folly for them to cause them to be slaine at the will and fantasie of one man. These wordes sayd in Greeke by some of the enemies were heard of our men as they went downe from the bulwarke. And because (as it is sayd) that the enemies at the assaults that were made, came vp by the earth and stones that fell from the breaches, some of our men aduised to clense the barbican, and take the earth out of the ditch, to the end that the enemies should not easily come vpon the wall. And in effect weening that it were well and behouefull to be done, by great diligence night and day by mines they voided the barbican, and the most part of the earth that lay in the ditch was brought into the towne, the which was hurtfull afterward, and was cause that the enemies got the foot of the wall. Notwithstanding, they had it but scarsely. But this cleansing furthered the time, and caused them to get it sooner then they should haue done if the earth had lien still: but their finall intent was to raise the defence of the bulwarks, and then passe at their pleasure, and enter into the barbican, as they haue done: for the enemies seeing that the barbican was clensed, thought to get into it by trenches, and so they did, howbeit they were certaine dayes letted by our handgun shot. The enemies seeing that they might not come neere it, couered their trenches with tables to saue themselues: and then they made a mine whereby they might goe to the barbican. So by these two meanes, afterward they were repaired with earth and with a certaine wall that they made for to eschew the shot of the bulwarks of Auuergne and Spaine: and in the mine they found but two gunners, which they slew by force of men. By this maner they being couered on all parts and without any danger, passed thorow and lept into the barbican, and got the foot of the wall; which was the 17 day of October, an vnhappy day for the poore towne, and occasion of the ruine thereof, and winning of the same.

At this point they slept not, but lightly and with great delight they began to picke and hew the wall. And weening to make remedy therefore, and to finde meanes to driue them from the sayde barbican with engins of fire and barrels of gunpowder, wee slew many of them, but it auailed nothing: for the quantitie and multitude of people that trauelled there was so great, that they cared not for losse of them. And if we had had men enow within the towne, there might haue bene remedy to haue raised them from thence: but considering that our force and totall hope was in people, wee left to doe many things that might haue beene done, and that should haue bene good then and other times also, for fault of men of warre. At the last it was pondred by Sir Gabriel Martiningo, that there was no remedy but to hew the wall for to meet them, and beat them with ordinance and with engins of fire to burne and vndoe them. Then our men began to hew the wall, and made some holes to shoot at the enemies that slept not, but did as wee did, and shot at vs, and indeed they slew & hurt many of our men. Then Sir Gabriel Martiningo ordeined to make repaires within the towne at the front where they did cut the wall, to the end that after the walles were cut, the enemies should know with whom to meet. The trauerses were made on ech side with good artillery great and small: and the sayd trauerses and repaires were of the length that the enemies had cut the wall, and beganne at the massife of Spaine made by the reuerend lord great master Mery d'Amboise, & ended at the church of S. Saluador. The which trauerses and repaires the vulgar people call the Mandra, that is to say, the field.

The meane time that the repaires and trauerses were made with all diligence, Sir Gabriel Martiningo neuer ceased going to euery place to puruey for all things: and he being on the bulwarke of Spaine to ordeine all things that were needfull, there came a stroke of a handgun from the trenches that smote out his eye, and put him in danger of his life, but thanked be God, he recouered his health within a moneth and a halfe. His hurt came ill to passe, for the need that we had of him that time in all things, and specially to the repaires of the breaches. Neuertheles the lord priour of S. Giles (not ignorant in all such things) with other men expert in warre, attended to the sayd repaires and trauerses, there and elswere. The enemies

on the other side night and day without rest (for the great number of labourers that they had hourely and newly ready) hewed and vndermined the sayd wall.

And the 20 day of October they put fire in the vndermines, weening to haue cast downe the wall, but they could not: then they would haue pulled it downe with great ropes and ancres, but the artillery of the bulwarke of Auuergne brake their ropes, and sent them away lightly.

At the last they made a mine vnder the sayd wall and breach: and the 26 day of the same moneth they did put fire to the same mine, weening to haue ouerthrowen the wall, which it did not, but raised it, and made it to fall almost straight vpright, which was more disaduantage to the enemies then profit. Then they shot artillery at it, which in fewe dayes beat it downe, and they had opening and way to come into the Towne. Neuerthelesse it was not necessary for them as then to enter: for the artillery of our repaires beat them in the forepart, and the artillery lying at the two milles at the posterne of Quosquino, and in that of England, whereas was a basiliske that beat right vpon the breach with other pieces: and therefore the enemies sought other meanes, and beganne to raise the earth betweene our two walles, drawing toward the bulwarke of England on the one side, and toward Auuergne on the other side, and would haue cut the wall further then our trauerses were for to come in vnbeaten of our artillery. Then were the repaires inlarged and made greater with the wall that was cut, of the height of twelue, & 16 foot in bredth: and so the enemies might goe no further forward, but shot great artillery against our repaires, for to breake and cast them downe, and also they made trenches for to come right to the breach, and vnto the repaires: and certeinly we looked day by day, and houre by houre for to haue some assault. The reuerend lord great master, the which, as it is sayd, had left the bulwarke of England the day that the great assault was made, and since that time he moued not from thence while they hewed the wall, & where as the breach was, because that they were most dangerous & most vnquiet places. And continually the sayd lord kept him behinde the sayd repaires with his knights and men of succours, intentiuely ready and prepared to liue and die, and to receiue his enemies as they ought to bee receiued. And he abode three or foure dayes at the sayd breach, continuing since it was made, vnto the end, fighting with his enemies euery day in great perill of his body: for oftentimes hee put himselfe further in the presse then needed for the danger of his person, but he did it for to hearten and strengthen the courage of his people, being so well willing to defend and die for the faith.

How the enemies assailed the posternes of Prouence and Italy, and how they were driuen away.

BY the will of our Lord, the enemies alway in feare and dread, would giue none assault, but continually shot against our repaires, and made trenches for to passe forward into the towne: by the which trenches they shot infinitely with harquebushes and handgunnes, and slew many of our folke, and specially of them that wrought and made the repaires that were broken and crased. And they put vs in such extremity, that we had almost no more slaues nor other labouring people for to repaire that which they brake night and day, which was a great hinderance for us, and the beginning of our perdition. And if we had much to doe in that place, there was not lesse at the gate of Prouence, and at the plaine of Italy: for dayly they were doing either with assault or skirmish, and most at the plaine of Italy. Howbeit by the helpe of our Lord with the good conducting of the captaine of succours of the same place, the priour of Nauarre, that was prompt and intentiue, and could well incourage his men, the enemies had alway the woorst, and were driuen from the sayde plaine, and from the breach of Prouence.

How the treason of Sir Andrew de Merall was knowen, and of the maruellous assaults that the Turks made.

VPon these termes and assaults, the treason of the chancellour Sir Andrew de Merall, of whom I spake before, was perceiued: for a seruaunt of his, named Blasie, was found shooting a quarrell of a crossebow with a letter, whereof he was accused to the lord great master, which

which commanded to take him and examine him by iustice, and he confessed the shot of that letter & of other before, at the commandement of his master: and sayd that he had great acquaintance with the Turks bashas, and that it was not long since he had written a letter to them, warning them that they should not go, for gunshot began to faile. and the men were wasted by slaying and hurting at the assaults in great quantity: and if they abode still and gaue no more assaults, at the last the towne should be theirs. And diuers other things the seruant sayd of his master, of the which I haue spoken part before at the beginning, and of the warning that he gaue to the great Turke for to come.

But to returne to the plaine of Italy. After many battels and assaults done in the sayd place, by continuall shot of seuenteene great gunnes that beat the sayde plaine, the repaires and trauerses were almost broken and lost. And by trenches the enemies were come ioining to the breach, and neuer ceased to grate the earth and scrape the earth to cause the repaires & trauerses to fall: and at the last the most part fell downe, & our men were constrained to leaue the sayd plaine, saue a cantell that was toward the sea, as it were the third part thereof. Certaine dayes afore the enemies came to the foot of the plaine, and did cut it and rased the earth, & at the last they passed thorow vnto the towne wall: and anon began to hew and cut as they did at that of Spaine. The lord great master seeing that, anon cast down a part of the church of our Lady de la Victoria, and of an other church of S. Panthalion. And within they began to make the repaires and trauerses as at the place of Spaine, whereto was made extreme diligence, but not such as the lord would, and as was needfull, because there were no labourers for to helpe. After that the enemies had woon the most part of the bulwarke of England & the plaine of Italy, they purposed to make assault to the sayde plaine, and to the breach of Spaine, and to enter into our repaires to winne them for to make an end of vs. And for euer to affeeble the repaires and for to abash vs, the 28. day of Nouember all along the day and night they ceased not to shoot great artillery both from the brimmes of the ditches with those great pieces, casting stones of nine & eleuen foot about, and from the mantellets without. And as it was reckoned, they shot the same day and night 150 times or more against our repaires and trauerses of the wall.

And in the morning the 29 day of the same moneth, the vigill of S. Andrew at the spring of the day, the enemies went thorow the breach with their banners, and entred into the repaires with greater number of people then they did at the great battell in September, hardily and furiously for to fight with vs. But at their comming in, the artillery of the trauerses, and the handgunnes, and the gunshot of the milles found them so well and so sharply, that he that came in, was anon dispatched and ouerthrowen, and there abode aboue 2000 of the Turks slaine. The other that came after seeing their fellowes so euill welcomed, as people that were astonied and lost, they turned againe to their trenches: at whome the artillery of the milles shot victoriously, and hasted them to go apace: and by report from the campe there died sixe thousand or mo that day: the which day might be called very happy, and well fortunate for vs, thanked be God, for there was none that thought to escape that day, but to haue died all, and lost the towne: howbeit, the pleasure of our Lord was by euident miracle to haue it otherwise, and the enemies were chased and ouercome. And it is to be noted that the same day the raine was so great and so strong, that it made the earth to sincke a great deal that they had cast into the ditches, for to couer them from the shot of Auuergne. And the sayd earth being so suncken, the artillery of the sayde bulwarke (vnwares to them) smote them going and comming, and made great murder of the sayd dogges. The sayd day also the enemies came to the plaine of Italy for to assault it; but when they vnderstood that their fellowes had bene put backe so rudely, and with so great slaughter, they were afrayd, and so they returned againe to their trenches.

How the Turks got the plaine ground of Spaine.

And that done, Acmek Basha seeing their businesse euery day goe from woorse to woorse, and that at the assaults were but losse of people, without doing of any good, and that there was no man that willingly would go to it any more, he intended to giue no more assaults but

to

to follow his trenches, and by them enter couertly without losse of a man from the breach to the other end of the towne. Semblably he intended for to winne the plaine earth beside Spaine: the which to get, he came at pleasure to the foot of the wall, & began to beat downe the plaine ground, and to giue many skirmishes and conflicts to our folke that kept it. And there were slaine many good men. And at the last, for default of more helpe and of gunshot, it was left and giuen vp of our men, and so lost. That done, the enemies came thither as in other places. And this is the third place were they came nere to the foot of the wall. And whoso wel considereth in what estate the poore towne was at that time, seeing their enemies haue so great aduantage, might well say, and iudge, that at length it should be taken, and a lost towne.

How a Genouois came to the gate of the towne for to speake for a treaty and deliuerance of the same.

A Few dayes after the saide iourney a Christian man that was in the campe, the which by his speech was a Genouois or Siotis, came to the gate of Auuergne, and demanded to parle, and after that he was demanded what he would haue, he sayd that he had maruell of vs why we would not yeeld our selues, seeing the pitious estate the towne was in: and he as a Christian man counselled vs to yeeld our selues with some agreement; and that if we would looke thereto, that some should be found expedient to do somewhat for our safegard. And it is very like that he sayd not such words, nor spake so farforth in the matter, without commission frō some of the chiefe of the campe, or of the great Turke himselfe. To the which Siotis was answered, that he should go away with an euill hap, and that it needed not to speake of appointment: and that though the enemies had great aduantage, there was yet enough wherewith to receiue and feast them, if they made any assault. These words heard, he went away: and two dayes after he came again, and demanded to speak with a marchant Genouois of the towne named Mathew de Vra, and he was answered that he which he demanded was sicke, and might not come, but that he should deliuer the letter, and it should be giuen to him. The sayd Siotis sayd nay, and that he would giue it himselfe, and speake with him: and sayd that he had also a letter of the Grand signior, for the lord master. Vpon this he was bidden to go his way: and to set him packing, they shot after him a piece of artillery. The next day after Ballantis Albanese that was fled thorow the breach of Spaine to the campe, came from the sayd Genouois proposing such words, or like as the other had sayd, saying likewise that the Grand signior had sent a letter to the lord master. To whom no words were spoken nor answere made, for the lord great master as wise and prudent considering that a towne that will heare intreatings is halfe lost, defended vpon the paine of death sith that Siotis had spoken these two times, that none should be so hardy to speak nor answere them of the campe, without his knowledge & commandement: but seeing they were such ambassadors, they reported the words of the sayd Albanese, or euer the sayd lord had knowledge of the words of the Siotis. The which words spread thorow the towne put many folke in thought, and would haue vndone that that the Siotis said: the which is no maruell whereas is much people, for with good will and most often they regard sooner to saue the liues of them and their children, then they doe to the honour of the residue. Howbeit not one durst speake a word openly of that businesse, but all secretly: and some came and spake to certaine lords of the great crosse for to speake to ỹ lord great master. And in effect some lords spake thereof to him, persuading him that it should be good to thinke thereon, seeing that the towne went to losse. To whom the sayd lord shewed many things for his honour and the Religion: and that no such things ought to be done or thought for any thing in the world, but rather he and they to die. The lords hearing this answere, went their wayes and then returned againe to the sayd lord, aduising him more to thinke well on all things, and to the saluation of his towne and of his religion. And they said moreouer, that they doubted that the people would rather haue a peace then to die themselues, their wiues and children. The lord seeing that such words were as things inforced, as who should say, if thou do it not, we shall do it as wise men and prudent, willing to make remedies of needfull things by counsell, called the lords of his Councell for to haue aduise

aduise in these doings, and other. And when they were assembled, the lord proposed the words that were to him denounced, and sayd: With these termes and wordes came two or three marchants and citizens of the towne that knocked at the doore of the Councell, and presented a supplication to the great master, and lords of the Councel, whereby they required and besought meekely the sayd reuerend lord to haue respect to them and their poore housholds, and to make some appointment with the great Turke, seeing that the sayd matter was already forward in purpose, that he would do it; and that it would please him to consider the pitious & sorrowful estate that the towne was in; & that there was no remedy to saue it: and at the lest way, if the lord would not make appointment, to giue them leaue (of his goodnesse) to haue their wiues and their children out of the Rodes to saue them, for they would not haue them slaine nor made slaues to the enemies. And the conclusion was, that if the sayd lord would not puruey therefore, they would puruey for it themselues. And there was written in the said request the names of eight or ten of the richest of the towne. Which words of the sayd supplication being heard, the sayd lord and his councell were abashed and ill content as reason would, seeing that it was but a course game, and thought on many things to make answere to the sayd citizens, for to content and appease them: and also to see if they should intend to the appointmeut, as they required, and after as the Genouoy had reported: and the better to make the sayd answere, and to know more plainly in what estate the towne was in all things: that is to wit, first of gunpowder, and then of men of warre, and of the batteries. Also were demanded and asked the lord S. Giles pre Iohn, which had the charge of the gunpowder, and then the captaine Sir Gabriel Martiningo, for being ouer their men of warre (as it is said) as to him that knew the truth; if the towne might holde or not, or there were any meanes to saue it. The sayd lord of S. Giles arose, saying and affirming vpon his honour and his conscience that almost all the slaues and labourers were dead and hurt, and that scantly there were folke enow to remoue a piece of artillery from one place to another, and that it was vnpossible without folke any more to make or set vp the repaires the which euery day were broken and crushed by the great, furious, and continuall shot of the enemies artillery. As for gunpowder the sayd lord sayd, that all that was for store in the towne, was spent long agone, and that which was newly brought, was not to serue & furnish two assaults. And he seeing the great aduantage of the enemies being so farre within the towne, without power to put or chase them away, for default of men, was of the opinion that the towne would be lost, and that there was no meanes to saue it. The words of the sayd lord finished, the captaine Gabriel Martiningo for his discharge sayd and declared to the reuerend lord and them of the Councell, that seeing and considering the great beatings of the shot that the towne had suffered, and after seeing the entring which the enemies had so large, and that they were within the towne by their trenches both endlong and ouerthwart; seeing also that in two other places they were at the foot of the wall, and that the most part of our knights and men of warre and other were slaine and hurt, and the gunpowder wasted, and that it was vnpossible for them to resist their enemies any more, that without doubt the towne was lost if there came no succors for to helpe and resist the siege. The which opinions and reasons of these two worthy men and expert in such feats, vnderstood and pondered by the lord great master and the lords of the Councell, they were most part aduised for to accept and take treaty if it were offered, for the sauegard of the common people, and of the holy reliques of the church, as part of the holy crosse, the holy throne, the hand of S. Iohn, and part of his head, and diuers other reliques. Howbeit the lord great master to whom the businesse belonged very neere, and that tooke it most heauily, and was more sorrowfull then any of the other, as reason required, was alway stedfast in his first purpose, rather willing to die then to consent to such a thing, and sayd againe to the lordes of the Councell: Aduise you, and thinke well on euery thing, and of the end that may happen, and he proposed to them two points: that is to wit, Whether it is better for vs to die all, or to saue the people and the holy reliques. The which two points and doubts were long time disputed, and there were diuers opinions: neuertheless, at the last they sayd all, that howbeit that it were well and safely done to die for the faith, and most honor for vs, notwithstanding seeing and considering that there is no remedy

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to resist against our enemies, and meanes to saue the towne; and on the other part, that the great Turke would not oppresse vs to forsake our faith, but only would haue the towne, it were much better then, and tending to greater wealth to saue all the iewels abouesayde, that should be defiled and lost if they came in the handes of the enemies of the faith. And also to keepe so much small people, as women and children, that they would torment and cut some in pieces, other take, and perforce cause them to forsake their faith, with innumerable violences, and shamefull sinnes that should be committed and done, if the towne were put to the sword, as was done at Modon, and lately at Bellegrado. Whereby they did conclude, that it were better, and more agreeable to God, for to take the treaty, if it were proffered, then for to die as people desperate, and without hope.

How the great Turke sent two of his men to the towne, to haue it by intreating. And how the lord great master sent two knights to him, to know his assurance.

VPon these consultations and words almighty God that saueth them which trust in him, and that would not that so many euils and cruelties should come to the poore city & inhabitants of it, and also that the great Turke might not arise in ouer great pride and vaineglory, put him in minde to seeke to haue the sayd towne by treaty, which he ought not to haue done for his honour, nor by reason, for the towne was in a maner his. And in like sort he ought not to haue let vs goe as he did, seeing that we were his mortall enemies euer, and shall be still in the time comming, considering the great slaughter of his people that we haue made in this siege. Howbeit, the eternall goodnesse hath blinded him, and hath pleased that these things should be thus, for some cause vnknowen of vs. And for conclusion, the great Turke sent to haue a communication and parle in following the words of the Genouese aforesayd. Then was a signe set vpon the churche of the abbey without the towne, to the which was made answere with another at the milles of Quosquino. And forthwith came two Turks to speake with them of the towne. Then the lord great master sent the Priour of S. Giles pre Iohn, and the captaine Gabriel Martiningo to know the cause of their comming. And when they came to them, without holding of long speech, the two Turkes deliuered them a letter for to beare to the lord great master from the great Turke, and then returned safely into their tents. When the two lords had receiued it, they bare & presented it to the reuerend lord great master, which caused it to be read. By the which the great Turke demanded of the lord great master to yeeld the towne to him, and in so doing he was content to let him go & all his knights, and all the other people of what cõdition soeuer they were, with all their goods & iewels safe without feare of any harme or displeasure of his folks. And also he sware and promised on his faith so to do. The sayd letter was sealed with his signet that he vseth, that is as it were gilded. And he sayde afterward, that if the lord great master would not accept the sayde treaty, that none of the city, of what estate souer he were, should thinke to escape, but that they all vnto the cats should passe by the edge of the sword, and that they should send him an answere forthwith, either yea or nay. After the sight of the contents of the sayd letter of so great weight, and the time so short for to giue so great an answere, and with demaud, the sayd lord great master and all the lords of the Councell were in great thought, howbeit they determined to giue an answere, seeing the estate of the towne so ill that it could be no woorse. Hearing the report and opinions a day or two before of the two lords ordeined to view the defects of the towne, saying that the towne was lost without remedy: considering also that the principalles of the towne would haue appointment. And in likewise, at the other counsell all the lordes had already willed and declared, that it were better to saue the towne for respect of the poore people, then to put it all whole to the furie of the enemies, whereupon they agreed and concluded to take the foresayd treatie. After the conclusion taken, answere was made readily for a good respect; that is to weet, to take the Turke at his worde, to the ende that he should not repent him of it, nor change his opinion. For euery houre his people wanne and entered further and further into the towne. And, for to goe vnto the great Turke were ordained these two knights,

knights, sir Passin afore named, and he bare the token of the White crosse: and another of the towne named Robert de Perruse iudge Ordinarie.

When these two ambassadours had made them readie, they went out at the gate of Quosquino, and went to the tent of Acmek basha, capitaine generall. And because it was late, and that they might not goe that day to the great Turke, on the next day in the morning the foresaid captaine Acmek led and conueied our sayd ambassadours to the great Turkes pauillion, that they might haue the more knowledge plainely, and for to heare his will as touching the wordes which were reported to the reuerend lord great master, and after, the contents of his letter and writings.

When the sayd two ambassadours were departed out of the towne, there did enter two men of authoritie of the campe; one was nephew or kinsman of the sayd Acmek, the other was the great Turkes truchman, which the lord master caused to be well receiued, and they were lodged nigh the sayd gate of Quosquino. And then truce was taken for 3. dayes, and the enemies came to our repaires, and spake with our folke and dranke one with another.

How the ambassadours of Rhodes spake with the great Turke, and what answere they had.

WHen our ambassadours had made reuerence to the great Turke, they sayd that the lord great master of Rhodes had sent them to his Imperiall maiestie to know what he requested, and desired that they might talke together, and how the great master had receiued his letter. The great Turke answered them by his truchman, that of demanding to speake together, nor writing of letter to the great master he knew nothing. Howbeit, sith the great master had sent to him for to know his will, he bade say to them that the great master should yeeld him the towne. And in so doing he promised by his faith for to let him goe with all his knights, and all other that would goe with their goods, without receiuing any displeasure of his people of the campe. And if he accepted not the sayd treatie, to certifie him that he would neuer depart from Rhodes till he had taken it, and that all his might of Turkie should die there, rather then hee would faile of it, and that there should neither great nor litle escape, but vnto the cats they should be all cut in pieces, and sayd that within 8. dayes they should giue him an answere, for hee would not that his people should loose time, and that during the sayd truce they should make no repaires nor defences within the towne.

When the great Turke had ended his wordes, our ambassadours tooke their leaue of him, and returned to the towne, and there was giuen to each of them a rich garment of branched velvet, with cloth of gold of the Turkish fashion. Then Acmek basha tooke sir Passin, and led him to his pauillion, and intreating him right well, caused him to abide all that day and night: and in eating and drinking they had many discourses of things done at the siege, questioning each with other. And among all other things our ambassadour demaunded of Acmek, and prayed him to tell for trueth how many men died of the campe while the siege was laied. The said Basha sware vpon his faith and certified, that there were dead of the campe of violent death, that is to say, of gunshot and other wayes, 64000. men or more, beside them that died of sickenesse, which were about 40. or 50. thousand.

64000. Turks slaine at the siege of Rhodes.

How one of the ambassadours made answere of his message, and how the Commons would not agree to yeeld the towne.

REturne we now to our purpose and to the answere that our ambassadours brought to the lord great master. The sayd Robert Perruse made the answere, and told what the great Turke had sayd, certifying that he would haue an answere quickly either yea or nay. The which answere after the demaund of the great Turke hath bene purposed and concluded by the whole counsel, and his offer & treatie accepted, howbeit the sayd ambassadours had it not to do so soone nor the first time that they went for good reasons, but yet they would not deferre it, for feare least he should repent him. And vpon these determinations that they would haue sent the sayd Peruse to beare the answere, came some of the common people

of the towne to the lord great master, that was with the lordes of the counsell, and sayd that they were aduertised of the appointment that he had made with the great Turke, and that he would yeeld the towne with couenaunts by him taken, which, they supposed ought not to be done without calling of them. And because they were not called to it, they sayd that they would not agree thereto, and that it were better for them to die, for the great Turke by some way would put them all to death, as was done in Bellegrado in Hungarie.

How the lord great master sent two ambassadors for the Commons to the great Turke.

WHen the reuerend lord great master had heard their wordes, he sayd graciously to them, that as touching the acceptation of the great Turks offer, it was needful so to do in the degree that the towne was, and the causes wherefore he had done it the counsell had seene and discussed, and that it was a thing that might not, nor ought not to be sayd nor published in common, for reporting of it to the enemies by traitours, but be kept still and secret. And moreouer, that it was concluded to make an answere shortly, for to take the great Turke at his word, least he repented him. For if they had bene called, or the answere had bene giuen, it had bene ouerlong businesse, and in the meane time the Turke might haue changed his mind, and that that he had done and concluded with the great Turke, the lordes of the counsell had well regarded and considered in all things, and for their profite and aduantage, as much or more as for that of the Religion. And that they would send to the great Turke againe other ambassadours, the better to know his will, and to be surer of his promise. Then the lord great master ordained two other ambassadours for to goe to the great Turke, which were two Spaniardes, the one named sir Raimon Market, and the other messire Lopez, at whose issuing entered Sir Passin the first ambassadour, and the other two went to the tent of Acmek basha, for to leade them to the great Turke. And when they were within the Turkes pauillion, and had done him reuerence as appertained, our ambassadours sayd that the great master had heard and seen his demaund to yeeld the towne. And for it is a thing of great weight, and that he had to doe and say with many men of diuers nations, and because the time of answere was so short, hee might not doe that that hee demaunded so soone. Howbeit hee would speake with his people, and then hee would giue him an answere.

How the Turke began the assault, and how the Commons agreed to yeeld the towne.

WHen the great Turke heard the answere of our ambassadours, he sayd nothing, but commaunded his Bashas that they should begin the battell againe to the towne, the which was done, and then the truce was broken, and the shot of the enemies was sharper then it was afore. And on the other side nothing, or very litle for fault of pouder: for that that there was left, was kept for some great assault or neede. Howbeit the sayd Amek Basha kept one of the ambassadours, and messire Lopez onely entered. The great master seeing the warre begun, and the shot thicker then it was afore, and the enemies entred hourely by their trenches further into the towne, called them that before had sayde to him, that they would not the towne should be yeelded, but had rather for to die. And therefore the sayd lord sayd that he was content for to die with them, and that they should dispose them to defend themselues well, or to doe their endeuour better then they had done in times past. And to the ende that each one of them should haue knowledge of his will (for as then he spake but to foure or fiue of them that gainesayd him) he made a cry through all the towne, that all they that were holden to be at the posternes or gates should giue attendance, and not to come away day nor night on payne of death: for afore, the Rhodians came but litle there. And that the other that were not of the posternes, or that were of his succours, should goe to the breach of Spaine where the sayd lord was continually, and not to goe away day nor night on the abose sayd payne. The sayd cry made, each one were obedient for a day or twaine, howbeit a yoong Rhodian left his posterne and went to his house, which on the next

day,

day was hanged for breaking of the lordes commaundement. Notwithstanding that, by litle and litle the people annoyed them, and their heartes failed, and left the posternes and breaches: in such wise, that the enemies might come in without finding great resistaunce, but of a fewe that the lord master caused to abide there (that is to weet) knightes of his succours. And in the night he sought out moe people for to keepe ỹ watch at the said breach, and paied to them as much as they would. The sayd lord seeing himself thus abandoned and left of his people, he sent to aske them againe wherefore they did not their endeuour, and why they came not to day, as they sayd before. Which made answere that they sawe and knew well that the towne was lost for certaine reasons that were told them: by occasion whereof they had gainesaid the ordinance of the sayd lord, and sayd that they had bene wrong enformed of diuers things: and on the other side, that they feared that the Turke would not hold his word. But sithens they sawe that there was none other remedie but to abide the aduenture and fortune, they sayd that they put all to the sayd lord to doe what he thought good, and that hee would see what were best for them. And required the lord to doe them so much fauour as to let them choose one or two among them for to goe to the great Turke with his ambassadours for to haue suretie of him. The which was granted, and two ordinarie ambassadours were chosen for them; one Nicholas Vergotie, and the other Piero of saint Cretice, and the foresayd Passin should returne with them for to make the sayd answere. Then the great master or they departed (prolonging the time as much as he might) aduised to send a letter to the great Turke, the which his grandfather had written or caused to be written. In the which letter he gaue his malediction or curse to his children and successours, if they enterprised to besiege Rhodes. The sayd Robert Perruse bare the sayd letter, and as he was accustomed, he went to Acmek Basha for to cause him to haue audience, and to present the sayd letter. And the Basha sayd hee would see the letter: for it is the guise in the great Turkes court, that none may speake to him nor giue him a letter, but he be aduertised first what shall be said, or what shall be written. When the Basha had seene the wordes written in the said letter, he brake it and cast it on the ground, and did tread vpon it, saying many iniurious and villanous wordes to the sayd iudge. And bade him returne apace to his great master, and bid him to thinke on his businesse, and to make answere to the great lord (as he had sent and commaunded) or els it should not be long or he sawe his dolorous and wofull ende. And that same day were taken two men of ours that bare earth toward the bulwarke of England. Of whom the sayd Acmek caused an officer to cut off their noses, fingers, and eares, and gaue them a leter to beare to the lord great master, wherein were great wordes and threatnings. After the sayd Perruse was returned, messire Passin was sent againe to the sayde Basha, for to know of him if the great Turke would be content with any summe of money for his costes and expenses, that he had made for his armie. The which answered that such wordes or offers of siluer were not to bee sayd nor presented to the great lord on paine of life, and that hee set more by honour then by silher. And therefore hee bade him returne and say to the great master that hee should make answere to the great lord after his demaund, to yeeld or not yeeld the towne. The sayd Passin made relation of the wordes of the Basha to the great master: the which for the great sorrow that hee had deferred alwayes, saw himselfe in such pitious estate. Notwithstanding, the sayd lord putting all to the wil of our lord, & considering that there was no remedie to do otherwise, nor to resist any more his enemies: and being constrained on all sides to make the appointment, with great heauinesse, inestimable dolours and bewailings, at the last gaue his voyce to yeeld the towne (with the treatise or offers to him presented) which was the 20. day of December, the yeere of our lord a thousand fiue hundreth and two and twentie.

An answere to such as will make question for the deliuerance of the citie of Rhodes.

ANd if by any it were demaunded wherefore the sayde lord great master hath yeelded the towne to the great Turke, requesting it with treatie and conuenaunts, which was a signe that he feared and would no more fight, but goe his way. To this I answere: Notwithstanding

that the great Turke was aduertised by some traitours, and by other that fled into the campe, that the powder almost failed, and that there were but fewe men of warre within the towne, yet he beleeued not, nor gaue credence of all that was reported to him, but thought verily that wee had ynough for a great while, and considered that hee must tary till they were wasted and spent, whereto behooued time. And seeing all his estate entered into strange places, and into the lands of his enemies, and had bene there alreadie sixe moneths, (and not without great danger of his owne person) thinking on the other side, that taking the towne by assault, he should lose many of his folke; and yet when hee had ouercome and wonne the towne, they should fall each vpon other in departing of the bootie or pillage, doubting finally the hazard of warre. For these reasons and other that may be alleaged, the great Turke had much rather to haue the towne by composition and treatie, then otherwise. And it suffised him to driue his olde enemies out of the countreys of Leuant, and set the subiects of his countreys in rest and suretie. And we of the towne that knew our weaknesse, & that we might do no more, it seemed better to saue so much small people, then we and they to fall into the furie of our enemies, for otherwise could we not haue done, but tempt God, and died as in dispaire.

How the citie of Rhodes was yeelded to the great Turke, and of the euill behauiour of certaine Turkes.

BVt to returne to our principall: After that the reuerend great master had giuen his voyce to the yeelding of the towne, he sent the said Passin againe for to beare it to the great Turke. And with him went the two men that were chosen of the Commons, and they went all three together to the tent of Acmek Basha. To whom the sayd Passin first made this pitious answere and conclusion to yeeld the towne. Notwithstanding, he sayd the people had ordained two men among them for to goe to the great Turke, to speake of their particular doings, and to haue some suretie of their persons, wiues, and children, to the ende that it were not done to them, as to those of Bellegrado. The sayd Acmek led the three ambassadours toward the great Turke. And when they were entered into the pauilion, the sayde messire Passin made the report of his ambassade to the sayd lord, and sayd that the great master yeelded him the towne vnder the promise made by his Imperiall maiestie, with the treatie promised. Of the which promise hee held him sure and certaine, and that hee would doe no lesse: howbeit, the people had required him to giue them licence to goe to his maiestie for to aske some request of him. Then the two citizens besought the great Turke that he would for suretie remooue his campe from the towne, to the ende that they should haue no maner of harme to their bodies nor goods, and that they that would goe, should goe, and that they that would abide still, might be well entreated. The great Turke answered by his interpreter to messire Passin, that hee accepted the towne, and promised agayne vpon his faith, and on his honour to the lord great master; that he would performe that he had promised, and sent to him by the same Passin that he should not doubt of the contrary: and if he had not ships ynough for to carie his people and their goods, that hee would let them haue of his, and that he would deliuer the artillerie that was woont to be in the ships of ỹ Religion. And as touching the request of the people, he sayd that he would remooue the campe, and that they that would abide, might abide, and they should bee well entreated, and should pay no tribute in fiue yeeres, and their children should not be touched, and who so would goe within the sayd space of fiue yeeres, they should goe in good time. These wordes ended, our ambassadours tooke leaue of him, & when they were departed, they spake againe with the saide Acmek Basha for to haue a letter of the contents of the promise of the sayd lord. And by his commandement the sayd letter was made, whereby he promised to let go the great master with all his knights, strangers and men of the towne that would go with their goods, without hauing displeasure of any of his people of the campe, or by the wayes. When the letter was made, it was deliuered to messire Passin. And as touching withdrawing of the campe, the sayd Basha promised againe that he would do it, since the great lord would so: howbeit he remooued but from the trenches, and some of his people

went a litle way off. And the sayd Basha demaunded in the Turkes behalfe, that they should send to him in hostage foure and twentie knights, whereof two should bee of the great Crosse, and two and twentie citizens. And the sayd lord should send onely a captaine with three or foure hundred Ianissaries, for to keepe the towne when the campe were withdrawen. And so it was done; and beside this hee gaue twelue dayes respite to the lord great master, to prepare him and depart out of Rhodes. And in conclusion all this done, our ambassadours returned and made the report to the reuerend great master of all that they had done and practised with the great Turke, and the sayd Basha, and gaue him the letter for to goe surely. Then the great master with his counsell ordained the foure and twentie persons, and other of the towne. When they were readie, they went to the campe, where they were well intreated foure dayes. During this time, Ferra Basha passed frō the maine land to the campe, with foure and twentie or fiue and twentie thousand Ianissaries, which by the commaundement of the great Turke was gone vpon the borders of the countreis of the Sophie. For the Turke seeing the people of the campe discouraged and willing no more to goe to the assaults, sent to the sayde Basha to come to Rhodes with his people, which would haue withstood vs sore, as fresh men. And it was the worke of God and a wonderfull myracle, that they came after that the appointment was made: for if they had come afore, it is to be supposed that the deed had gone otherwise, and there had bene many strokes giuen: but I beleeue that the ende should haue bene pitious for vs, but God would not that the Turke should haue victory vpon vs as hee might haue had, seeing the great aduauntage that he had in all things, but he blinded him and would not that he should know his might. And on the other part it may be sayd and marueiled how it was possible alway to haue ouercome our enemies in all assaults & skirmishes, and at the end to loose the towne, it was the will of God that so hath pleased for some cause to vs vnknowen. It is to bee thought, that lacke of men and gunshot, and the enemies so farre within the towne, and ready to enter at other places, with the treasons haue caused the towne to be lost. Two or three dayes after the comming of the sayd Basha, his Ianissaries and other of the campe entred into the Towne, which was on Christmas day, within the time giuen to vs, and then the Turkes word was broken, if it were his will or not, I cannot tell. Neuerthelesse there was no sword drawen, and in that respect promise was kept. But they made pillage, and entered by force into the houses of the castle, and tooke all that they might and would. After that they had ransacked the houses, they entered into the churches, and pilled all that they found, and brake the images. And there was no crucifix, nor figure of our lady, nor of other saints, that were left whole. Then with great inhumanitie they went into the hospitall of poore and sicke folke, called the Fermorie, and tooke all the siluer vessell that the sicke folke were serued with, and raised them out of their beds, and droue them away, some with great strokes and staues, and some were cast downe from the galleries. When these hounds had done that acte, they went to the church of saint Iohn and tooke downe the tombes of the great masters, and sought if there were any treasure hid in them, and they forced certaine women and maidens. And all they that were christened and had bene Turkes afore, were they men, women or children, and children that the sayd men had made christians, they led into Turkie, which thing is of greater importance then any of the other. The morrow after Christmas day, the reuerend lord great master went to the great Turkes pauillion for to visite him, and to be better assured of his promise, the which lord he made to be wel & graciously receiued. And he signified vnto him by his interpreter, that the case so happened to him was a thing vsuall and common; as to loose townes and lordships, and that hee should not take ouermuch thought for it: and as for his promise, he bade that he should not doubt in any thing, and that he should not feare any displeasure to his person, and that he should goe with his people without feare. With these wordes the sayd lord thanked him, and tooke his leaue and departed.

FINIS.

¶ Lenuoy of the Translator.

GOe little booke, and woefull Tragedie,
Of the Rhodian feareful oppugnation,
To all estates complaining ruthfully
Of thine estate, and sudden transmutation:
Excusing me if in thy translation
Ought be amisse in language or in werke,
I me submit with their supportation,
To be correct, that am so small a clerke.

An ambassage from Don Ferdinando, brother to the emperor Charles the 5. vnto king Henry the 8. in the yeere 1527. desiring his aide against Solyman the great Turke. Holinshed. pag. 894.

ON the 14. day of March, 1527. were conueied from London to Greenwich by the earle of Rutland and others, the lord Gabriel de Salamanca, earle of Ottonburge, Iohn Burgraue of Syluerberge, and Iohn Faber a famous clerke, after bishop of Vien, as ambassadours from Don Ferdinando, brother to Charles the emperor, newly elect king of Hungarie and Beame, after the death of his brother in law king Lewes, which was slaine by Solyman the Turke the last Sommer. This company was welcommed of the high officers, and after brought into the kings presence, all the nobilitie being present; and there after great reuerence made, M. Faber made a notable oration, taking his ground out of the Gospell, Exijt seminator seminare semen suum: and of that hee declared how Christ and his disciples went foorth to sowe, and how their seed was good that fel into the good ground, and brought foorth good fruite, which was the Christian faith. And then he declared how contrary to that sowing, Mahomet had sowen seed, which brought foorth euill fruit. He also shewed from the beginning, how the Turkes haue increased in power, what realmes they had conquered, what people they had subdued euen to that day. He declared further what actes the great Turke then liuing had done; and in especiall, he noted the getting of Belgrade and of the Rhodes, and the slaying of the king of Hungarie, to the great rebuke (as he sayd) of all the kings christened. Hee set foorth also what power the Turke had, what diuersities of companies, what capitaines he had, so that he thought, that without a marueilous great number of people, he could not be ouerthrowen. Wherefore he most humbly besought the king as S. Georges knight, and defender of the faith, to assist the king his master in that godly warre and vertuous purpose.

To this oration the king by the mouth of Sir Thomas Moore answered; that much hee lamented the losse that happened in Hungarie, and if it were not for the warres which were betweene the two great princes, he thought that the Turke would not haue enterprised that acte: wherefore he with all his studie would take paine, first, to set an vnitie and peace throughout all Christendome, and after that, both with money and men he would be readie to helpe toward that glorious warre, as much as any other prince in Christendome. After this done, the ambassadours were well cherished, and diuers times resorted to the court, and had great cheere and good rewards, and so the third day of May next following, they tooke their leaue & departed homeward.

He meaneth the Emperor & the French king.

The antiquitie of the trade with English ships into the Leuant.

IN the yeeres of our Lord, 1511. 1512. &c. till the yeere 1534. diuers tall ships of London, namely, The Christopher Campion, wherein was Factor one Roger Whitcome; the Mary George, wherein was Factor William Gresham; the great Mary Grace, the Owner whereof, was William Gunson, and the master one Iohn Hely; the Trinitie Fitz-williams, whereof was master Laurence Arkey; the Mathew of London, whereof was master William Capling, with certaine other ships of Southampton and Bristow, had an ordinarie and vsuall trade to Sicilia, Candie, Chio, and somewhiles to Cyprus, as also to Tripolis and Barutti in Syria.

The

The commodities which they caried thither were fine Kersies of diuers colours, course Kersies, white Westerne dozens, Cottons, certaine clothes called Statutes, and others called Cardinal-whites, and Calueskins which were well sold in Sicilie, &c. The commodities which they returned backe were Silks, Chamlets, Rubarbe, Malmesies, Muskadels and other wines, sweete oyles, cotten wool, Turkie carpets, Galles, Pepper, Cinamon, and some other spices, &c. Besides the naturall inhabitants of the foresayd places, they had, euen in those dayes, traffique with Iewes, Turkes, and other forreiners. Neither did our merchants onely employ their owne English shipping before mentioned, but sundry strangers also: as namely Candiots, Raguseans, Sicilians, Genouezes, Venetian galliases, Spanish and Portugale ships. All which particulars doe most euidently appeare out of certaine auncient Ligier Bookes of the R. W. Sir William Locke Mercer of London, of Sir William Bowyer Alderman of London, of master John Gresham, and of others; which I Richard Hakluyt haue diligently perused and copied out. And here for authorities sake I doe annexe, as a thing not impertinent to this purpose, a letter of king Henry the eight, vnto Don Iohn the third, king of Portugale.

A letter of the king of England Henry the eight, to Iohn king of Portugale, for a Portingale ship with the goods of Iohn Gresham and Wil. Locke with others, vnladen in Portugale from Chio.

SErenissimo Principi, domino Ioanni Dei gratia Regi Portugalliæ, & Algarbiorum citrà & vltra mare in Africa, ac domino Guineæ, & conquistæ, nauigationis, & commercij Æthiopiæ, Arabiæ, Persiæ, atque Indiæ, &c. Fratri, & amico nostro charissimo.

Henricus Dei gratia, Rex Angliæ, & Franciæ, fidei defensor, ac dominus Hiberniæ, Serenissimo Principi; domino Ioanni eadem gratia Regi Portugalliæ, & Algarbiorũ citra & vltra mare in Africa, ac domino Guineæ, & conquistæ nauigationis, & cõmercij Æthiopiæ, Arabiæ, Persiæ, atq; Indiæ &c. Fratri, & amico nostro charissimo, salutẽ. Tanto libentiùs, promptiúsq; iustas omnes causas vestræ Serenitati commendandas suscipimus, quanto apertiori indiès nostrorũ, qui in eiusdem vestræ Serenitatis regno ac ditione negotiantur, subditorum testimonio cognoscimus, ipsam ex optimi principis officio ita accuratè, exactéq; ius suum cuíq; præbere, vt ad eã nemo iustitiæ consequendæ gratia frustrà vnquam confugiat. Cùm itaque dilectus ac fidelis subditus noster Ioannes Gresham mercator Londoniensis nuper nobis humiliter exposuerit, quod quidã Willielmus Heith ipsius Factor, & negotiorum gestor nauim quandam Portugallensem, cui nomen erat Sancto Antonio, prærátque Diego Peres Portugallensis superioribus mensibus in Candia conduxerit, cum nauísq; præfecto conuenerit, vt in insulam Chium ad quasdam diuersi generis merces onerandas primò nauigaret, in Candiámque mox aliarum mercium onerandarum gratia rediret, omnes quidem in hoc nostrum regnum postmodùm aduecturus ad valorem circiter duodecim millium ducatorum, quemadmodum ex pactionis, conuentionísque instrumento apertiùs constat, accidit, vt præfatus Diego vestræ Serenitatus subditus, dictis susceptis mercibus, & iam in itinere paùm fideliter, & longè præter initas conuentiones, grauissimo certe nostrorum subditorum detrimento, vbi in Portugalliæ portum diuertisset, sententia huc nauigandi mutata, in eodem portu commoretur, nostrorúmque etiam subditorum merces detineat: quam iniuriam (quum subditis nostris in vestræ Serenitatis regno, & ab eius subdito illata sit) ex æquitate, ac iustitia ab ipsa corrigi, emendaríque confidimus, nostro quoque potissimùm intuitu, qui vestræ Serenitatis ipsiúsque subditorum causas, mercésque, si quando in hoc nostrum regnum appulerint, semper commendatissimas habemus, id quod superiori anno testati sumus: proinde ipsam vehementer rogamus, vt Ioannem Ratliffe præsentium latorem, & dicti Ioannis Gresham nouum constitutum procuratorem, huius rei causa istuc venientem, velit in suis agendis, in dictísque bonis recuperandis, impunéque asportandis remittendísque vectigalibus (quod nos in vestros subditos fecimus) quum per nauis præfectum fraude, ac dolo istuc merces fuerint aduectæ, nisi istic vendantur, ac toto denique ex æquitate conficiendo negotio, sic commendatum suscipere, sicque ad suos, quos opus fore intellexerit magistratus missis literis rem omnem iuuare, & expedire, vi perspiciamus ex hac nostra commendatione fuisse nostrorum subditorum iuri, & indemnitati quàm maximè consultum. Quod nobis gratissimum est fu-

turum

turum, & in re consimili, aut grauiori vestra Serenitas nos sibi gratificandi cupidissimos experietur, quæ foliciter valeat. Ex Regia nostra de Waltham, Die 15. Octobr. 1531.

The same in English.

TO the high and mighty prince, Iohn by the grace of God, king of Portugale, and of Algarue on this side and beyond the sea in Africa, lord of Ghinea, and of the conquest, nauigation, and traffique of Æthiopia, Arabia, Persia, India, &c. our most deere and welbeloued brother.

Henry by the grace of God, king of England and of France, defender of the faith, and lord of Ireland: to Iohn by the same grace, king of Portugale and Algarue, on this side and beyond the sea in Africa, and lord of Ghinea, and of the conquest, nauigation, and traffique of Aethiopia, Arabia, Persia, India, &c. our most deare and welbeloued brother, sendeth greeting. So much ỹ more willingly and readily we vndertake the recommending of all iust causes vnto your highnesse, because by the daily testimonie of our subiects which traffike in your kingdoms and dominions, we are informed, that according to the dutie of a most worthy prince, so carefully and exactly you minister iustice vnto euery man, that all men most willingly repaire vnto your highnesse, with full trust to obtaine the same. Whereas therefore our welbeloued and trustie subiect Iohn Gresham merchant of London, of late in humble maner hath signified vnto vs, that one William Heith his Factor and Agent, certaine moneths agoe had hired in Candie a certaine Portugale ship called Santo Antonio, (the patrone whereof is Diego Perez) and couenaunted with the patrone of the sayd ship, that he should first saile to the Isle of Sio, to take in merchandize of sundry sortes, & then eftsoones returne to Candie, to be fraighted with other goods, all which he was to bring into our kingdome of England, to the value of 12000 ducats, as by their billes of couenant & agreement more plainly appeareth: it so fel out, that ỹ aforesaid Diego your highnes subiect hauing receiued the said goods, very trecherously & much cõtrary to his couenant, to the exceeding great losse of our subiects, putting in by the way into an hauen of Portugale, & altering his purpose of cõming into England, he remaineth still in that hauen, & likewise detaineth our subiects goods. Which iniury (seeing it is done in your Highnes kingdome) we hope your Highnes will see reformed according to equity & right, the rather at our request, which alwayes haue had a speciall care of the causes & goods of your Highnes, & of your subiects whensoeuer they come into our kingdome, whereof we made proofe the last yeere. Wherefore wee instantly request your Highnes, ỹ you would so receiue Iohn Ratcliffe the bearer of these present letters, & the new appointed agent of Iohn Gresham, which cũmeth into your dominions about this busines, being thus cõmended vnto you in this busines, & recouering & freely bringing home of the said goods, & in remitting of the customs, vnlesse they were sold there (the like whereof we did towards your subiects) seeing by the fraud & deceit of the patron of the ship, the wares were brought thither, & finally in dispatching ỹ whole matter, according to iustice, & so further the same by directing your highnes letters to your officers whõ it may concerne, that we may perceiue, that our subiects right and liberty hath especially bene maintained vpon this our commendation. Which we will take in most thankfull part, and your highnes shal find vs in the like or a greater matter most ready to gratifie you, whom we wish most heartily well to fare. From our court at Waltham the 15. of October 1531.

A voyage made with the shippes called the Holy Crosse, and the Mathew Gonson, to the Iles of Candia and Chio, about the yeere 1534, according to a relation made to Master Richard Hackluit, by Iohn Williamson, Cooper and citizen of London, who liued in the yeere 1592, and went as cooper in the Mathew Gonson the next voyage after.

The Holy Crosse and the Mathew Gonson depart for Turkie.

THe shippes called the Holy Crosse, and the Mathew Gonson, made a voyage to the Ilandes of Candia and Chio in Turkie, about the yeere 1534. And in the Mathew went as Captaine M. Richard Gonsoll, sonne of old Master William Gonson, paymaster of the kings nauie. In this first voyage went William Holstocke (who afterwards was Controuller of her Majesties

Nauie,

Nauie, lately deceased) as page to M. Richard Gonson aforesaid, which M. Gonson died in Chio in this his first voyage. The ship called the Holy Crosse was a short shippe, and of burden 160 tunnes. And hauing beene a full yeere at the sea in performance of this voyage, with great danger she returned home, where, vpon her arriuall at Blackwall, in the riuer of Thames, her wine and oyle caske was found so weake, that they were not able to hoyse them out of the ship, but were constrayned to draw them as they lay, and put their wine and oyle into new vessels, and so to vnlade the shippe. Their chiefe fraight, was very excellent Muscatels and red Malmesie, the like whereof were seeldome seene before in England. They brought home also good quantitie of sweete oyles, cotton woolles, Turkie Carpets, Galles, Cynamon, and some other spices. The saide shippe called the Holy Crosse was so shaken in this voyage, and so weakened, that she was layd vp in the docke, and neuer made voyage after.

Another voyage to the Iles of Candia and Chio made by the shippe the Mathew Gonson, about the yeere 1535, according to the relation of Iohn Williamson, then Cooper in the same ship, made to M. Richard Hackluit in the yeere 1592.

THe good shippe called the Mathew Gonson, of burden 300 tunnes, whereof was owner old M. William Gonson, pay-master of the kings Nauie, made her voyage in the yeere 1535. In this ship went as Captaine Richard Gray, who long after died in Russia. Master William Holstocke afterward Controuller of the Queenes Nauie went then as purser in the same voyage. The Master was one Iohn Pichet, seruant to old M. William Gonson, James Rumnie was Masters mate. The master Cooper was Iohn Williamson citizen of London, liuing in the yeere 1592, and dwelling in Sant Dunstons parish in the East. The M. Gunner was Iohn Godfrey of Bristoll. In this ship were 6 gunners and 4 trumpetters, all which foure trumpetters at our returne homewards went on land at Messina in the Iland of Sicilia, as our ship road there at anker, & gat them into the Gallies that lay neere vnto vs, & in them went to Rome. The whole number of our companie in this ship were about 100. men, we were also furnished with a great bote, which was able to cary 10 tunnes of water, which at our returne homewards we towed all the way from Chio vntill we came through the straight of Gibraltar into the maine Ocean. We had also a great long boat and a skiff. We were out vpon this voyage eleuen moneths, yet in all this time there died of sicknesse but one man, whose name was George Forrest, being seruant to our Carpenter called Thomas Plummer. The Mathew Gonson goeth into Turkie.

In a great lygier booke of one William Eyms, seruant vnto Sir William Bowyer Alderman of London, bearing date the 15 of Nouember 1533, and continued vntill the 4. of Iuly 1544. I find that he the said William Eyms was factor in Chio, not only for his Master, but also for the duke of Norfolkes grace, & for many other worshipful marchants of London, among whom I find the accompts of these especially, to wit, of his said Master, sir William Bowyer, of William & Nicholas Wilford Marchant-taylors of London, of Thomas Curtis pewterer, of Iohn Starkey Mercer, of William Ostrige Marchant, & of Richard Field Draper. And further I find in the said ligier booke, a note of the said Eyms, of all such goods as he left in the hands of Robert Bye in Chio, who became his Masters factor in his roome, and another like note of particulers of goods that he left in the hands of Oliuer Lesson, seruant to William and Nicholas Wilford. And for proofe of the continuance of this trade vntill the end of the yeere 1552. I found annexed vnto the former note of the goods left with Robert Bye in Chio, a letter being dated the 27 of Nouember 1552 in London.

The Epitaph of the valiant Esquire M. Peter Read in the south Ile of Saint Peters Church in the citie of Norwich, which was knighted by Charles the fift at the winning of Tunis in the yeere of our Lord 1538.

HEre vnder lieth the corpes of Peter Reade Esquire, who hath worthily serued, not onely his Prince and Countrey, but also the Emperour Charles the fift, both at his conquest of Barbarie, and at his siege at Tunis, as also in other places. Who had giuen him by the sayd Emperour for his valiant deedes the order of Barbary. Who dyed the 29 day of December, in the yeere of our Lord God 1566.

The voyage of Sir Thomas Chaloner to Alger with Charles the fift 1541, drawen out of his booke De Republica Anglorum instauranda.

THomas Chalonerus patria Londinensis, studio Cantabrigensis, educatione aulicus, religione pius, veréque Christianus fuit. Itaque cum iuuenilem ætatem, mentémq; suam humanioribus studijs roborasset, Domino Henrico Kneuetto à potentissimo rege Henrico eius nominis octauo ad Carolum quintum imperatorem transmisso legato, vnà cum illo profectus est, tanquam familiaris amicus, vel eidem à consilijs. Quo quidem tempore Carolo quinto nauali certamine à Genua & Corsica in Algyram in Africa contra Turcas classem soluente ac hostiliter proficiscente, ornatissimo illo Kneuetto legato regis, Thoma Chalonero, Henrico Knolleo, & Henrico Isamo, illustribus viris eundem in illa expeditione suapte sponte sequentibus, paritérque militantibus, mirifice vitam suam Chalonerus tutatus est. Nam triremi illa, in qua fuerat, vel scopulis allisa, vel grauissimis pro cellis conquassata, naufragus cum se diù natatu defendisset, deficientibus viribus, brachijs manibúsque languidis ac quasi eneruatis, prehensa dentibus cum maxima difficultate rudenti, quæ ex altera triremi iam propinqua tum fuerat eiecta, non sine dentium aliquorum iactura ac fractura sese tandem recuperauit, ac domum integer relapsus est.

The same in English.

THomas Chaloner was by birth a Londiner, by studie a Cantabrigian, by education a Courtier, by religion a deuout and true Christian. Therfore after he had confirmed his youth and minde in the studies of good learning, when Sir Henry Kneuet was sent ambassadour from the mighty Prince Henry the 8. to the Emperour Charles the fift, he went with him as his familiar friend, or as one of his Councell. At which time the said Charles the 5. passing ouer from Genoa and Corsica to Alger in Africa in warlike sort, with a mighty army by sea, that honourable Kneuet the kings ambassadour, Thomas Chaloner, Henry Knolles, and Henry Isham, right worthy persons, of their owne accord accompanied him in that expedition, & serued him in that warre, wherin Thomas Chaloner escaped most wonderfully with his life. For the gally wherein he was, being either dashed against the rockes, or shaken with mighty stormes, and so cast away, after he had saued himselfe a long while by swimming, when his strength failed him, his armes & hands being faint and weary, with great difficulty laying hold with his teeth on a cable, which was cast out of the next gally, not without breaking and losse of certaine of his teeth, at length recouered himselfe, and returned home into his countrey in safety.

The voyage of M. Roger Bodenham with the great Barke Aucher to Candia and Chio, in the yeere 1550.

IN the yeere 1550. the 13 of Nouember I Roger Bodenham Captaine of the Barke Aucher entered the said ship at Grauesend, for my voiage to the Ilands of Candia and Chio in the Leuant. The master of my ship was one William Sherwood. From thence we departed to Tilbery hope, and there remained with contrarie windes vntill the 6. of Ianuarie, 1551. The 6 of Ianuary, the M. came to Tilbery, and I had prouided a skilfull pylot to cary me ouer the Ilands end, whose name was M. Wood, and with all speede I vaied downe that night 10 miles to take the tide in the morning, which happily I did, and that night came to Douer, and there came to an anker, and there remained vntill Tuesday, meeting with the worthy knight sir Anthony Aucher owner of the saide ship.

The Barke Aucher goeth for Leuant.

The 11 day we arriued in Plimoth, and the 13 in the morning we set forward on our voyage with a prosperous winde, and the 16 we had sight of Cape Finister on the coast of Spaine.

The 30 we arriued at Cades, and there discharged certaine marchandise, and tooke others aboord.

The 20 of February we departed from Cades, & passed the straights of Gibraltar that night, and the 25 we came to the Ile of Mallorca, and staied there fiue daies with contrary windes.

Mallorca

The

The first of March, we had sight of Sardenna, and the fift of the said month wee arriued at Messina in Sicilia, and there discharged much goods, and remained there vntill good Fryday in Lent. Messina.

The chiefe marchant that laded the sayd Barke Aucher was a marchant stranger called Anselm Saluago, and because the time was then very dangerous, and no going into Leuant, especially to Chio, without a safe conduct from the Turke, the said Anselm promised the owner Sir Anthony Aucher, that we should receiue the same at Messina. But I was posted from thence to Candia, and there I was answered that I should send to Chio, and there I should haue my safe conduct. I was forced to send one, and hee had his answere that the Turke would giue none, willing me to looke what was best for me to doe, which was no small trouble to me, considering I was bound to deliuer the goods that were in the ship at Chio, or send them at mine aduenture. The marchants without care of the losse of the ship would haue compelled me to goe, or send their goods at mine aduenture, the which I denied, and sayd plainely I would not goe, because the Turkes gallies were come forth to goe against Malta, but by the French kings means, he was perswaded to leaue Malta, and to goe to Tripoly in Barbary, which by the French he wan. In this time there were in Candia certaine Turkes vessels called Skyrasas, which had brought wheat thither to sell, and were ready to depart for Turkie. And they departed in the morning be times, carying newes that I would not goe foorth: the same night I prepared beforehande what I thought good, without making any man priuie, vntill I sawe time. Then I had no small businesse to cause my mariners to venture with the ship in such a manifest danger. Neuerthelesse I wan them to goe all with me, except three which I set on land, and with all diligence I was readie to set foorth about eight of the clocke at night, being a faire moone shine night, & went out. Then my 3 marriners made such requests vnto the rest of my men to come aborde, as I was constrained to take them in. And so with good wind we put into the Archipelago, & being among the Ilands the winde scanted, & I was forced to anker at an Iland called Micone, where I taried 10 or 12 daies, hauing a Greeke Pilot to carrie the ship to Chio. In this meane season, there came many small botes with myssen sayles to goe for Chio, with diuerse goods to sell, & the Pilot requested me that I would let them goe in my company, to which I yeelded. After the sayde dayes expired, I wayed & set saile for the Iland of Chio, with which place I fel in the after noone, whereupon I cast to seaward againe to come with the Iland in the morning betimes. The foresaid smal vessels which came in my company, departed from me to win the shore, to get in ý night, but vpon a sudden they espied 3 foystes of Turkes comming vpon them to spoyle them. My Pilot, hauing a sonne in one of those small vessels, entreted me to cast about towards them, which at his request I did, and being some thing farre from them, I caused my Gunner to shoot a demycoluering at a foyst that was readie to enter one of the botes. This was so happy a shot, that it made the Turke to fall a sterne of the bote and to leaue him, by the which meanes hee escaped. Then they all came to me, and requested that they might hang at my sterne vntill day light, by which time I came before the Mole of Chio, and sent my bote on land to the marchants of that place to send for their goods out of hand, or else I would returne back with all to Candia, & they should fetch their goods there. But in fine, what by perswasion of my merchants English men, & those of Chio, I was entreated to come into the harbour, and had a safe assurance for 20 dayes against the Turkes army, with a bond of the citie in the summe of 12000 ducats. So I made hast & solde such goods as I had to Turkes that came thither, & put all in order, with as much speede as I could, fearing the comming of the Turkes nauie, of the which, the chiefe of the citie knew right wel. So vpon the sudden they called me of great friendship, & in secret told me, I had no way to saue my selfe but to be gone, for said they, we be not able to defend you, that are not able to help our selues, for the Turke where he commeth, taketh what he will, & leaueth what he list, but the chiefe of the Turkes set order ý none shal do any harme to the people or to their goods. This was such newes to me, that indeed I was at my wits end, & was brought into many imaginations how to do, for that the winde was contrarie. In fine, I determined to goe foorth. But the marchants English men and other regarding more their

The Turke prepareth an army to besiege Malta.

The Barke Aucher at Micone.

The towne of Chio is bound in 12000 ducats for the safegard of the Barke Aucher.

gaines then the ship, hindered me very much in my purpose of going foorth, and made the marriners to come to me to demaund their wages to be payed them out of hande, and to haue a time to employ the same there. But God prouided so for me, that I paied them their money that night, and then charged them, that if they would not set the ship foorth, I would make them to answere the same in England, with danger of their heads. Many were married in England and had somewhat to loose, those did sticke to me. I had twelue gunners: the Master gunner who was a madde brayned fellow, and the owners seruant had a parlament betweene themselues, and he vpon the same came vp to me with his sword drawen, swearing that hee had promised the owner Sir Anthony Aucher, to liue and die in the sayde shippe against all that should offer any harme to the shippe, and that he would fight with the whole armie of the Turkes, and neuer yeelde: with this fellow I had much to doe, but at the last I made him confesse his fault and followe mine aduise. Thus with much labour I gat out of the Mole of Chio, into the sea by warping foorth, with the helpe of Genoueses botes, and a French bote that was in the Mole, and being out God sent mee a speciall gale of winde to goe my way. Then I caused a peece to be shotte off for some of my men that were yet in the towne, & with much a doe they came aboord, and then I set sayle a little before one of the clocke, and I made all the sayle I could, and about halfe an houre past two of the clocke there came seuen gallies into Chio to stay the shippe: and the admirall of them was in a great rage because she was gone. Whereupon they put some of the best in prison, and tooke all the men of the three ships which I left in the port, and put them into the Gallies. They would haue followed after mee, but that the townes men found meanes they did not. The next day came thither a hundred more of Gallies, and there taried for their whole companie, which being together were about two hundred & 50 sayle, taking their voyage for to surprise the Iland of Malta. The next day after I departed, I had the sight of Candia, but I was two dayes after or euer I could get in, where I thought my selfe out of their daunger. There I continued vntill the Turkes armie was past, who came within the sight of the towne. There was preparation made as though the Turks had come thither. There be in that Iland of Candia many banished men, that liue continually in the mountaines, they came downe to serue, to the number of foure or fiue thousand, they are good archers, euery one with his bowe and arrowes, a sword and a dagger, with long haire, and bootes that reach vp to their grine, and a shirt of male, hanging the one halfe before, and the other halfe behinde, these were sent away againe assoone as the armie was past. They would drinke wine out of all measure. Then the armie being past, I laded my shippe with wines and other things: and so after I had that which I left in Chio, I departed for Messina. In the way I found about Zante, certaine Galliots of Turkes, laying abord of certaine vessels of Venice laden with Muscatels: I rescued them, and had but a barrell of wine for my powder and shot: and within a few dayes after I came to Messina. I had in my shippe a Spanish pilot called Noblezia, which I tooke in at Cades at my comming foorth: he went with me all this voyage into the Leuant without wages, of good will that he bare me and the shippe, he stoode me in good steede vntill I came backe againe to Cades, and then I needed *no* Pilot. And so from thence I came to London with the shippe and goods in safetie, God be praysed. And all those Mariners that were in my sayd shippe, which were, besides boyes, threescore and tenne, for the most part were within fiue or sixe yeeres after, able to take charge, and did. Richard Chancellor, who first discouered Russia, was with me in that voyage, and Mathew Baker, who afterward became the Queenes Maiesties chiefe ship-wright.

The companie doe murmure against their aptaine.

The Turkes Gallies come to seeke the Barke Aucher.

Fiue thousand banished men in Candia.

Master Richard Chancellour.

Master Mathew Baker.

The voyage of M. Iohn Locke to Ierusalem.

IN my voyage to Ierusalem, I imbarked my selfe the 26 of March 1553 in the good shippe called the Mathew Gonson, which was bound for Liuorno, or Legorne and Candia. It fell out that we touched in the beginning of Aprill next ensuing at Cades in Andalozia, where the Spaniardes, according to their accustomed maner with all shippes of extraordinarie goodnes and burden, picked a quarrell against the company, meaning to haue forfeited, or at the least to haue arrested the said shippe. And they grew so malicious in their wrongfull purpose,

pose, that I being vtterly out of hope of any speedie release, to the ende that my intention should not be ouerthrowen, was inforced to take this course following. Notwithstanding this hard beginning, it fell out so luckily, that I found in the roade a great shippe called the Cavalla of Venice, wherin after agreement made with the patron, I shipped my selfe the 24. of May in the said yere 1553, and the 25 by reason of the winde blowing hard and contrary, we were not able to enter the straits of Gibraltar, but were put to the coast of Barbarie, where we ankered in the maine sea 2. leagues from shore, and continued so vntill two houres before sunne set, and then we weighed againe, and turned our course towards the Straits, where we entered the 26 day aforesayd, the winde being very calme, but the current of the straites very fauourable. The same day the winde beganne to rise somewhat, and blew a furthering gale, and so continued at Northwest vntill we arriued at Legorne the third of Iune. And from thence riding ouer land vnto Venice, I prepared for my voyage to Ierusalem in the Pilgrimes shippe.

I Iohn Locke, accompanied with Maister Anthony Rastwold, with diuers other, Hollanders, Zelanders, Almaines and French pilgrimes entered the good shippe called Fila Cauena of Venice, the 16 of Iuly 1553. and the 17 in the morning we weighed our anker and sayled towardes the coast of Istria, to the port of Rouigno, and the said day there came aboard of our ship the Perceuena of the shippe named Tamisari, for to receiue the rest of all the pilgrimes money, which was in all after the rate of 55. Crownes for euery man for that voyage, after the rate of fiue shillings starling to the crowne: This done, he returned to Venice. The ship Fila Cauena departeth for Ierusalem. Rouigno a port in Istria.

The 19 day we tooke fresh victuals aboard, and with the bote that brought the fresh prouision we went on land to the Towne, and went to see the Church of Sancta Eufemia, where we sawe the bodie of the sayd Saint. Sancta Eufemia

The 20 day wee departed from Rouigno, and about noone we had sight of Monte de Ancona, and the hilles of Dalmatia, or else of Sclauonia both at one time, and by report they are 100. miles distant from ech other, and more. Monte de Ancona.

The 21 we sayled still in sight of Dalmatia, and a little before noone, we had sight of a rocke in the midst of the sea, called in Italian il Pomo, it appeareth a farre off to be in shape like a sugarloafe. Also we sawe another rocke about two miles compasse called Sant Andrea; on this rocke is onely one Monasterie of Friers: we sayled betweene them both, and left S. Andrea on the left hand of vs, and we had also kenning of another Iland called Lissa, all on the left hande, these three Ilands lie East and West in the sea, and at sunne setting we had passed them. Il pomo is distant from Sant Andrea 18 miles, and S. Andrea from Lissa 10 miles, and Lissa from another Iland called Lezina, which standeth betweene the maine of Dalmatia and Lissa, tenne miles. This Iland is inhabited, and hath great plentie of wine and frutes and hereagainst we were becalmed. Il pomo. Sant Andrea. Lissa an Iland. Lezina Iland.

The 22. we had sight of another small Iland called Catza, which is desolate and on the left hand, and on the right hand, a very dangerous Iland called Pelagosa, this is also desolate, and lyeth in the midst of the sea betweene both the maines: it is very dangerous and low land, and it hath a long ledge of rockes lying out sixe miles into the sea, so that many ships by night are cast away vpon them. There is betweene Catza and Pelagosa 30 miles, and these two Ilands are distant from Venice 400. miles. There is also about twelue miles eastward, a great Iland called Augusta, about 14 miles in length, somewhat hillie, but well inhabited, and fruitfull of vines, corne and other fruit, this also we left on the left hand: & we haue hitherto kept our course from Rouigno East southeast. This Iland is vnder the Signiorie or gouernement of Ragusa, it is distant from Ragusa 50 miles, and there is by that Iland a greater, named Meleda, which is also vnder the gouernement of Ragusa, it is about 30 miles in length, and inhabited, and hath good portes, it lyeth by East from Augusta, and ouer against this Iland lyeth a hill called Monte S. Angelo, vpon the coast of Puglia in Italy, and we had sight of both landes at one time. Catza. Pelagosa. Augusta. Meleda. Monte Sant Angelo.

The 23 we sayled all the day long by the bowline alongst the coast of Ragusa, and towardes night we were within 7. or 8. miles of Ragusa, that we might see the white walles, but because it was night, we cast about to the sea, minding at the second watch, to beare in againe to Ragusa,

Ragusa paieth 14000. Sechinos to the Turke yerely.

gusa, for to know the newes of the Turkes armie, but the winde blew so hard and contrary, that we could not. This citie of Ragusa paieth tribute to the Turke yerely fourteene thousand Sechinos, and euery Sechino is of Venetian money eight liuers and two soldes, besides other presents which they giue to the Turkes Bassas when they come thither. The Venetians haue a rocke or cragge within a mile of the said towne, for the which the Ragusees would giue them much money, but they doe keepe it more for the namesake, then for profite. This

Il Cromo.

rocke lieth on the Southside of the towne, and is called Il Cromo, there is nothing on it but onely a Monasterie called Sant Ieronimo. The maine of the Turkes countrie is bordering on it within one mile, for the which cause they are in great subiection. This night wee were put backe by contrarie winds, and ankered at Melleda.

The 24 being at an anker vnder Melleda, we would haue gone on land, but the winde came so faire that we presently set sayle and went our course, and left on the right hand of vs the

Zupanna.

forenamed Iland, and on the left hand betweene vs and the maine the Iland of Zupanna, and

Isola de Meze.

within a mile of that vnder the maine by East, another Iland called Isola de Mezo. This

Sant Andrea.

Iland hath two Monasteries in it, one called Santa Maria de Bizo, and the other Sant Nicholo. Also there is a third rocke with a Frierie called Sant Andrea: these Ilands are from the maine but two miles, and the channell betweene Melleda and Zupanna is but foure or fiue miles ouer by gesse, but very deepe, for we had at an anker fortie fathoms. The two Ilands of Zupanna and Mezo are well inhabited, and very faire buildings, but nothing plentie saue wine onely. This night toward sunne set it waxed calme, and we sayled little or nothing.

The 24 we were past Ragusa 14 miles, and there we mette with two Venetian ships, which came from Cyprus, we thought they would haue spoken with vs, for we were desirous to talke with them, to knowe the newes of the Turkes armie, and to haue sent some let-

Castle nouo.

ters by them to Venice. About noone, we had scant sight of Castel nouo, which Castell a fewe yeeres past the Turke tooke from the Emperour, in which fight were slaine three hundred Spanish souldiers, besides the rest which were taken prisoners, and made gallie slaues.

Boca de Cataro. The towne Cataro. Budoa. Antiueri. Marcheuetti. The end of Sclauonia and the beginning of Albania.

This Castell is hard at the mouth of a channell called Boca de Cataro. The Venetians haue a hold within the channell called Cataro, this channell goeth vp to Budoa, and further vp into the countrey. About sunne set we were ouer against the hilles of Antiueri in Sclauonia, in the which hilles the Venetians haue a towne called Antiueri, and the Turkes haue another against it called Marcheuetti, the which two townes continually skirmish together with much slaughter. At the end of these hils endeth the Countrey of Sclauonia, and Albania beginneth. These hilles are thirtie miles distant from Ragusa.

Puglia. Cape Chimera. Cape Otranto.

The 27 we kept our course towards Puglia, and left Albania on the left hand. The 28. we had sight of both the maines, but we were neere the coast of Puglia, for feare of Foystes. It is betweene Cape Chimera in Albania and Cape Otranto in Puglia 60 miles. Puglia is a plaine low lande, and Chimera in Albania is very high land, so that it is seene the further. Thus sayling our course along the coast of Puglia, we saw diuerse white Towers, which serue for sea-markes. About three of the clocke in the after noone, we

Il fano.

had sight of a rocke called Il fano, 45 miles from Corfu, and by sunne set we discouered

Corfu.

Corfu. Thus we kept on our course with a prosperous winde, and made our way after twelue mile euery houre. Most part of this way we were accompanied with certaine fishes

Palomide.

called in the Italian tongue Palomide, it is a fish three quarters of a yard in length, in colour, eating, and making like a Makarell, somewhat bigge and thick in body, and the tayle forked like a halfe moone, for the which cause it is said that the Turke will not suffer them to be taken in all his dominions.

The 29 in the morning we were in sight of an Iland, which we left on our left hande

Cephalonia.

called Cephalonia, it is vnder the Venetians and well inhabited, with a faire towne strongly situated on a hill, of the which hill the Iland beareth her name, it hath also a very strong

Morea.

fortresse or Castle, and plentie of corne and wine, their language is Greeke, it is distant from the maine of Morea, thirtie miles, it is in compasse 80 miles. One houre within night we sayled by the towne standing on the South cape of Cephalonia, whereby we might perceiue their lights. There come oftentimes into the creekes and riuers, the Turkes foystes

foystes and gallies where at their arriuall, the Countrey people doe signifie vnto their neighbours by so many lights, as there are foistes or gallies in the Iland, and thus they doe from one to another the whole Iland ouer. About three of the clocke in the afternoone the winde scanted, and wee minded to haue gone to Zante, but we could not for that night. Zante.
This Iland of Zante is distant from Cephalonia, 12 or 14 miles, but the towne of Cephalonia, from the towne of Zante, is distant fortie miles. This night we went but little forward.

The 30 day we remained still turning vp and downe because the winde was contrary, and towards night the winde mended, so that we entered the channell betweene Cephalonia, & Zante, the which chanell is about eight or tenne miles ouer, and these two beare East and by South, and West and by North from the other. The towne of Zante lieth within a point of the land, where we came to an anker, at nine of the clocke at night.

The 31 about sixe of the clocke in the morning, I with fiue Hollanders went on land, and hosted at the house of Pedro de Venetia. After breakfast we went to see the towne, and passing along we went into some of the Greeke churches, wherein we sawe their Altares, Images, and other ornaments. This done, wee went to a Monasterie of Friers called Sancta Maria de la Croce, these are westerne Christians, for the Greekes haue nothing to doe with them, nor they with the Greekes, for they differ very much in religion. There are but 2. Friers in this Friery. In this Monasterie we saw the tombe that M. T. Cicero, was buried in, with Terentia Antonia, his wife. This tombe was founde about sixe yeeres since, when the Monastery was built, there was in time past a streete where the tombe stoode. At the finding of the tombe there was also found a yard vnder ground, a square stone somewhat longer then broad. vpon which stone was found a writing of two seuerall handes writing, the one as it seemed, for himselfe, and the other for his wife, and vnder the same stone was found a glasse somewhat proportioned like an vrinall, but that it was eight square and very thicke, wherein were the ashes of the head and right arme of Mar. T. Cicero, for as stories make mention he was beheaded as I remember at Capua, for insurrection. And his wife hauing got his head and right arme, (which was brought to Rome to the Emperour) went from Rome, and came to Zante, and there buried his head and arme, and wrote vpon his tombe this style M. T. Cicero. * Haue. Then followeth in other letters, *Et tu Terentia Antonia*, which difference of letters declare that they were not written both at one time. The tombe is long and narrowe, and deepe, walled on euery side like a graue, in the botome whereof was found the sayd stone with the writing on it, & the said glasse of ashes, and also another litle glasse of the same proportion, wherein, as they say, are the teares of his friendes, that in those dayes they did vse to gather and bury with them, as they did vse in Italy and Spaine to teare their haire, to bury with their friendes. In the sayde tombe were a fewe bones. After dinner we rested vntill it drew towards euening by reason of the heat. And about foure of the clocke we walked to another Frierie a mile out of the towne called Sant Elia, these are white Friers, there were two, but one is dead, not sixe dayes since. This Frierie hath a garden very pleasant, and well furnished with Orenges, Lemons, pomegranates, and diuers other good fruites. The way to it is somewhat ragged, vp hill and downe, and very stonie, and in winter very durtie. It standeth very plesantly in a clift betweene two hilles, with a good prospect. From thence we ascended the hill to the Castle, which is situated on the very toppe of a hill. This Castle is very strong, in compasse a large mile and a halfe, which being victualed, (as it is neuer vnfurnished) and manned with men of trust, it may defend it selfe against any Princes power. This Castle taketh the iust compasse of the hill, and no other hill neere it, it is so steepe downe, and so high and ragged, that it will tyre any man or euer he be halfe way vp. Very nature hath fortified the walles and bulwarkes: It is by nature foure square, and it commandeth the towne and porte. The Venetians haue alwayes their Podesta, or Gouernour, with his two Counsellours resident therein. The towne is well inhabited, & hath great quantitie of housholders. The Iland by report is threescore and tenne miles about, it is able to make twentie thousand fighting men. They say they haue alwayes fiue or sixe hundred horsemen readie at an houres warning.

John Locke, and fiue Hollanders goe on land.

Santa Maria de la Croce.

The tombe of M. T. Cicero.

* Or, Aua.

The description of the tombe.

Sant Elia, but one Frier.

The description of the Castle of Zante.

The Turke hath streupred the Iland of Zante.

ing. They say the Turke hath assayed it with 100. Gallies, but he could neuer bring his purpose to passe. It is strange to mee how they should maintaine so many men in this Iland, for their best sustenance is wine, and the rest but miserable.

The Castle of Torneste.

The first of August we were warned aboord by the patron, and towards euening we set sayle, and had sight of a Castle called Torneste, which is the Turkes, and is ten miles from Zante, it did belong to the Venetians, but they haue now lost it, it standeth also on a hill on the sea side in Morea. All that night we bare into the sea, because we had newes at

Twelue Turke gallies at Modon, and Coron, and Candia.

Zante of twelue of the Turkes gallies, that came from Rhodes, which were about Modon, Coron, and Candia, for which cause we kept at the sea.

Modon. Coron.

The second of August we had no sight of land, but kept our course, and about the third watch the winde scanted, so that we bare with the shore, and had sight of Modon and Coron.

Cauo Mattapan.

The third we had sight of Cauo Mattapan, and all that day by reason of contrary windes, which blew somewhat hard, we lay a hull vntill morning.

The fourth we were still vnder the sayd Cape, and so continued that day, and towardes night there grewe a contention in the ship amongst the Hollanders, and it had like to haue bene a great inconuenience, for we had all our weapons, yea euen our kniues taken from vs that night.

Candie.

The fift, we sayled by the Bowline, and out of the toppe we had sight of the Iland of Candia, and towardes noone we might see it plaine, and towards night the winde waxed calme.

Gozi.

The sixt toward the breake of day we saw two small Ilands called Gozi, and towards noone we were betweene them: the one of these Ilands is fifteene miles about, and the other 10. miles. In those Ilands are nourished store of cattell for butter and cheese. There are to the number of fiftie or sixtie inhabitants, which are Greekes, and they liue chiefly on milke and cheese. The Iland of Candia is 700 miles about, it is in length, from Cape Spada, to Cape Salomon, 300 miles, it is as they say, able to make one hundred thousand fighting men. We sayled betweene the Gozi, and Candia, and they are distant from Candia 5 or 6 miles. The Candiots are strong men, and very good archers, and shoot neere the marke. This Ilande is from Zante 300 miles.

Candia. Cape Spada. C. Salomon.

The seuenth we sayled all along the sayd Iland with little winde and vnstable, and the eight day towards night we drew to the East end of the Iland.

Ponta, Malota. Baffo. Cauo Bianco.

The 9 and 10 we sayled along with a prosperous winde and saw no land.

Cauo de le gatte.

The 11 in the morning, we had sight of the Iland of Cyprus, and towards noone we were thwart the Cape called Ponta Malota, and about foure of the clocke we were as farre as Baffo, and about sunne set we passed Cauo Bianco, and towards nine of the clocke at night we doubled Cauo de la gatte, and ankered afore Limisso, but the wind blew so hard, that we could not come neere the towne, neither durst any man goe on land. The towne is from Cauo de le gatte twelue miles distant.

Limisso.

The 12. of August in the morning wee went on land to Limisso: this towne is ruinated and nothing in it worth writing, saue onely in the mids of the towne there hath bene a fortresse, which is now decayed, and the wals part ouerthrowen, which a Turkish Rouer with certaine gallies did destroy about 10. or 12. yeeres past. This day walking to see the towne, we chanced to see in the market place, a great quantitie of a certaine vermine called in the Italian tongue Caualette. It is as I can learne, both in shape and bignesse like a grasshopper, for I can iudge but little difference. Of these many yeeres they haue had such quantitie & they destroy all their corne. They are so plagued with them, & almost euery yeere they doe well nie loose halfe their corne, whether it be the nature of the countrey, or the plague of God, that let them iudge that best can define. But that there may no default be laied to their negligence for the destruction of thē, they haue throughout the whole land a constituted order, that euery Farmor or husbandman (which are euen as slaues bought and sold to their lord) shall euery yeere pay according to his territorie, a measure full of the seede or egges of these forenamed Caualette, the which they are bound to bring to the market,

Caualette, is a certaine vermine in the Island of Cyprus.

ket, and present to the officer appointed for the same, the which officer taketh of them very straight measure, and writeth the names of the presenters, and putteth the sayd egges or seed, into a house appointed for the same, and hauing the house full, they beate them to pouder, and cast them into the sea, and by this pollicie they doe as much as in them lieth for the destruction of them. This vermine breedeth or ingendereth at the time of corne being ripe, and the corne beyng had away, in the clods of the same ground do the husbandmen find ỹ nestes, or, as I may rather terme them, cases of the egges of the same vermine. Their nests are much like to the keies of a hasel-nut tree, when they be dried, and of the same length, but somewhat bigger, which case being broken you shall see the egges lie much like vnto antes egges, but somewhat lesser. Thus much I haue written at this time, because I had no more time of knowledge, but I trust at my returne to note more of this island, with the commodities of the same at large.

The 13. day we went in the morning to the Greekes church, to see the order of their ceremonies, & of their communion, of the which to declare the whole order with the number of their ceremonious crossings, it were to long. Wherefore least I should offend any man, I leaue it vnwritten: but onely that I noted well, that in all their Communion or seruice, not one did euer kneele, nor yet in any of their Churches could I euer see any grauen images, but painted or portrayed. Also they haue store of lampes alight, almost for euery image one. Their women are alwayes seperated from the men, and generally they are in the lower ende of the Church. This night we went aboord the ship, although the wind were contrary, we did it because the patrone should not find any lacke of vs, as sometimes he did: when as tarying vpon his owne businesse, he would colour it with the delay of the pilgrimes. The pilgrimes going to the Greeke churches.

The 14. day in the morning we set saile, and lost sight of the Island of Cyprus, and the 15. day we were likewise at Sea, and sawe no land: and the 16. day towards night, we looked for land, but we sawe none. But because we supposed our selues to be neere our port, we tooke in all our sailes except onely the foresaile and the missen, and so we remained all that night.

The 17. day in the morning, we were by report of the Mariners, some sixe miles from Iaffa, but it prooued contrary. But because we would be sure, wee came to an anker seuen miles from the shore, and sent the skiffe with the Pilot and the master gunner, to learne the coast, but they returned, not hauing seen tree nor house, nor spoken with any man. But when they came to the sea side againe, they went vp a little hill standing hard by the brinke, whereon as they thought they sawe the hill of Ierusalem, by the which the Pilot knew (after his iudgement) that wee were past our port. And so this place where we rode was, as the mariners sayd, about 50. mile from Iaffa. This coast all alongst is very lowe, plaine, white, sandie, and desert, for which cause it hath fewe markes or none, so that we rode here as it were in a gulfe betweene two Capes.

The 18. day we abode still at anker, looking for a gale to returne backe, but it was contrary: and the 19. we set saile, but the currant hauing more force then the winde, we were driuen backe, insomuch, that the ship being vnder saile, we cast the sounding lead, & (notwithstanding the wind) it remained before the shippe, there wee had muddie ground at fifteene fadome. The same day about 4. of the clocke, wee set saile againe, and sayled West alongst the coast with a fresh side-winde. It chanced by fortune that the shippes Cat lept into the Sea, which being downe, kept her selfe very valiauntly aboue water, notwithstanding the great waues, still swimming, the which the master knowing, he caused the Skiffe with halfe a dosen men to goe towards her and fetch her againe, when she was almost halfe a mile from the shippe, and all this while the ship lay on staies. I hardly beleeue they would haue made such haste and meanes if one of the company had bene in the like perill. They made the more haste because it was the patrons cat. This I haue written onely to note the estimation that cats are in, among the Italians, for generally they esteeme their cattes, as in England we esteeme a good Spaniell. The same night about tenne of the clocke the winde calmed, and because none of the shippe knewe where we were, we let fall an anker about 6 mile from the place we were at before, and there wee had muddie ground at twelue fathome. A great currant. A Cat fallen into the sea and recouered.

The 20 it was still calme, and the current so strong still one way, that we were not able to stemme the streame: moreouer we knew not where we were, whereupon doubting whither wee were past, or short of our port, the Master, Pilot, and other Officers of the shippe entered into counsell what was best to doe, wherevpon they agreed to sende the bote on lande againe, to seeke some man to speake with all, but they returned as wise as they went. Then we set sayle againe and sounded euery mile or halfe mile, and found still one depth, so we not knowing where we were, came againe to an anker, seuen or eight miles by West from the place we were at. Thus still doubting where we were, the bote went on land againe, and brought newes that wee were short 80 miles of the place, whereas we thought wee had beene ouershot by east fiftie miles. Thus in these doubts we lost foure dayes, and neuer a man in the shippe able to tell where we were, notwithstanding there were diuerse in the shippe that had beene there before. Then sayd the Pylot, that at his comming to the shore, by chance he saw two wayfaring men, which were Moores, and he cryed *to them in* Turkish, insomuch that the Moores, partly for feare, and partly for lacke of vnderstanding, (seeing them to be Christians) beganne to flie, yet in the end with much a doe, they stayed to speake with them, which men when they came together, were not able to vnderstand ech other, but our men made to them the signe of the Crosse on the sande, to giue them to vnderstand that they were of the shippe that brought the pilgrims. Then the Moors knowing (as all the country else doth) that it was the vse of Christians to go to Ierusalem shewed them to be yet by west of Iaffa. Thus we remained all that night at anker, and the farther west that we sayled, the lesse water we had.

They met with two Moores on land.

The 21 *we set sayle* againe, and kept our course Northeast, but because we would not goe along the shore by night, wee came to an anker in foure and twentie fathome water. Then the next morning being the 22 we set sayle againe, and kept our course as before, and about three of the clocke in the afternoone wee had sight of the two towers of Iaffa, and about fiue of the clocke, wee were with a rocke, called in the Italian tongue, Scoglio di Santo Petro, on the which rocke they say he fished, when Christ bid him cast his net on the right side, and caught so many fishes. This rocke is now almost worne away. It is from Iaffa two or three mile: here before the two towers we came to an anker. Then the pylgrimes after supper, in salutation of the holy lande, sang to the prayse of God, Te Deum laudamus, with Magnificat, and Benedictus, but in the shippe was a Frier of Santo Francisco, who for anger because he was not called and warned, would not sing with vs, so that he stood so much vpon his dignitie, that he forgot his simplicitie, and neglected his deuotion to the holy land for that time, saying that first they ought to haue called him yer they did beginne, because he was a Fryer, and had beene there, and knewe the orders.

The two towers of Iaffa. Scolo di Santo Petro.

A messenger departeth for Ierusalem. Mahomet is clothed in greene.

The 23 we sent the bote on land with a messenger to the Padre Guardian of Ierusalem. This day it was notified vnto mee by one of the shippe that had beene a slaue in Turkie, that no man might weare greene in this land, because their prophet Mahomet went in greene. This came to my knowledge by reason of the Scriuanello, who had a greene cap, which was forbidden him to weare on the land.

The 24. 25. and 26 we taryed in the shippe still looking for the comming of the Padre guardian, and the 26 at night we had a storme which lasted all the next day.

The Guardian of Ierusalem commeth to Iaffa, with the Cady, and Subassi.

The 27 in the morning, came the Cadi, & Subassi, & the Meniwe, with the Padre guardian, but they could not come at vs by reason of the stormy weather: in the afternoone we assayed to send the bote on land, but the weather would not suffer vs. Then againe toward night the bote went a shore, but it returned not that night. The same day in the afternoone we sawe in the element, a cloud with a long tayle, like vnto the tayle of a serpent, which cloud is called in Italian Cion, the tayle of this cloud did hang as it were into the sea: and we did see the water vnder the sayde cloude ascend, as it were like a smoke or myste, the which this Cion drew vp to it. The Marriners reported to vs that it had this propertie, that if it should happen to haue lighted on any part of the shippe, that it would rent and wreth sayles, mast, shroudes and shippe and all in manner like a wyth: on the land, trees, houses, or whatsoeuer else it lighteth on, it would rent and wreth. These marriners did vse a certaine

A cloud called of the Italians Cion most dangerous.

taine coniuration to breake the sayd tayle, or cut it in two, which as they say doth preuaile. They did take a blacke hafted knife, and with the edge of the same did crosse the said taile as if they would cut it in twain, saying these words, Hold thou Cion, eat this, and then they stucke the knife on the ship side with the edge towards the said cloude, and I saw it therewith vanish in lesse then one quarter of an houre. But whether it was then consumed, or whether by vertue of the Inchantment it did vanish I knowe not, but it was gone. Hereof let them iudge that know more then I. This afternoone we had no winde, but the Sea very stormy, insomuch that neither cheste, pot, nor any thing else could stand in the shippe, and wee were driuen to keepe our meate in one hand, and the pot in the other, and so sit downe vpon the hatches to eate, for stand we could not, for that the Seas in the very port at an anker went so high as if wee had bene in the bay of Portugall with stormy weather. The reason is, as the Mariners said to me, because that there meete all the waues from all places of the Straights of Gibralter, and there breake, and that in most calmes there go greatest seas, whether the winde blow or not. A coniuration.

The 28. the weather growing somewhat calme, wee went on land and rested our selues for that day, and the next day we set forward toward the city of Ierusalem.

What I did, and what places of deuotion I visited in Ierusalem, and other parts of the Holy land, from this my departure from Iaffa, vntill my returne to the said port, may briefly be seene in my Testimonial, vnder the hand & seale of the Vicar generall of Mount Sion, which for the contentment of the Reader I thought good here to interlace.

VNiuersis & singulis præsentes litteras inspecturis salutem in Domino nostro Iesu Christo. Attestamur vobis ac alijs quibuscunq;, qualiter honorabilis vir Iohannes Lok ciuis Londoniensis, filius honorabilis viri Guilhelmi Lok equitis aurati, ad sacratissima terræ sanctæ loca personaliter se contulit, sanctissimum Domini nostri Iesu Christi sepulchrum, equo die tertia gloriosus à mortuis resurrexit, sacratissimum Caluariæ montem, in quo pro nobis omnibus cruci affixus mori dignatus est, Sion etiam montem vbi cœnam illam mirificam cum discipulis suis fecit, & vbi spiritus sanctus in die sancto Pentecostes in discipulos eosdem in linguis igneis descendit, Oliuetíq; mõtem vbi mirabiliter cœlos ascendit, intemeratæ virginis Mariæ Mausoleum in Iosaphat vallis medio situm, Bethaniam quoq;, Bethlehem ciuitatem Dauid in qua de purissima virgine Maria natus est, ibique inter animalia reclinatus, pluráq; loca alia tam in Hierusalem ciuitate sancta terre Iudææ, quàm extra, à modernis peregrinis visitari solita, deuotissimè visitauit, pariterq; adorauit. In quorum fidem, ego frater Anthonius de Bergamo ordinis fratrum minorũ regularis obseruantiæ, prouinciæ diui Anthonij Sacri conuentus montis Sion vicarius (licet indignus) necnon aliorum locorum terræ Sanctæ, apostolica authoritate comissarius & rector, has Sigillo maiori nostri officij nostraque subscriptione muniri volui. Datum Hierosolymis apud sacratissimum domini coenaculum in sæpè memorato monte Sion, Anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo, quinquagesimo tertio, die vero sexto mensis Septembris.

Frater Antonius qui supra.

THe 15. of September being come from our pilgrimage, we went aborde our shippe, and set saile, and kept our course West toward the Island of Cyprus, but al that night it was calme, and the 16. the winde freshed, and we passed by Mount Carmel. The pilgrimes returne from Ierusalem. Mount Carmel.

The 17. the winde was very scant, yet we kept the sea, and towards night wee had a guste of raine whereby wee were constrained to strike our sailes, but it was not very stormie, nor lasted very long.

The 18. 19. 20. and 21. we kept still the sea and saw no land because we had very litle winde, and that not very fauourable.

The 22. at noone the Boatswaine sent some of the Mariners into the boat, (which we toed asterne from Iaffa) for certaine necessaries belonging to the ship, wherein the Mariners found a certaine fish in proportion like a Dace, about 6. inches long (yet the Mariners said they had seene the like a foote long and more) the which fish had on euery side a wing, and toward the taile two other lesser as it were finnes, on either side one, but in proportion they were wings and of a good length. These wings grow out betweene the gils and the carkasse of

Pesce colombini. the same fish. They are called in the Italian tongue Pesce columbini, for in deede, the wings being spred it is like to a flying doue, they say it will flie farre, and very high. So it seemeth that being weary of her flight, she fell into the boate, and not being able to rise againe died there.

The 23. 24. and 25. we sailed our direct course with a small gale of winde, and this day we had sight of the Island of Cyprus. The first land that we discouered was a headland called Cauo de la Griega, and about midnight we ankered by North of the Cape. This cape is a high hil, long and square, and on the East corner it hath a high cop, that appeareth vnto those at the sea, like a white cloud, for toward the sea it is white, and it lieth into the sea Southwest. This coast of Cyprus is high declining toward the sea, but it hath no cliffes.

Cauo de la Griega.

Salini. Arnacho di Salini. Casalia.

The 26. we set saile againe, and toward noone we came into the port of Salini, where we went on land and lodged that night at a towne one mile from thence called Arnacho di Salini, this is but a village called in Italian, Casalia. This is distant from Iaffa 250. Italian miles.

The 27. we rested, and the 28. we hired horses to ride from Arnacho to Salina, which is a good mile. The salt pit is very neere two miles in compasse, very plaine and leuell, into the which they let runne at the time of raine a quantitie of water comming from the mountaines, which water is let in vntil the pit be full to a certaine marke, which when it is full, the rest is conueyed by a trench into the sea. This water is let runne in about October, or sooner or later, as the time of the yeere doth afforde. There they let it remaine vntill the ende of Iuly or the middest of August, out of which pits at that time, in stead of water that they let in they gather very faire white salt, without any further art or labour, for it is only done by the great heate of the sunne. This the Venetians haue, and doe maintaine to the vse of S. Marke, and the Venetian ships that come to this Island are bound to cast out their ballast, and to lade with salt for Venice. Also there may none in all the Iland buy salt but of these men, who maintaine these pits for S. Marke. This place is watched by night with 6. horsemen to the end it be not stolne by night. Also vnder the Venetians dominions no towne may spende any salt, but they must buy it of Saint Marke, neither may any man buy any salt at one towne to carie to another, but euery one must buy his salt in the towne where he dwelleth. Neither may any man in Venice buy more salt then he spendeth in the city, for if he be knowen to carie but one ounce out of the citie and be accused, hee looseth an eare. The most part of all the salt they haue in Venice commeth from these Salines, and they haue it so plentifull, that they are not able, neuer a yeere to gather the one halfe, for they onely gather in Iuly, August, and September, and not fully these three monethes. Yet notwithstanding the abundance that the shippes carie away yeerely, there remaine heapes like hilles, some heapes able to lade nine or tenne shippes, and there are heapes of two yeeres gathering, some of three and some of nine or tenne yeeres making, to the value of a great summe of golde, and when the ships do lade, they neuer take it by measure, but when they come at Venice they measure it. This salt as it lyeth in the pit is like so much ice, and it is sixe inches thicke: they digge it with axes, and cause their slaues to cary it to the heapes. This night at midnight we rode to Famagusta, which is eight leagues from Salina, which is 24 English miles.

Sixe horsemen to watch the salt pits.

Famagusta.

The 29 about two houres before day, we alighted at Famagusta, and after we were refreshed we went to see the towne. This is a very faire strong holde, and the strongest and greatest in the Iland. The walles are faire and new, and strongly rampired with foure principall bulwarkes, and betweene them turrions, responding one to another, these walles did the Venetians make. They haue also on the hauen side of it a Castle, and the hauen is chained, the citie hath onely two gates, to say, one for the lande and another for the sea, they haue in the towne continually, be it peace or warres, 800 souldiers, and fortie and sixe gunners, besides Captaines, petie Captaines, Gouernour and Generall. The lande gate hath alwayes fiftie souldiers, pikes and gunners with their harnes, watching thereat night and day. At the sea gate fiue and twentie, vpon the walles euery night doe watch fifteene men in watch houses, for euery watch house fiue men, and in the market place 30 souldiers continually. There may no souldier serue there aboue 5. yeres, neither will they without friendship

ship suffer them to depart afore 5. yeres be expired, and there may serue of all nations except Greekes. They haue euery pay, which is 45. dayes, 15 Mozenigos, which is 15 shillings sterling. Their horsemen haue only sixe soldes Venetian a day, and prouender for their horses, but they haue also certaine lande therewith to plow and sowe for the maintenance of their horses, but truely I maruell how they liue being so hardly fed, for all the sommer they feede only vpon chopt strawe and barley, for hey they haue none, and yet they be faire, fat and serviceable. The Venetians send euery two yeeres new rulers, which they call Castellani. The towne hath allowed it also two gallies continually armed and furnished. Mozenigo. Solde of Venice. Castellani.

The 30. in the morning we ridde to a chappell, where they say Saint Katherin was borne. This Chappell is in olde Famagusta, the which was destroyed by Englishmen, and is cleane ouerthrowne to the ground, to this day desolate and not inhabited by any person, it was of a great circuit, and there be to this day mountaines of faire, great, and strong buildings, and not onely there, but also in many places of the Iland. Moreouer when they digge, plowe, or trench they finde sometimes olde antient coines, some of golde, some of siluer, and some of copper, yea and many tombes and vautes with sepulchers in them. This olde Famagusta is from the other, foure miles, and standeth on a hill, but the new towne on a plaine. Thence we returned to new Famagusta againe to dinner, and toward euening we went about the towne, and in the great Church we saw e the tombe of king Iaques, which was the last king of Cyprus, and was buried in the yeere of Christ one thousand foure hundred seuentie & three, and had to wife one of the daughters of Venice, of the house of Cornari, the which family at this day hath great reuenues in this Island, and by means of that mariage, the Venetians chalenge the kingdome of Cyprus. Saint Katherins Chappel is old Famagusta. Diuers coines vnder ground. Cornari, a familie of Venice maried to king Iaques.

The first of October in the morning, we went to see the reliefe of the watches. That done, we went to one of the Greekes Churches to see a pot or larre of stone, which is sayd to bee one of the seuen larres of water, the which the Lord God at the mariage conuerted into wine. It is a pot of earth very faire, white enamelled, and fairely wrought vpon with drawen worke, and hath on either side of it, instead of handles, eares made in fourme as the painters make angels wings, it was about an elle high, and small at the bottome, with a long necke and correspondent in circuit to the bottome, the belly very great and round, it holdeth full twelue gallons, and hath a tap-hole to drawe wine out thereat, the larre is very auncient, but whether it be one of them or no, I know not. The aire of Famagusta is very vnwholesome, as they say, by reason of certaine marish ground adioyning vnto it. They haue also a certaine yeerely sicknesse raigning in the same towne, aboue all the rest of the Island: yet neuerthelesse, they haue it in other townes, but not so much. It is a certaine rednesse and paine of the eyes, the which if it bee not quickly holpen, it taketh away their sight, so that yeerely almost in that towne, they haue about twentie that lose their sight, either of one eye or both, and it commeth for the most part in this moneth of October, and the last moneth: for I haue met diuers times three and foure at once in companies, both men and women. Their liuing is better cheape in Famagusta then in any other place of the Island, because there may no kinde of prouision within their libertie bee solde out of the Citie. No victailes must be sold out of the city of Famagusta.

The second of October we returned to Arnacho, where wee rested vntill the sixt day. This towne is a pretie Village, there are thereby toward the Sea side diuers monuments, that there hath bene great ouerthrow of buildings, for to this day there is no vere when they finde not, digging vnder ground, either coines, caues, and sepulchres of antiquities, as we walking, did see many, so that in effect, all alongst the Sea coast, throughout the whole Island, there is much ruine and ouerthrow of buildings: for as they say, it was disinhabited sixe and thirtie yeres, before Saint Helens time for lacke of water. And since that time it hath bene ruinated and ouerthrowen by Richard the first of that name, king of England, which he did in reuenge of his sisters rauishment comming to Ierusalem, the which inforcement was done to her by the king of Famagusta. Great ruines in Cyprus. Cyprus 36. yeres disinhabited for lacke of water. Cyprus ruinated by Rich. the 1.

The sixt day we rid to Nicosia, which is from Arnacho seuen Cyprus miles, which are one and twentie Italian miles. This is the ancientest citie of the Iland, and is walled about, but it is not strong neither of walles nor situation: It is by report three Cyprus miles about, it is Nicosia.

not

not throughly inhabited, but hath many great gardens in it, and also very many Date trees, and plentie of Pomegranates and other fruites. There dwell all the Gentilitie of the Island, and there hath euery Caullier or Conte of the Island an habitation. There is in this citie one fountaine rented by saint Marke, which is bound euery eight dayes once, to water all the gardens in the towne, and the keeper of this fountaine hath for euery tree a Bizantin, which is twelue soldes Venice, and six pence sterling. He that hath that to farme, with a faire and profitable garden thereto belonging, paieth euery yeere to saint Marke, fifteene hundred crownes. The streetes of the citie are not paued, which maketh it with the quantitie of the garde is, to seeme but a rurall habitation. But there be many faire buildings in the Citie, there be also Monasteries both of Franks & Greekes. The Cathedrall church is called Santa Sophia, in the which there is an old tombe of Iaspis stone, all of one piece, made in forme of a cariage coffer, twelue spannes long, sixe spannes broad, and seuen spannes high, which they say was found vnder ground. It is as faire a stone as euer I haue seene.

A fountaine that renteth all the gardens in the citie. A Bizantin is 6. d. sterling.

S. Sophia is a Cathedral church of Nicosia.

The seuenth day we rid to a Greeke Frierie halfe a mile without the towne. It is a very pleasaunt place, and the Friers feasted vs according to their abilitie. These Friers are such as haue bene Priests, and their wiues dying they must become Friers of this place, and neuer after eate flesh, for if they do, they are deprived from saying masse: neither, after they haue taken vpon them this order, may they marry againe, but they may keepe a single woman. These Greekish Friers are very continent and chast, and surely I haue seldome seen (which I haue well noted) any of them fat.

The 8. day we returned to Arnacho, and rested there. The 9. after midnight my company rid to the hill called Monte de la Croce (but I not disposed would not go) which hill is from Arnacho 15. Italian miles. Vpon the sayd hill is a certaine crosse, which is, they say, a holy Crosse. This Crosse in times past did by their report of the Island, hang in the ayre, but by a certaine earthquake, the crosse and the chappell it hung in, were ouerthrowen, so that neuer since it would hang againe in the aire. But it is now couered with siluer, and hath 3. drops of our lordes blood on it (as they say) and there is in the midst of the great crosse, a little crosse made of the crosse of Christ, but it is closed in the siluer, you must (if you will) beleeue it is so, for see it you cannot. This crosse hangeth nowe by both endes in the wall, that you may swing it vp and downe, in token that it did once hang in the aire. This was told mee by my fellow pilgrimes, for I sawe it not.

Monte de la Croce

The 10. at night we went aboord by warning of the patron: and the 11. in the morning we set saile, and crept along the shore, but at night we ankered by reason of contrary windes.

Limisso. The 12. we set saile toward Limisso, which is from Salines 50. miles, and there we went on land that night.

The 13. and 14. we remained still on land, and the 15. the patrone sent for vs; but by reason that one of our company was not well, we went not presently, but we were forced afterward to hire a boate, and to ouertake the ship tenne miles into the sea. At this Limisso all the Venetian ships lade wine for their prouision, and some for to sell, and also vineger. They lade also great store of Carrobi: for all the countrey thereabout adioining, and all the mountaines are full of Carrobi trees, they lade also cotton woll there. In the sayd towne we did see a certaine foule of the land (whereof there are many in this Island) named in the Italian tongue Vulture. It is a foule that is as big as a Swanne, and it liueth vpon carion. The skinne is full of soft doune, like to a fine furre, which they vse to occupie when they haue euill stomacks, and it maketh good digestion. This bird (as they say) will eate as much at one meale as shall serue him fortie dayes after, and within the compasse of that time careth for no more meate. The countrey people, when they haue any dead beast, they cary it into the mountaines, or where they suppose the sayd Vultures to haunt, they seeing the carion doe immediately greedily seaze vpon it, and doe so ingraft their talents, that they cannot speedily rise agayne, by reason whereof the people come and kill them: sometimes they kill them with dogs, and somtimes with such weapons as they haue. This foule is very great and hardy, much like an Eagle in the feathers of her wings and backe, but vnder her great feathers she is onely doune, her necke also long and full of doune. She hath on the necke bone,

Carrobi.

Vulture.

bone, betweene the necke and the shoulders, a heape of fethers like a Tassell, her thighs vnto her knees are couered with doune, her legs strong and great, and dareth with her talents assault a man. They haue also in this Island a certaine small bird, much like vnto a Wagtaile in fethers and making, these are so extreme fat that you can perceiue nothing els in all their bodies: these birds are now in season. They take great quantitie of them, and they vse to pickle them with vineger and salt, and to put them in pots and send them to Venice and other places of Italy for presents of great estimation. They say they send almost 1200. larres or pots to Venice, besides those which are consumed in the Island, which are a great number. These are so plentifull that when there is no shipping, you may buy them for 10. Carchies, which coine are 4. to a Venetian Soldo, which is peny farthing the dozen, and when there is store of shipping, 2. pence the dozen, after that rate of their money. They of the limites of Famagusta do keep the statutes of ỹ Frenchmen which sometimes did rule there. And the people of Nicosia obserue the order of the Genoueses, who sometimes also did rule them. All this day we lay in the sea with little wind.

Great plenty of very fat birds.

The Famagustians obserue the French statutes.

The 16. we met a Venetian ship, and they willing to speake with vs, and we with them, made towards each other, but by reason of the euil stirrage of the other ship, we had almost boorded each other to our great danger. Toward night we ankered vnder Cauo Bianco, but because the winde grew faire, we set saile againe presently.

Cauo Bianco.

The 17. 18. 19. and 20. we were at sea with calme sommer weather, and the 20. we had some raine, and saw another Cion in the element. This day also we saw, and spake with a Venetian ship called el Bonna, bound for Ciprus.

Another Cion.

A ship called el Bonna.

The 21. we sailed with a reasonable gale, and saw no land vntil the 4. of Nouember. This day we had raine, thunder, lightening, and much wind and stormie weather, but God be praised we escaped all dangers.

A great tempest.

The 4. of Nouember, we had first sight of the Island of Candia, and we fell with the Islands called Gozi, by South of Candia. This day departed this present life, one of our company named Anthonie Gelber of Prussia, who onely tooke his surfet of Cyprus wine. This night we determined to ride a trie, because the wind was contrary, and the weather troublesome.

Candia, Gozi.

Antonie Gelber departeth this life.

The 5. we had very rough stormie weather. This day was the sayd Anthonie Gelber sowed in a Chauina filled with stones and throwen into the sea. By reason of the freshnes of the wind we would haue made toward the shore, but the wind put vs to the sea, where we endured a great storme and a troublesome night.

The 6. 7. and 8. we were continually at the sea, & this day at noone the wind came faire, whereby we recouered the way which we had lost, and sailed out of sight of Candia.

The 9. we sailed all day with a prosperous wind after 14. mile an houre: and the 10. in the morning, wee had sight of Cauo Matapan, and by noone of Cauo Gallo, in Morea, with which land we made by reason of contrary wind, likewise we had sight of Modon, vnder the which place we ankered. This Modon is a strong towne, and built in the sea, and ioineth on the North side to the land. It hath a litle castle built into the sea, with a peere for litle ships and galleis to harbour in. It hath on the South side of the chanell, the Iland of Sapientia, with other litle Islands all disinhabited. The chanell lieth Southwest and Northeast betweene the Islands and Morea, which is firme land. This Modon was built by the Venetians, but as some say it was taken frō them by force of the Turke, and others say by composition: in like case Coron, and Napolis de Romania, which is also in Morea. This night the Flemmish pilgrimes being drunke would haue slaine the patrone because he ankered here.

Cauo Matapan. Cauo Gallo. Modon.

Sapientia.

Coron. Napolis de Romania.

The 11. day we set saile againe, and as we passed by Modon, we saluted them with ordinance, for they that passe by this place, must salute with ordinance, (if they haue) or els by striking their top sailes, for if they doe not, the towne will shoot at them. This day toward 2. of the clocke wee passed by the Island of Prodeno, which is but litle, and desert, vnder the Turke. About 2. houres before night, we had sight of the Islands of Zante and Cephalonia, which are from Modon one hundreth miles.

Prodeno.

Zante and Cephalonia.

The 12. day in the morning, with the wind at West, we doubled between Castle Torneste, and the Island of Zante. This castle is on the firme land vnder the Turke. This night we ankred

Castle Torneste vnder the Turke.

kred afore the towne of Zante, where we that night went on land and reated there the 13. 14. and 15. at night we were warned aboord by the patrone. This night the ship tooke in vitailes and other necessaries.

Cauo S. Maria on the coast of Albania. Corfu Island,

The 16. in the morning we set saile with a prosperous wind, and the 17. we had sight of Cauo de santa Maria in Albania on our right hand, and Corfu on the left hand. This night we ankered before the castles of Corfu, and went on land and refreshed our selues.

The description of the force of Corfu.

The 18. by meanes of a friend we were licenced to enter the castle or fortresse of Corfu, which is not onely of situation the strongest I haue seene, but also of edification. It hath for the Inner warde two strong castles situated on the top of two high cragges of a rocke, a bow shoot distant the one from the other: the rocke is vnassaultable, for the second warde it hath strong walles with rampiers and trenches made as well as any arte can deuise. For the third warde and vttermost, it hath very strong walles with rampires of the rocke it selfe cut out by force, and trenched about with the sea. The bulwarkes of the vttermost warde are not yet finished, which are in number but two: there are continually in the castle seuen hundred souldiours. Also it hath continually foure wardes, to wit, for the land entrie one, for the sea entrie another, and two other wardes. Artillerie and other munition of defence alwayes readie planted it hath sufficient, besides the store remaining in their storehouses. The Venetians hold this for the key of all their dominions, and for strength it may be no lesse. This Island is very fruitfull and plentifull of wine and corne very good, and oliues great store. This Island is parted from Albania with a chanell, in some places eight and ten, and in other but three miles. Albania is vnder the Turke, but in it are many Christians. All the horsemen of Corfu are Albaneses; the Island is not aboue 80. or 90. miles in compasse.

The Island of Corfu is very plentifull.

The 19. 20. and 21. we remained in the towne of Corfu.

The 22. day wee went aboord and set saile, the wind being very calme wee toed the ship all that day, and toward Sunne set, the castle sent a Fragatta vnto vs to giue vs warning of three Foistes comming after vs, for whose comming wee prepared and watched all night, but they came not.

The 23. day in the morning being calme, wee toed out of the Streight, vntill wee came to the olde towne, whereof there is nothing standing but the walles. There is also a new Church of the Greekes called Santa Maria di Cassopo, and the townes name is called Cassopo. It is a good porte. About noone wee passed the Streight, and drew toward the ende of the Iland, hauing almost no wind. This night after supper, by reason of a certaine Hollander that was drunke, there arose in the ship such a troublesome disturbance, that all the ship was in an vprore with weapons, and had it not bene rather by Gods helpe, and the wisedome and patience of the patrone, more then by our procurement, there had bene that night a great slaughter. But as God would, there was no hurt, but onely the beginner was put vnder hatches, and with the fall hurt his face very sore. All this night the wind blew at Southeast, and sent vs forward.

Cassopo.

A dangerous tumult in the ship.

Saseno. Valona.

The 24. in the morning wee found ourselues before an Island called Saseno, which is in the entrie to Valona, and the wind prosperous.

Meleda.

The 25. day we were before the hils of Antiueri, and about sunne set wee passed Ragusa, and three houres within night we ankered within Meleda, hauing Sclauonia or Dalmatia on the right hand of vs, and the winde Southwest.

The 26 in the morning we set sayle, and passed the channell between Sclauonia and Meleda, which may be eight mile ouer at the most. This Iland is vnder the Raguses. At after noone with a hard gale at west and by north we entered the channell betweene the Iland Curzola and the hilles of Dalmatia, in the which channell be many rockes, and the channell not past 3 miles ouer, and we ankered before the towne of Curzola. This is a prete towne walled about and built vpon the sea side, hauing on the toppe of a round hill a faire Church. This Iland is vnder the Venetians, there grow very good vines, also that part toward Dalmatia is well peopled and husbanded, especially for wines. In the said Iland we met with the Venetian armie, to wit, tennie gallies, and three foystes. All that night we remained there.

Curzola a fruitfull Iland.

The 27 we set sayle and passed along the Iland, and towards afternoone we passed in before

fore the Iland of Augusta, and about sunne set before the towne of Lesina, whereas I am informed by the Italians, they take all the Sardinas that they spend in Italy. This day we had a prosperous winde at Southeast. The Iland of Lesina is vnder the Venetians, a very fruitfull Iland adioyning to the maine of Dalmatia, we left it on our right hand, and passed along. In the Iland of Lesine, are tenn store of Sardines.

The 28 in the morning we were in the Gulfe of Quernero, and about two houres after noone we were before the cape of Istria, and at sunne set we were at anker afore Rouignio which is also in Istria and vnder the Venetians, where all ships Venetian and others are bound by order from Venice to take in their pilots to goe for Venice. All the sommer the Pilots lie at Rouignio, and in winter at Parenzo, which is from Rouignio 18 miles by West. The gulfe of Quernero. Rouignio.

The 29 we set sayle and went as farre as Parenzo, and ankered there that day, and went no further. Parenzo.

The 30 in the morning we rowed to Sant Nicolo a litle Iland hard by vninhabited, but only it hath a Monastery, & is full of Oliue trees, after masse wee returned and went aboord. This day the patron hired a Barke to imbarke the pilgrims for Venice, but they departed not. In the afternoone we went to see the towne of Parenzo, it is a pretie handsome towne, vnder the Venetians. After supper wee imbarked our selues againe, and that night wee sayled towardes Venice. S. Nicolo an Iland.

The first of December we past a towne of the Venetians, standing on the entery to the Palude or marshes of Venice: which towne is called Caorle, and by contrary windes we were driuen thither to take port. This is 60 miles from Parenzo, and forty from Venice, there we remayned that night. Caorle standing at the entry of the marshes of Venice.

The second two houres before day, with the winde at Southeast, we sayled towards Venice, where we arriued (God be praysed) at two of the clocke after dinner, and landed about foure, we were kept so long from landing, because we durst not land vntill we had presented to the Prouidor de la Sanita, our letter of health. Our arriuall at Venice.

The manner of the entring of Soliman the great Turke, with his armie into Aleppo in Syria, marching towards Persia against the Great Sophie, the fourth day of Nouember, 1553, noted by Master Anthony Ienkinson, present at that time.

THere marched before the Grand Signior, otherwise called the great Turke, 6000 Esperes, otherwise called light horsemen very braue, clothed all in scarlet.

After, marched 10000 men, called Nortans, which be tributaries to the Great Turke, clothed all in yellow veluet, and hats of the same, of the Tartary fashion, two foote long, with a great role of the same colour about their foreheads, richly decked, with their bowes in their hands, of the Turkish fashion.

After them marched foure Captaines, men of armes, called in Turkish Saniaques, clothed all foure in crimson veluet, euery one hauing vnder his banner twelue thousand men of armes well armed with their morrions vpon their heads, marching in good order, with a short weapon by their sides, called in their language, Simiterro.

After came 16000 Ianizaries, called the slaues of the Grand Signior, all a foote, euery one hauing his harquebush, who be his gard, all clothed in violet silke, and apparelled vpon their heads with a strange forme, called Cuoculluccia, fashioned in this sort: the entering in of the forehead is like a skull made of white veluet, & hath a traine hanging downe behind, in manner of a French hoode, of the same colour, and vpon the forepart of the said skull, iust in the middes of his forehead there is standing bolt vpright like a trunke of a foote long of siluer, garnished most richly with Goldsmiths worke, and precious stones, and in the top of the said trunke a great bush of fethers, which waueth vp and downe most brauely when he marcheth.

After this, there cam 1000. pages of honour, all clothed in cloth of gold, the halfe of them carying harquebushes, and the other halfe Turkish bowes, with their trusses of arrowes, marching in good order.

Then came three men of armes well armed, and vpon their harnesse coates of the Turkes fashion, of Libard skinnes, and murrions vpon their heads, their speares charged, and at the

end of their staffe hard by ỹ head of the speare, a horse taile died in a bloody colour, which is their ensigne: they be the chalengers for the Turkes owne person.

After them came seuen pages of honour in cloth of siluer, vpon seuen white horses, which horses were couered with cloth of siluer, all embrodered and garnished with precious stones, emerauds, diamonds, and rubies most richly.

After them also came sixe more pages of honour, clothed in cloth of gold, euery one hauing his bowe in his hand, and his fawchine of the Turkes fashion by his side.

Immediately after them came the great Turke himselfe with great pompe & magnificence, vsing in his countenance and gesture a wonderfull maiestie, hauing onely on each side of his person one page clothed with cloth of gold: he himselfe was mounted vpon a goodly white horse, adorned with a robe of cloth of gold, embrodered most richly with the most precious stones, and vpon his head a goodly white tucke, containing in length by estimation fifteene yards, which was of silke and linnen wouen together, resembling something Callicut cloth, but is much more fine and rich, and in the top of his crowne, a litle pinnach of white Ostrich feathers, and his horse most richly apparelled in all points correspondent to the same.

After him folowed sixe goodly yong ladies, mounted vpon fine white hackneis, clothed in cloth of siluer, which were of the fashion of mens garments, embrodered very richly with pearle and precious stones, and had vpon their heads caps of Goldsmiths worke, hauing great flackets of haire, hanging out on each side, died as red as blood, and the nailes of their fingers died of the same colour, euery of them hauing two eunuches on each side, and litle bowes in their hands, after an Antike fashion.

After marched ỹ great Basha chiefe conductor of the whole army, clothed with a robe of Dollymant crimson, and vpon the same another short garment very rich, and about him fiftie Ianizaries afoote, of his owne gard, all clothed in crimson veluet, being armed as the great Turks owne Ianizaries.

Then after ensued three other Bashas, with slaues about them, being afoote, to the number of three thousand men.

After came a companie of horsemen very braue, and in all points well armed, to the number of foure thousand.

All this aforesayd army, most pompous to behold, which was in number foure score and eight thousand men, encamped about the citie of Aleppo, and the Grand Signior himselfe was lodged within the towne, in a goodly castle, situated vpon a high mountaine: at the foote whereof runneth a goodly riuer, which is a branch of that famous riuer Euphrates.

The rest of his armie passed ouer the mountaines of Armenia called now the mountaines of Camarie, which are foure dayes iourney from Aleppo, appointed there to tary the comming of the Grand Signior, with the rest of his armie, intending to march into Persia, to giue battel to the great Sophie. So the whole armie of the Grand Signior, containing as well those that went by the mountaines, as also those that came to Aleppo in company with him, with horsemen & footemen, and the conductors of the camels and victuals, were the number of 300000. men.

The camels which caried munition and vitailes for the said army, were in number 200000.

A note of the presents that were giuen at the same time in Aleppo, to the grand Signior, and the names of the presenters.

First the Basha of Aleppo, which is as a Viceroy, presented 100. garments of cloth of gold, and 25. horses.

The Basha of Damasco, presented 100. garments of cloth of gold, and twentie horses, with diuers sorts of comfits, in great quantitie.

The Basha of Aman presented 100. garments of cloth of gold, 20. horses, and a cup of gold, with two thousand duckets.

The Saniaque of Tripolis presented six camels, charged all with silkes, 20. horses, and a little clocke of gold, garnished with precious stones, esteemed worth two hundred duckets.

The

The Consul of the company of the Venetians in Tripolis, came to kisse the grand Signiors hand, and presented him a great basin of gold, and therein 4000. duckets Venetians.

The safeconduct or priuiledge giuen by Sultan Solyman the great Turke, to master Anthony Ienkinson at Aleppo in Syria, in the yeere 1553.

SVltan Solyman, &c. to all Viceroyes, Saniaques, Cadies, and other our Iusticers, Officers, and subiects of Tripolis in Syria, Constantinople, Alexandria in Ægypt, and of all other townes and cities vnder our dominion and iurisdiction. We will and command you, that when you shall see Anthony Ienkinson, bearer of these present letters, merchant of London in England, or his factor, or any other bearing the sayd letter for him, arriue in our ports and hauens, with his ship or ships, or other vessels whatsoeuer, that you suffer him to lade or vnlade his merchandise wheresoeuer it shall seeme good vnto him, traffiking for himselfe in all our countreys and dominions, without hindering or any way disturbing of him, his ship, his people or merchandise, and without enforcing him to pay any other custome or toll whatsoeuer, in any sort, or to any persons whatsoeuer they be, saue onely our ordinarie duties contained in our custome houses, which when he hath paied, we will that he be franke and free, as well for himselfe as for his people, merchandise, ship or ships, and all other vessels whatsoeuer: and in so doing that he may traffike, bargaine, sell and buy, lade and vnlade, in all our foresayd Countreys, lands and dominions, in like sort, and with the like liberties and priuiledges, as the Frenchmen and Venetians vse, and enioy, and more if it bee possible, without the hinderance or impeachment of any man. And furthermore, wee charge and commaund all Viceroyes, and Consuls of the French nation, and of the Venetians, and all other Consuls resident in our Countreys, in what port or prouince soeuer they be, not to constraine, or cause to constraine by them, or the sayd Ministers and Officers whatsoeuer they be, the sayd Anthony Ienkinson, or his factor, or his seruaunts, or deputies, or his merchandise, to pay any kind of consullage, or other right whatsoeuer, or to intermeddle or hinder his affaires, and not to molest nor trouble him any maner of way, because our will and pleasure is, that he shall not pay in all our Countreys, any other then our ordinarie custome. And in case any man hinder and impeach him, aboue, and besides these our present letters, wee charge you most expresly to defend and assist him agaynst the sayd Consuls, and if they will not obey our present commandement, that you aduertise vs thereof, that we may take such order for the same, that others may take example thereby. Moreouer, we commaund all our Captaines of our Gallies, and their Lieutenants, be they Foistes or other Vessels, that when they shall finde the sayd Ienkinson, or his factor, his ship or ships, with his seruaunts and merchandise, that they hurt him not neither in body nor goods, but that rather they assist and defend him agaynst all such as seeke to doe him wrong, and that they ayde and helpe him with vitailes, according to his want, and that whosoeuer shall see these presents, obey the same, as they will auoyd the penaltie in doing the contrary. Made in Aleppo of Syria, the yeere 961. of our holy prophet Mahomet, and in the yeere of Iesus, 1553. signed with the scepter and signet of the grand Signior, with his owne proper hand.

A discourse of the trade to Chio, in the yeere 1569. made by Gaspar Campion, vnto master Michael Locke, and vnto master William Winter, as by his letters vnto them both shall appeare. Written the 14. of February.

WOrshipfull Sir, &c. As these dayes past I spake vnto you about the procurement of a safeconduct from the great Turke, for a trade to Chio: The way and maner how it may be obtained with great ease shall plainly appeare vnto you in the lines following. Sir, you shall vnderstand that the Island of Chio in time past hath bene a Signiorie or lordship of it selfe, and did belong vnto the Genowaies. There were 24. of the that gouerned the island which were called Mauneses. But in continuaunce of time the Turke waxed so strong and mightie, that they, considering they were not able to keepe it, vnlesse they should become his tributaries, because the Island had no corne, nor any kind of vitailes to sustaine themselues, but 1569.

onely that which must of necessitie come out of the Turkes dominions, and the sayd island being inclosed with the Turks round about, and but 12. miles from the Turks Continent, therefore the said Genowaies did compound and agree to be the Turkes tributaries, and to pay him 14000. thousand ducates yeerely. Alwayes prouided, that they should keep their lawes both spirituall and temporall, as they did when the Iland was in their owne hands. Thus he granted them their priuiledge, which they inioyed for many yeeres, so that all strangers, and also many English men did trade thither of long continuance, and went and came in safety. In this meane time, the prince Pedro Doria (being a Genouois) became a captaine to serue the Emperour with 30 or 40 gallies against the Turke. And since that time diuers other captaines belonging to Genoa haue bene in the seruice of king Philip against the Turke. Moreouer, whensoeuer the Turke made out any army, he perceiued that no nation did him more hurt then those Genouois, who were his tributaries. Likewise at the Turkes siege of Malta, before which place he lay a great while, with losse of his men, and also of his gallies, he found none so troublesome vnto his force, as one Iuanette Doria a Genouois, and diuers others of the Iland of Chio, who were his tributaries. At which sight, he tooke such displeasure against them of Chio, that he sent certaine of his gallies to the Iland, for to seise vpon all the goods of the 24 Mauneses, and to turne them with their wiues and children out of the Iland, but they would let none other depart, because the Iland should not be vnpeopled. So that now the Turke hath sent one of his chiefe men to rule there: whereby now it will be more easie for vs to obtaine our safeconduct then euer it was before. For if the townesmen of Chio did know that we would trade thither (as we did in times past) they themselues, and also the customer (for the Turke in all his dominions doth rent his customes) would be the chiefest procurer of this our safeconduct for his owne gaine: which is no small matter: for we can pay no lesse than ten in the hundred thorowout the Turks whole dominion. Insomuch, that if one of our shippes should go thither, it would be for the customers profit 4000 ducats at least, whereas if we should not trade thither, he should lose so much. Also the burgesses, and the common people would be very glad of our trade there, for the Communalty do get more by our countreymen then they do any other nation whatsoeuer: for we do vse to buy many of their silke quilts, and of their Scamato and Dimite, that the poore people make in that towne, more then any other nation, so that we would not so gladly trade, but the people of the countrey would be twise so willing. Wherefore they themselues would be a meanes vnto their gouernour, by their petition to bring this trade to passe: giuing him to vnderstand that of all nations in the world we do him least hurt, and that we may do his countrey great good in consuming those commodities which his countrey people make. Furthermore, it were farre more requisite that we should cary our owne commodities, then to suffer a stranger to cary them thither, for that we can affoord them better cheape then a stranger can. I write not this by hearesay of other men, but of mine own experience. for I haue traded in the countrey aboue this 30 yeres, and haue bene maried in the towne of Chio full 24 yeres, so that you may assure yourselfe that I will write nothing but truth. Now I will declare vnto you the wares and commodities that are in the countreyes neere about Chio. There are very good galles, the best sort whereof are sold in England fiue shillings deerer then any other countrey galles. There is also cotton wooll, tanned hides, hides in the haire, waxe, chamlets, mocayares, grogerams, silke of diuers countreyes, cordouan skinnes tanned white, to be made blacke, of them great quantity, and also course wooll to make beds. The naturall commodities growing in the Iland it selfe are silke rawe, and masticke. Of these commodities there are laden yeerely ten or twelue great ships of Genoa, besides fiue or sixe that do belong to the towne of Chio, which ships are fraughted for Genoa, Messina, and Ancona. And now that the Mauneses and the chiefe merchants of Genoa are banished, the trade is cleane lost, by reason whereof merchandise must now of necessity be better cheape then they haue bene in times past. But yet when all those ships did trade to the countrey, & also our ships, we neuer had lesse then three kintals of galles for a carsie, and in England we sold them for 35 and 36 shillings the hundred. And whereas now they are brought by the Venetians, they sell them vnto vs for three pound tenne shillings, and foure pound the hundred.

The Prince Pedro Doria is captaine of 40 gallies vnder the Emperor.

Iuanette Doria.

The Mauneses put out of the Iland of Chio by the Turke.

The custome thorowout all Turkie is ten in euery hundreth.

English men do buy more commodities of Chio then any other nation.

Great store of sundry commodities to be had in Chio.

hundred. Also we had three kintals of cotten wooll for a carsie, and solde the wooll in England for 50 shillings or 3 pound at the most, whereas now the Italians sell the same to vs for 4 pound 10 shillings and 5 pound the hundred. In like maner chamlets, whereas we had three pieces, and of the best sort two and a halfe for a carsie, and could not sell them aboue 20 shillings and 22 shillings the piece, they sell them for 30 and 35 shillings the piece. Also grogerams, where we had of the best, two pieces and a halfe for a carsie, they sell them for foure shillings and foure shillings and sixe pence the yard. Carpets the smaller sort which serue for cupboords, we had three for a carsie: whereas we at the most could not sell them but for 20 shillings the piece, they sell them for 35 shillings the piece. And so all other commodities that the Venetians do bring, they sell them to vs for the third part more gaines then we our selues in those dayes that we traded in those parts. Likewise the barrels of oile that they bring from Candia, we neuer could sell them aboue foure nobles the barrell, where they sell them alwayes for 50 shillings & 3 pound the barrell. What great pity is this, that we should lose so good a trade, and may haue it in our owne hands, and be better welcome to that countrey then the Venetians. Moreouer, the Venetians come very little to Chio, for their most trade is into Alexandria. And for to assure you that we had these commodities in barter of our carsies, looke into your fathers books, and the books of Sir Iohn Gresham, and his brethren, and you shall finde what I haue sayd to be true.

Also you know, that we are forced to seeke oiles out of Spaine, and that for these many yeeres they haue bene solde for 25 pound and 30 pound the tunne: whereas, if we can obtaine the foresayd safeconduct from the Turke, there are diuers places in his dominions, where we may lade 500 tunnes, at 5 pound sterling the tunne. The places are Modon, and Coron, which are but twelue miles distant the one from the other, and do stand in our way to Chio, as you may plainly see by the Card. Also these are places where we may vtter our owne commodities, and not onely these two places, but many others, where we may haue oiles, and be better vsed then we are in Spaine, where we pay very deare, and also are very euill intreated many wayes, as to you is not vnknowen. So that by these meanes (if the marchants will) we may be eased, and haue such a trade as the like is not in Christendome. Now, as for getting the safeconduct, if I were but able to spend one hundred pounds by the yeere, I would be bound to lose it, if that I did not obtaine the foresayd safeconduct. For I know that if the inhabitants of Chio did but thinke that wee would trade thither againe, they at their owne cost would procure to vs a safeconduct, without any peny of charges to the marchants. So that if the marchants will but beare my charges to solicit the cause, I will vndertake it my selfe. Wherefore I pray you speake to M. Winter and the other marchants, that this matter may take effect. And let me haue your answere herein assoone as conueniently you may, for that the time of the yeere draweth nigh that this businesse must be done. Thus I commit you to God, and rest alwayes yours to command.

Diuers places where we may haue sweete oiles for our clothing farre cheaper then out of Spaine.

Yours as your seruant Gaspar Campion.

To the worshipfull M. William Winter.

IT may please your worship to vnderstand, that as concerning the voyage to Chio, what great profit would be gotten, both for marchants, and also for owners of shippes (as it was well knowen in those dayes when the Matthew Gonson, the Trinitie Fitzwilliams, and the Sauiour of Bristow, with diuers other ships which traded thither yerely, and made their voyage in ten or twelue monethe, and the longest in a yeere) M. Francis Lambert, M. Iohn Brooke, and M. Drauer can truely informe you heereof at large. And by reason that wee haue not traded into those parts these many yeeres, and the Turke is growen mighty, whereby our ships doe not trade as they were woont, I finde that the Venetians doe bring those commodities hither, and doe sell them for double the value that we our selues were accustomed to fetch them. Wherefore, as I am informed by the aboue named men, that there is none so fit to furnish this voyage as your selfe: my request is that there may be a shippe of conuenient burthen prepared for this voyage, and then I will satisfie you at large what is to be done

done therein. And because the Turke, as I sayd before, is waxen strong, and hath put out the Christian rulers, and placed his owne subiects, we may doubt whether we may so peaceably trade thither as we were woont: therefore I dare vndertake to obtaine a safeconduct, if my charges may be borne to goe and come. Of the way how this may be done, M. Locke can satisfie you at large. Moreouer, I can informe you more of the trade of that countrey, then any other, for that I haue bene in those parts these thirty yeeres, and haue bene married in the very towne of Chio full foure and twenty yeres. Furthermore, when one of our ships commeth thither, they bring at the least sixe or eight thousand carsies, so that the custome thereof is profitable for the prince, and the returne of them is profitable to the common people: for in barter of our wares, we tooke the commodities which the poore of that towne made in their houses: so that one of our shippes brought the prince and countrey more gaines then sixe ships of other nations. The want of this our trade thither was the onely cause why the Christian rulers were displaced: for when they payd not their yerely tribute, they were put out by force. Touching the ship that must go, she must observe this order, she must be a ship of countenance, and she must not touch in any part of Spaine, for the times are dangerous, nor take in any lading there: but she must lade in England, either goods of our owne, or els of strangers, and go to Genoa or Legorno, where we may be wel intreated, and from thence she must make her money to buy wines, by exchange to Candia, for there both custome & exchange are reasonable: and not do as the Math. Gonson & other ships did in time past, who made sale of their wares at Messina for the lading of their wines, and payed for turning their white money into golde after foure and fiue in the hundreth, and also did hazzard the losse of shippe and goods by carying away their money. Thus by the aforesayd course we shall trade quietly, and not be subiect to these dangers. Also from Legorno to Castilla de la mar, which is but 16 miles from Naples, and the ready way to Candia, you may lade hoopes, which will cost carolins of Naples 27 and a halfe the thousand, which is ducats two and a halfe of Spaine. And in Candia for euery thousand of hoops you shall haue a but of Malmesey cleare of all charges. Insomuch that a ship of the burden of the Mathew Gonson will cary foure hundreth thousand hoops, so that one thousand ducats will lade her, and this is an vsual trade to Candia, as M. Michael Locke can testifie. Furthermore, it is not vnknowen to you, that the oiles which we do spend in England for our cloth, are brought out of Spaine, and that very deare, and in England we cannot sell them vnder 28 pound and 30 pound the tunne: I say we may haue good oile, and better cheape in diuers places within the streights. Wherefore if you thinke good to take this voyage in hand, I will informe you more particularly when you please. In the meane time I rest your worships to command.

Iasper Campion maried in Chio 24 yeeres.

Store of hoops laden at Castilla de la mare for Candia.

Yours at your pleasure Iasper Campion.

The true report of the siege and taking of Famagusta, of the antique writers called Tamassus, a city in Cyprus 1571. In the which the whole order of all the skirmishes, batteries, mines, and assaults giuen to the sayd fortresse, may plainly appeare. Englished out of Italian by William Malim.

To the right honourable and his singular good Lord, and onely Patron the Earle of Leicester, Baron of Denbigh, Knight of the honourable order of the Garter, one of the Queenes Maiesties most honourable priuy Councell &c. William Malim wisheth long health with increase of honour.

IT hath bene a naturall instinct (right honourable and mine especiall good lord) ingraffed in noble personages hearts, much approued and confirmed also by custome, for them to seeke from time to time, by some meanes in their life, by the which they after their death might deliuer ouer their name to their posteritie: least otherwise with their body, their fame also altogether might perchance be buried. Vpon the which consideration we reade many notable and famous things to haue bene erected in time past of noble personages (hauing had wealth at

a will) in such sort, that not onely certaine ruines of the same sumptuous works builded so many hundred yeres past, do still remaine, but also the most part of those princes, the authours of them, do continually by them dwell in our memories. As the Pyramides made at Memphise or neere the famous riuer of Nilus, by the great expenses of the kings of Egypt; the tower called Pharia, made in the Iland of Pharos by king Ptolomee: the walles of Babylon, made or at the least reedified by queene Semiramis: Dianas church at Ephesus builded by all the noble persons of Asia: Mausolus toome or sepulchre, made by his wife queene of Caria: Colossus Solis placed at Rhodes, I remember not by what Princes charge, but made by the hands of Cares Lindius scholar to Lysippus: and the image of Iupiter, made of Yuory by the hands of the skilfull workman Phydias. The which monuments made of barbarous and heathen Princes to redeeme themselues from obliuion deserued both for the magnificence, and perfect workmanship of the same, to be accounted in those dayes as the seuen woonders of the world. Since the which time, an easier, readier, and lighter way, being also of more continuance then the former, hath bene found out, namely, Letters, which were first inuented by the Caldies and Egyptians, as we reade, and augmented since by others, to our great benefit, and now last of all (no long time past) the same to haue bene committed to Printers presses, to the greatest perfection of the same: men being first inforced to write their actes and monuments in beasts skinnes dried, in barkes of trees, or otherwise perchance as vnreadily. By the which benefit of letters (now reduced into print) we see how easie a thing it is, and hath bene for noble persons, to liue for euer by the helpe of learned men. For the memory of those two woorthy and valiant captaines Scipio and Hannibal had bene long before this present quite forgotten, except Titus Liuius, or some such learned Historiographer had written of them in time. And Alexander Magnus himselfe that great conquerour had nothing beene spoken of, had not Q. Curtius, or some other like by his learned stile reuiued the remembrance of him, and called backe againe his doings to his posteritie. For the which cause we see commonly in all ages learned men to be much made of by noble personages, as that rare paterne of learning Aristotle to haue bene greatly honoured of that former renowmed Monarch Alexander: who affirmed openly, that he was more bound to his Master Aristotle, then to king Philip his father, because the one had well framed his minde, the other onely his body. Many other like examples I could alledge at this present, if I knew not vnto whom I now wrote, or in what: for your honour being skilfull in histories, and so familiarly acquainted with the matter it selfe, that is in still entertaining learned men with all curtesie, I should seeme to light a candle at noone tide, to put you in remembrance of the one, or to exhort you to doe the other, dayly being accustomed to performe the same. Crassus sayth in Tullies first booke, De Oratore: that a Lawyers house is the oracle of the whole citie. But I can iustly witnesse, that for these fiue yeeres last past, since my returne from my trauell beyond the seas, that your lodging in the Court (where I through your vndeserued goodnesse to my great comfort do dayly frequent) hath bene a continuall receptacle or harbour for all learned men comming from both the eyes of the realme, Cambridge, and Oxford (of the which Vniuersity your lordship is Chancellor) to their great satisfaction of minde, and ready dispatch of their sutes. Especially for Preachers and Ministers of true religion: of the which you haue beene from time to time not onely a great fauourer, but an earnest furtherer, and protectour: so that these two nurseries of learning (in one of the which I haue before this spent part of my time, that I may speake boldly what I thinke) should wrong your honour greatly, and much forget themselues, if by all meanes possible they should not hereafter (as at this present to their smal powers many well learned gentlemen of them do) labour and trauell in shewing of themselues thankfull, to reuerence and honour your lordship, and honest their owne names: whose studies erteinly would suddenly decay and fall flat, if they were not held vp by such noble propppes, and had not some sure ankerholds in their distresse to leane vnto. How ready dayly your trauell is, and hath long beene besides to benefit all other persons, in whom any sparke of vertue or honesty remaineth, I need not labour to expresse, the world knowing already the same. But whosoeuer they be, that in all their life time haue an especiall care by all meanes to profit as many as they be able, and not none, do not onely a laudable act, but leade

leade a perfect and very godly life. Whereupon Strabo affirmeth this most truely to be spoken of them: Mortales tum demum Deum imitari, cum benefici fuerint. That is, Mortall men then specially to follow the nature of God, when they are beneficiall and bountifull to others. Great commendation vndoubtedly it bringeth to any noble personage, that as the Moone, that light and brightnesse which she receiueth of the Sun, is wont presently to spread abroad vpon the face of the earth, to the refreshing and comforting of all inferiour and naturall things bearing life: so for him, to bestow all that fauour and credit, which he hath gotten at the princes handes, to the helpe and reliefe of the woorthy and needy. Great is the force (my right honourable lord) of true vertue, which causeth men, as Tully writeth in his booke De Amicitia, to be loued & honoured oft of those persons, which neuer saw them. Whereof I neuer had better proofe (I take God & mine one conscience to witnesse, the which I declared also to certaine of my friends assoone as I returned) then at my last being at Constantinople, in the yere of our Lord 1564, whereas I oft resorting (as occasion serued) to the right honorable Christian ambassadors, while I made my abode there (namely vnto Monsieur Antonio Petrimol, lieger there for the French king, Sig. M. Victor Bragadino, for the segniory of Venice, Sig. Lorenzo Giustiniano, for the state of Scio, or Chios, and Sig. Albertacio delli Alberti, for the duke of Florence) heard them often report and speake very honorably of your lordship, partly for your other good inclinations of nature, but especially for your liberality, & courteous intreating of diuers of their friends & countrymen, which vpon sundry occasions had bene here in this our realme. So that to conclude, all men iustly fauour your honourable dealings and deserts: and I for my part haue reuerenced and honoured the same euermore both here at home, and elswhere abroad, wishing often to haue had some iust occasion to pay part of that in good will, which my slender abilitie will neuer suffer me fully to discharge. For vnto whom should I sooner present any thing any way, especially concerning matters done abroad, then vnto your lordship, by whom I was much cherished abroad in my trauell, and mainteined since my returne here at home? For the which cause I haue enterprised (hoping greatly of your lordships fauour herein) to clothe and set forth a few Italian newes in our English attire, being first mooued thereunto by the right worshipfull M. D. Wilson Master of her Maesties Requests, your honours assured trusty friend, a great & painfull furtherer of learning, whom I, and many other for diuers respects ought to reuerence: who remembring that I had bene at Cyprus, was willing that my pen should trauell about the Christian and Turkish affaires, which there lately haue happened: perswading himselfe, that somewhat thereby I might benefit this our natiue countrey. Against whose reasonable motion I could not greatly wrestle, hazzarding rather my slender skill in attempting and performing this his requested taske, then he through my refusall should seeme to want any iot of my good will. In offering vp the which newes, although I shall present no new thing to your honour, because you are so well acquainted with the Italian copy, as I know: yet I trust your lordship will not mislike, that the same which is both pleasant to reade, and so necessary to be knowen for diuers of our captaines and other our countreymen, which are ignorant in the Italian tongue, may thus now shew it selfe abroad, couered vnder the wing of your lordships protection. Certeinly it mooueth me much to remember the losse of those three notable Ilands, to the great discomfort of all Christendome, to those hellish Turkes, horseleeches of Christian blood: namely Rhodes besieged on S. Iohn Baptists day, and taken on Iohns day the Euangelist, being the 27 of December 1522. Scio or Chios being lost since my being there, taken of Piali Basha with 80 gallies, the 17 of April 1566. And now last of all not only Famagusta the chiefe holde & fortresse in Cyprus to haue bene lost of the Venetians the 15 of August last past 1571 (the chiefe gouernors & captaines of thē being hewen in sunder by the cōmandement of that tyrant Mustafa Basha) but all the whole Iland also to be conquered by those cruell Turks, ancient professed enemies to all Christian religion. In the which euill successe (comming to vs as I take it for our offences) as I lament the generall losse: so I am surely pensiue to vnderstand by this too true a report of the vile death of two particular noble gentlemen of Venice, Sig. M. Lorenzo Tiepolo, and Sig. M. Giouanni Antonio Querini: of both the which I in my trauaile was very courteously vsed, the former of them

Master Mallet at Constantinople 1564.

Rhodes lost.

Scio lost.

Cyprus lost.

them being then (as now also he was in this ouerthrow) gouernour of Baffo in Cyprus, the other captaine of one of the castels at Corcyra in Greece, now called Corfu. But things past are past amendment, and they could neuer die more honourably, then in the defence of their countrey. Besides that the late blowes, which the Turks haue receiued since this their fury, be token of Gods wrath against them, do much comfort euery Christian heart. Moreouer this vniforme preparation which is certainly concluded, and forthwith looked for, by very many Christian Princes (would God by all generally) against these barbarous Mahometists: whose cruelty and beastly behauiour I partly know, and am able to iudge of, hauing bene in Turky amongst them more than eight moneths together. Whose vnfaithfulnesse also and breach of promise, as the Venetians manly courage in defence of themselues, and their fortresse, your honour may easily reade in this short treatise and small handfull of leaues, I hauing set downe also a short description of the Iland of Cyprus, for the better vnderstanding of the whole matter. The which I not onely most humbly beseech your honour now fauourably to accept as an earnest peny of more to come, and of my present good will: but with your accustomed goodnesse towards me, to defend the same against such persons, whose tongues too readily roule sometime against other mens painfull trauels, perswading themselues to purchase the sooner some credit of learning with the ruder sort, by controlling and ouerdaintie sifting of other mens laboured tasks. For I know in all ages to be found as well Basilisks as Elephants. Thus nothing doubting of your ready ayd herein, as I assuredly trust of your honours fauourable acceptation of this my poore present, wishing long life with the increase of Gods holy spirit to your lordship and to all your most honourable familie (vnto whom I haue wholly dedicated my selfe by mine owne choise and election for euer) I, crauing pardon for my former boldnesse, most humbly thus take my leaue. From Lambhith the 23 of March. Ann. 1572.

Your honours most humble and faithfull seruant
for euer, William Malim.

A briefe description of the Iland of Cyprus: by the which not onely the Venetians title why they haue so long enioyed it, but also the Turks, whereby now he claimeth it, may plainly appeare.

The Iland of Cyprus is inuironed with diuers seas: for Westward it is washed with the sea called Pamphilium: Southward, with the sea Ægyptium: on the East part, with the sea Syrium: and Northward, with the sea called Cilicium. The which Iland in time past had diuers names: called once Acamantis, as Sabellicus witnesseth. Philonides maketh mention, that it was called sometime Cerasis. Xenogoras writeth, that it was named Aspelia, Amathusa, & Macaria. There were in times past fifteene cities or famous townes in it, but now very few, amongst the which Famagusta is the chiefest & strongest, situated by the sea side. There is also Nicosia, which was woont, by the traffike of marchants, to be very wealthy: besides the city of Baffo, Arnica, Saline, Limisso, Melipotamo, and Episcopia. Timosthenes affirmeth, that this Iland is in compasse 429 miles: and Arthemidorus writeth the length of the same to be 162 miles, measuring of it from the East to the West, betwixt two promontories named Dinaretta and Acamanta. This Iland is thought to be very rich, abundant of Wine, Oile, Graine, Pitch, Rozin, Allum, Salt, and of diuers precious stones, pleasant, profitable, and necessary for mans vse, and much frequented of Marchants of Syria, vnto the which it lieth very nere. It hath bene, as Plinie writeth, ioyned sometime with Syria, as Sicilia hath beene also with Italy. It was a long time subiect vnto the Romans, after to the Persians, and to the Soldan of Ægypt. The selfe same Iland was sometime also English, being conquered by king Richard the first, in his voyage to Hierusalem in the yeere of our Lord 1192. Who (as Polydore writeth in his fourteenth booke of our English historie) being prohibited by the Cypriottes from arriual there, inuaded and conquered the same soone after by force: and hauing left behinde him sufficient garrisons to keepe the same, departed from thence to Ptolemayda:

who afterward exchanged the same with Guy of Lusignan, that was the last christened king of Hierusalem, for the same kingdome. For the which cause the kings of England were long time after called kings of Hierusalem. And last of all, the Venetians haue enioyed it of late a long time, in this order following. In the yeere of our Lord 1470, Iohn king of the sayd Iland, sonne to Ianus of Lusignan, had by Helen his wife, which was of the Emperiall house of Paleologus, one daughter only called Charlotta, and a bastard called Iames: the which Iames was afterward consecrated Bishop of Nicosia. This Charlotta was married first to the king of Portingall, of whom he had no issue, so that he being dead, Lewes Duke of Sauoy (to whom shee was the second time married) sonne to Lewes the second of that name (vnto whom the said Iland by the right of this his wife Charlotta did appertaine) had the possession of the same. Iames the bastard assoone as his father was dead, of a bishop became a souldiour, and with an army wanne the Iland, making it his owne by force. This Duke of Sauoy hearing these newes, with a number of well appointed souldiers, arriued shortly after in Cyprus, and recouering againe the Iland, compelled the bastard to flie forthwith ouer to the Soldan of Ægypt. Who making himselfe his subiect, in time so wrought and tempered the matter, that the Soldan in person at his request passed ouer into Cyprus, besieged Duke Lewes in the castle of Nicosia, and at length compelled him to depart, leauing his kingdome. So that this Bishop became againe King of this Iland: who shortly after cleauing to the Venetians hauing made a league of friendship with them, married by their consent one Catherina the daughter of Marco Cornaro, which Catherin the Senate of Venice adopted vnto them soone after as their daughter. This Bishop not long after sickened, and died, leauing this his wife with child, who liued not long after his fathers death. By the which meanes the Venetians making themselues the next heires to Catherina by the law of adoption, tooke vnto them the possesion of this kingdome, and haue kept and enioyed the same almost this hundred yeeres. Now this great Turke called Sultan Selim in the right of the Soldan of Ægypt, whom his grandfather (called also Sultan Selim) conquered, pretendeth a right title vnto it, and now, as you may vnderstand by reading of this short Treatise, hath by conquest obtained the same. Whom I pray the euerliuing God, if it be his holy will, shortly to root out from thence.

To the Reader.

I Am not ignorant (gentle Reader) how hard a matter it is for any one man to write that, which should please and satisfie all persons, we being commonly of so diuers opinions and contrary iudgements: againe Tully affirmeth it to be a very difficult thing, to finde out any matter which in his owne kinde may be in all respects perfect. Wherefore I trust by your owne iudgement I ought of reason to be the sooner pardoned (my translation being precisely tied to mine authours meaning) if any thing herein besides be thought to be wanting: I haue learned by the way how comberous a thing it is to turne the selfe same matter out of the Italian language into our countrey speech. But who so doeth what he possibly can is bound to no more. And I now at the request of others (who put me in minde, that I was not onely borne vnto my selfe) haue accomplished that in the ende, which I promised and was required. With what paine and diligence, I referre me to them which are skilfull in the Italian tongue; or may the better iudge, if it please them to trie the same, casting aside this exampler. I speake it not arrogantly, I take God to witnesse: but mens painefull trauels ought not lightly to be condemned: nor surely at any time are woont to be of the learned, or discreet. By whose gentle acceptation if these my present doings be now supported, I will perswade my selfe that I haue reaped sufficient fruit of my trauell. Vnto whome with all my heart I wish prosperous successe in all their affaires.

Ann. Dom. 1572. W. M.

In

In Turchas precatio.

SVmme Deus, succurre tuis, miserescè tuorum,
Et subeat gentis te noua cura tuæ.
Quem das tantorum finem, Rex magne, laborum?
In nos vibrabit tela quoúsque Sathan?
Antè Rhodum, mox indè Chium, nunc denique Cyprum,
Turcharum cepit sanguinolenta manus.
Mustafa fœdifragus partes grassatur in omnes,
Et Veneta Cypriam strage cruentat humum.
Nec finem imponit sceleri, mollituè furorem,
Nec nisi potato sanguine pastus abit.
Qualis, quæ nunquam nisi plena tuménsque cruore
Sanguisuga obsessam mittit hirudo cutem.
Torturam sequitur tortura, cruorque cruorem,
Et cædem admissam cædis alius amor.
Sæuit inops animi, nec vel se temperat ipse,
Vel manus indomitum nostra domare potest.
At tu, magne Pater, tumidum disperde Tyrannum,
Nec sine mactari semper ouile tuum.
Exulet hoc monstrum, ne sanguine terra redundet.
Excutiántque nouum Cypria regna iugum.
Et quod Christicolæ fœdus pepigere Monarchæ,
Id faustum nobis omnibus esse velis.
Tu pugna illorum pugnas, & bella secundes.
Captiuósque tibi subde per arma Scythas.
Sic tua per totum fundetur gloria mundum,
Vnus sic Christus fiet, & vna fides.

Gulielmus Malim.

The true report of all the successe of Famagusta, made by the Earle Nestor Martiningo, vnto the renowmed Prince the Duke of Venice.

THe sixteenth day of February, * 1571, the fleet which had brought the ayde vnto Famagusta, departed from thence, whereas were found in all the army, but foure thousand footmen, eight hundred of them chosen souldiers, and three thousand (accounting the Citizens and other of the Villages) the rest two hundred in number were souldiers of Albania. After the arriuall of the which succour, the fortification of the City went more diligently forward of all hands, then it did before, the whole garison, the Grecian Citizens inhabiting the Towne, the Gouernours and Captaines not withdrawing themselues from any kinde of labour, for the better incouragement and good example of others, both night and day searching the watch, to the intent with more carefull heed taking they might beware of their enemies, against whom they made no sally out of the City to skirmish but very seldome, especially to vnderstand when they might learne the intent of the enemies. Whilest we made this diligent prouision within the Citie, the Turks without made no lesse preparation of all things necessary, fit to batter the fortresse withall, as in bringing out of Caramania and Syria with all speed by the Sea, many woolpacks, a great quantitie of wood and timber, diuers pieces of artillery, engins, and other things expedient for their purpose.

* In Italy and other places the date of the yere of ye Lord is alwayes changed the first of Ianuary, or on New yeres day, and from that day reckoned vpon: although wee heere in England, especially the temporall lawyers for certaine causes are not woont to alter the same vntill the Annunciation of our Ladie.

At the beginning of April Halli Basha landed there with fourscore gallies or thereabout in his company, who brought thither that, which of our enemies was desired, who soone after departing from thence, and leauing behinde him thirty gallies, which continually transported

souldiours, munition, flesh victuals, and other necessaries, besides a great number of * Caramusalins, or Brigandines, great Hulkes called * Maones, and large broad vessels termed of them * Palandrie, which continually passed to and fro betweene Cyprus and Syria, and other places thereabout, which they did with great speed, standing in feare of the Christian army. And about the middest of the same moneth the Turkes caused to be brought out of the Citie of Nicosia, which they had woone a little before, fifteene pieces of artillery, and raising their army from whence they were before, making ditches and trenches necessary, incamped themselues in gardens, and toward the West part of Famagusta neere a place called Precipola.

The fiue and twentieth day of the same moneth they raised vp mounts to plant their artillery vpon, and caused trenches to be made for harquebuzers, one very nigh another, approching still very neere the Citie, in such order, as was almost impossible to stay the same, fortie thousand of their Pioners continually labouring there the most part of all the night. The intent of the enemie being then knowen, and in what part of the Citie he minded most to plant his battery, we tooke diligent heed on the other part, to repaire and fortifie all places necessary within. For the which cause wee placed a great watch in that way, which was couered with a counterscharfe, and in the sallies of their priuy Posternes, for the defence of the said counterscharfe, there were new flanckers made, also Trauerses called Butteriasses made vpon the Cortaine, with one trench of Turues two foot high and broad, the which was made on that side of the wall of the Citie, which was already battered with the shot of the Turkes, with certaine loope holes for our Harquebuzers, by the which they defended the counterscharfe. Two noble personages Bragadino and Baglione personally tooke this charge on them, by the which meanes the Christian affaires passed in very good order. All the bread for our Souldiours was made in one storehouse, of the which the noble gentleman Lorenzo Tiepolo captaine of * Baffo had charge, who refused no paine, where he thought his trauell might preuaile. In the castle was placed that famous gentleman Andrea Bragadino, who with a diligent gard had charge on that part of the castle principally, next vnto the sea side, trimming and digging out new flanckers for the better defence of the * Arsenall.

A valiant knight named Poito was appointed Master of the Ordinance, who was slain within few dayes after in a skirmish, whose garrison the noble Bragadino Proueditore before named presently deliuered ouer to me. Three other captaines were appointed ouer the wilde-fire with twentie footmen for euery one of them, chosen out of the armie, to vse and execute the same as occasion should serue. The best pieces of Ordinance were brought foorth vnto that side of the towne, where the battery was looked for to be made: and they made priuy fences to couer the better their cannon shot withall. There was no want in the Christians to annoy their enemies in issuing often out of euery side against them, aswell to hinder their determinations, as to hurt them otherwise at diuers times. They also rendered to vs the like. For three hundred of the inhabitants of Famagusta one time issuing out of the citie, armed onely with their swords and targets, with so many Italian Harquebuzers also in their company, receiued great dammage, because the trenches of the enemies were made about so thicke, although at the same present wee compelled them to flie, and slew also many of them: yet they increased to such number, that they killed presently thirty, and hurt there threescore of our company. For the which cause order was taken, that our men should no more come forth of their holde, committing themselues to manifest perill to bid their enemies the base.

The Turkes *in processe of time* by little and little with their trenches, came at length to the toppe of the counterscharfe, and hauing furnished their forts the nineteenth day of May, began their battery with ten forts, hauing threescore and foureteene pieces of great artillery within their custody, amongst the which there were foure Basiliskes (for so they terme them) of an immeasurable greatnesse, and began to batter from the gate Limisso vnto the Arsenall, and layed fiue batteries against the towne, the one against the great high Turret of the Arsenall, which was battered with fiue pieces of Ordinance mounted vpon that fort of the rocke, the other against the Cortaine it selfe of the Arsenall, battered by one fort with eleuen pieces; another against the Keepe of Andruzzi with two commanders, or caualiers, which were aboue with

* Caramusalins be vessels like vnto ye Galeaces, sailing deply in the riuer of Bordeaux, which saile with a mizen or triangle saile. * Maones were vessels like vnto ye great hulk, which one of them is there Denmark, some of the which is very 7 or 8 hundred tunnes a peece, flat and broad, which saile some of them with seuen mastes a peece.

* Palandrie be great flie vessels made like Ferboats to transport horse.

* Baffo, otherwise called La Cheladi.

* Bragadino was Proueditore, that is, Gouernour, and Sig. Baglione Generall of the Christian armie.

* Baffo of the ancient writers named Paphos, in the which Citie there was a sumptuous Church dedicated to Venus.

* Arsenall in Constantinople and Venice is the place for munition and artillery to be in.

with one fort of eleuen other pieces: another battery against the Turret of S. Nappa, the which was battered with foure Basilisks. The gate of Limisso, which had one high commander or caualier alone, and a Brey and Cortaine without was battered by the forts with three and thirty pieces of artillery, whereas Mustafa himselfe Generall of the Turkes army tooke the charge in person. At the first they seemed not to care much to spoile the walles, but shot still into the city, and against our Ordinance, which greatly galled them. Whereupon they, who were within the city, as well our souldiers as the Grecians, assoone as the battery began, withdrawing themselues, came and dwelt by the walles of the citie, whereas they continued from that time to the end of the siege. The noble Bragadino lodged in the Keepe of Andruzzi, Baglioni in that ward of S. Nappa. The honourable Tiepolo in that which was called Campo Santo. Wherefore they being present at all that was done, both encouraged, and punished the souldiers according to their deserts. The right worshipfull Luigi Martiningo was appointed chiefe ouer the Ordinance, who answering all mens expectation of him, with great courage diuided the charge thereof vnto sixe other inferiour captaines, who tooke order and care for that company, and for the prouision of things necessary for the gunners: one company of the Grecians being appointed to euery gate of the Citie for to attend vpon the seruice of the artillery. The valiant captaine Francesco Bagone warded at the Keepe, and at the great Commander of the Arsenall. Captaine Pietro Conte attended vpon the Cortaine, at the Commander of the Volti, and at the Keepe of Campo Santo. I for my part attended vpon the Commander of Campo Santo, and vpon the Commander of Andruzzi, and of the Cortaine, vnto the Turret of Santa Nappa. The Earle Hercole Martiningo attended vpon the Commander of Santa Nappa, and to the whole Cortaine, vnto the gate of Limisso. Horatio Captaine of Veletri attended vpon the Brey and Cortaine, toward the Bulwarke. Vpon the high Commander of Limisso, which was more troubled then all the rest, attended the Captaine Roberto Maluezzi. At the same time, when the battery began (by the commission of the honourable Bragadino) victuals were appointed, and giuen to all the souldiers, as well Grecians, as Italians, and Gunners: namely Wine, Pottage, Cheese, and Bakon: all the which things were brought to the walles as need did require in very good order, so that no souldier there spent any more in bread than two souses a day. They were payed at the end of euery thirty dayes with the great trauell of that right worshipfull Venetian gentleman M. Giouanni Antonio Querini, who besides this his ordinary charge was found present in all weighty and dangerous affaires to the great incouragement of our souldiers. And wee made a counterbattery against our enemies for ten dayes space, with so great rage, that we choked and destroyed fifteene of their best pieces, also we killed and dispatched of them about thirty thousand at that season, so that they were disappointed at that time of their battery in that place, and were greatly dismayed. But we forseeing that we had no great store of powder left, there was made a restraint, and such order taken, that thirty pieces should not shoot off but thirty shot a piece euery day, and that in the presence of the Captaines, who were still present, because the Souldiers and Gunners should not shoot off in vaine.

Two Venetian souses or Soldi amount but to one peny English.

LIBRARY OF THE COMBA... OF THE ...ATIC

The nine and twentieth day of May there came towards vs from Candia a Fregat or Pinnace, the which giuing vs great hope and lightening of ayde, encreased maruellously euery mans courage. The Turks with great trauell and slaughter of both sides, had woonne at the last the counterscharfe from vs, with great resistance and mortalitie on both parts. Whereupon they began on the other side of the fift battery to fill vp the ditch, with the earth that they threw downe, which was taken neere the wall of the counterscharfe. But all that earth and falling downe of the wall made by the shot of their artillery, was carried away of vs within the city, all our company labouring continually as well by night as day, vntil our enemies had made certaine loope-holes in the wall, thorow the which they flancking and scouring all the ditch with their harquebussie, stopped our former course of carying, or going that way any more, without certaine and expresse danger. But M. Giouanni Marmori, a fortifier, had deuised a certaine kinde of ioyned boords, the which being caried of the souldiers, defended them from the shot of the harquebuzers, so that some other quantity of earth, but no great store, was caried also away: in the which place this foresayd fortifier was slaine, who had done

done especiall good seruice in all our necessary affaires. And our enemies hauing cast so much earth into the ditch, as filled it vp againe, and made it a firme way to the wall of the counterscherfe, and casting before them the earth by little and little, they made one trauerse euen vnto the wall on two sides in all their batteries, the which they made thicke and strong with woolpacks, and other fagots, to assure themselues the better of our flanckers.

When they had once possessed the ditch, that they could not be hurt of vs but by chance, they began foorthwith to cast and digge out vndermines to vndermine the Brey, the Turret of Santa Nappa, the Commander of Andruzzi, the Keepe of Campo Santo, the Cortaine, and the Turrion of the Arsenall: so that being able no longer to serue our turne and inioy those fewe flanckers, we threw downe wilde-fire into our enemies campe, the which annoyed them very sore, because it fired their woolpacks, & also their fagots. And for the better encouragement of the souldiers, the right honorable Bragadino gaue to euery souldier one duckat, ℣ which could gaine or recouer any of the former woolpackes, making countermines in all places. To the which charge Maggio the fortifier knight was appointed, who in all our businesse serued with such diligence and courage, as he was able, or was requisite. But the countermines met not, sauing those of the Commander of S. Nappa, of Andruzzi, and that of Campo Santo, because they were open, and our men sallied out often both by day and night into the ditch to perceiue better the way of the mines, and to fire the fagots and wooll. Nor we ceassed at any time through the vnspeakable trauell of the Lord Baglione (who had the ouersight of all these matters) to trouble our enemies intents, by all maner of wit and policie, diuiding the companies for the batteries, ioyning and planting in all places a garrison of the *Albanois souldiours, who as well on foot as on horsebacke, shewed always notable courage and manhood.

*Albanois souldiers, souldiers of Albania, otherwise called Epirus, who commonly serue the Venetians both on horsebacke and foot, very difficult & paintfull.

The first assault.

The one and twentieth day of Iune they put fire to the mine of the Turret of the Arsenall, whereas Giambelat Bey tooke charge, who with great ruine rent in sunder a most great and thicke wall, and so opened the same, that he threw downe more then halfe thereof, breaking also one part of the vaimure, made before to vpholde the assault. And suddenly a great number of the Turkes skipping vpon the ruines thereof, displayed their Ensignes, euen to the toppe of the same. Captain Pietro Conte with his company was in that ward, the which was much shaken and terrified by that sudden ruine. I with my company came first thither, so that they shortly tooke the repulse, and although they refreshed themselues with new supplies fiue or sixe times, yet they failed of their purpose. There fought personally the Lord Baglione: Bragadino and Querini being armed stood not farre off to refresh and comfort our Souldiours, and the Captaine of the Castell with the Ordinance, that was planted vpon the Butteries, destroyed many of our enemies, when they gaue ℣ assault, the which endured fiue houres together: so that of Turkes were slaine very many, and of our side betweene them that were slaine and hurt one hundred: most part of the which number were cast away by a mischance of our wilde-fire, the which being vnaduisedly and negligently handled, burnt vp many of our owne company. There died at that present the Earle Gio. Francesco Goro, the Captaine Barnardino Agubio: and by the throwing of stones Hercole Malatesta, Captaine Pietro Conte, with other Captaines and Standerdbearers, were very sore hurt.

Of this noble & painfull Venetian gentleman M. Gio. Antonio Querini (who was afterwardes hewen in sunder by the commandement of Mustafa) I was entertained very courteously in my trauell at Corcyra, now called Corfu, he being then there Mag. Castellano or Captaine of one of the Castles.

The night following arriued in Cyprus a Pinasse from Candia, which bringing newes of most certaine ayde, greatly increased both the mirth and courage of vs all, so that we made soone after, with the helpe of the Captaine Marco Criuellatore, and Maggio the knight, certain retreats flancked to all the places beaten downe, and whereas they suspected that the enemy had digged vp any mines, with hogsheads, Chests, Tikes, and Sacks stuffed full of moist earth (the Grecians with all speed hauing already brought almost all that which they had) because they hauing dispatched their Canucis about necessary vses, they brought their hangings, cortaines, carpets, euen to their very sheets, to make and stuffe vp their foresayd sacks, a very good and ready way to make vp againe their vaimures, the which were throwen

In extremities mē haue no regard to spare trifles.

downe

downe with the fury of the artillery, which neuer stinted, so that we made vp againe still that in the night, the which was throwen downe and broken in the day, sleeping very seldome: all the souldiers standing alwayes vpon the walles, visited continually of the Gouernors of the Citie, which slept at no time, but in the extreame heat of the day, hauing no other time to take their rest, because the enemie was at hand, giuing vs continually alarmes, not suffering vs long to breath.

President & carefull gouernours or magistrates seldome sleepe all the night at any time, much lesse in dangerous seasons.

The second assault.

THe nine and twentieth day of the same moneth they set the mine made towards the Brey on fire, the which mine was digged in stone, which brake and cleft all things in pieces, and caused great ruine, making an easie way for the enemy to assault vs, who with an outragious fury came to the toppe, whereas Mustafa their General was altogether present, which assault was receiued, and stayed at the beginning of the Earle Hercole Martiningo with his garrison, and so were repulsed by our company, who fought without any aduantage of couert, the vaimure being throwen downe by the mine. There were slaine of our company Captaine Meani the Sergeant Maior of our armie, Captaine Celio de Fuochi, Captaine Erasmo da Fermo: and Captaine Soldatello, Antonio d'Ascoli, Captain Gio. d'Istria, Standerd bearers, with many other officers, were sore wounded, there died also 30 other of our common souldiers. At the Arsenall they were beaten backe with greater dammage of our enemies, and small hurt to vs. Fiue onely of our part being slaine there, whereas Captaine Giacomo de Fabriano also was killed, and I was wounded in my left legge with an harquebush shot. The which assault continued sixe houres, the Bishop of Limisso standing vp there, incouraging the Souldiours. Where also were found present stout women, who came thither with weapons, stones, and water, to helpe the Souldiours. Our enemies vnderstanding how great hinderance they had receiued at these two assaults, changed their mindes, and began againe with greater fury then euer they had before accustomed to lay battery to all places, and into our retreats, so that they labouring more speedily then euer they did, made seuen other forts more, vnder the castle, and taking away the artillery from them which were farther off, planting of it somewhat neerer, to the number of fourescore, they battered the holde with so great rage, that on the eighth day of Iuly, with the same night also were numbred fiue thousand Canon shot, and after that sort they ouerthrew to the ground the vaimures, that scarsely with great trauell and paine we could repaire them againe, because our men that laboured about them were continually slaine by their Ordinance, and by reason of the endlesse tempest of the shot of their Harquebuzers. And our men beganne to decrease. For the Turkes caused vs to retire from our Breyes, by the violence of their artillery and mining, in such sort, that there being no more standing left for our Souldiours, because we making our vaimures more thicke, our standing began to waxe narrower, the which presently we of necessitie enlarged with boords as a scaffolde to the vaimure, whereby we might haue more elbow roome to fight. Captaine Maggio also made one mine vnder the sayd Brey, to the intent, that we being not able any longer to keepe it, the same might be left to our enemies to their great hinderance.

A small thing at the beginning, or in due time done, helpeth much.

That certaine women inhabiting this Iland be viragos, or mankind, I saw sufficient triall at my last being there, in a city called Saline.

It is accounted a good warlike shift, to leaue that to our enemies with hinderance, which we can not any longer keepe, and vse to our owne commodity.

The third assault.

TO the sayd Brey the ninth day of Iuly they gaue the third assault to the Turrion of Santa Nappa, to that of Andruzzi, to the Cortaine, to the Keepe of the Arsenall: the which assault hauing continued more then sixe houres, they were beaten backe in foure places, but we left the Brey to their great losse, and ours also: because we being assaulted, our company being not able to maunage their pikes in good order, by reason of the narrownesse of the standing where they were, being willing to retire in that order, as the L. Baglione had prescribed vnto them, and could not, cast themselues at the last into a confuse order, and retired, they being mingled amongst the Turkes: so that fire being giuen to our mine, the same (with a terrible sight to beholde) slew presently of our enemies more then one thousand, and aboue one hundred of vs. There was slaine Roberto Maluezzi, and Captaine Marchetto de Fermo was grieuously

uously wounded. At the assault of the Arsenall was slaine Captaine Dauid Noce master of the campe, & I myselfe was hurt by the racing of a Cannon shot. This assault continued fiue houres, and the Citizens of Famagusta shewed great courage in euery place, with their women also, and yoong striplings. The Brey was so defaced by reason of this mine set on fire, that no body any more attempted to recouer the same, because there was no apt place remaining to stay vpon. The left flancker onely remained still, whereas another mine was made. The gate of Limisso was ouer against this foresayd Brey, and somewhat lower, which was alwayes open, hauing made to the same a Portall, with a Percollois annexed to it, the which Percollois by the cutting of a small cord, was a present defence to the gate, and our Souldiours gaue their attendance by that gate to bring in the battered earth, which fell in the ditches from the rampaire: and when they saw that their enemies in foure dayes came not thither, they beganne to entrench aboue the Brey, and by the flanckers aboue they suffered no person to passe out of the gate, the which thing brought great suspition vnto our enemies, because they were often times assailed of our company.

The fourth assault.

The forwardnes of the captaine at dangerous time, not only much comforteth the common souldier, but also increaseth greatly his credit & commendation wt all men.

WHerefore they came the foureteenth day of Iuly to assault the gate of Limisso, and laying their battery to all other places, they came and planted their Ensignes euen before the gate, whereas the L. Baglione, and Sig. Luigi were in readinesse, who had taken vpon them to defend that gate of the Citie. Who assoone as they had encouraged their Souldiours, sallying swiftly foorth, killed, and put to flight the greater part of them, and at the last giuing fire to the mine of the flancker slew foure hundred Turkes, and Sig. Baglione at the same time woon an Ensigne of our enemies, wrasting it violently out of one of the Ensigne bearers hands. The day following they gaue fire to the mine of the cortaine, the which thing not falling out greatly to their purpose, they followed not their prepared assault. Wherefore they beganne to fortifie, and aduance higher their trauerses in the ditches, for their better assurance against they should giue the assault: and they had emptied and carried away all the earth neere vnto the counterskarfe, where they lodged in their pauillions, so that we could not descrie them. They shot seuen pieces of artillery vpon the wall of the counterscharfe so couertly, that they were not seene: two from the Brey of the Turrion of Santa Nappa, one from Andruzzi, and two other all along the battery of the Cortaine. And they came with certaine boordes couered with rawe and greene hides, vnder which they brought their men to digge in the vaimures, we being nothing behinde or forgetfull to cast wilde-fire amongst them, and sometime to issue foorth of our sallies called Posternes, to offend their Pioners, although to our great hindrance. And we still repaired the vaimures by all meanes possible, with Buffe skins, being moist and wet, throwing in also earth, shreads, and cotton with water, being well bound together with cordes: all the women of Famagusta gathering themselues together into companies in euery street (being guided of one of their Monkes called Caloiero) resorted daily to a certaine place appointed to labour, gathering and prouiding for the souldiers, stones and water, the which was kept for all assaults in halfe buts to quench the fire, which the Turks threw amongst them.

Teglia in Latine called Teda is a certaine wood which burneth easily, and sauoreth vnpleasantly, of the which there is great store in Sicilia: sometime it is vsed for a torch.

Hauing had no great successe in taking of the gate, they found out a newe way, neuer heard of before, in gathering together a great quantitie of certaine wood called Teglia, which easily burned, and smelt very euill, the which they throwing before the former gate of the Citie, and fagots fastened to the same, with certaine beames besmeered with Pitch, kindled suddenly so great a fire, as was not possible for vs to quench the same, although we threw vpon it whole Buts of water, which were throwen downe from an high Commander, which Buts presently brake in sunder.

No necessarie thing to be done was left vnattempted on either part.

This fire continued foure dayes, wherefore we were inforced by reason of the extreame heat and stinch, to withdraw our selues further inward, and they descended towardes their lower flanckers, beganne other mines, so that the gate was shut vp, because it could be no longer kept open, and suddenly (a thing maruellous to be spoken) the standing of the Brey being repaired, and made vp againe, they planted one piece ouer against the gate, the which of

of vs with stones, earth and other things, was suddenly buried vp. By this time we were driuen to an exigent, all our prouision within the citie stooping very lowe, sauing onely hope, the noble courage of the Gouernours and Captaines, and the stout readinesse of the Souldiours: our wine, and flesh as well powdered as vnpowdered was spent, nor there was any Cheese to be gotten, but vpon an vnreasonable price, our company hauing eating vp their Horses, Asses, and Cats, for lacke of other victualls: there was nothing left to be eaten, but a small quantitie of Bread, and Beanes, and we dranke water and Vineger together, whereof was not much left. When that we perceiued that our enemies had digged and cast vp three mines in the Commander of the gate, they labouring in all places more diligently then euer they did before, bringing into the ditch, ouer against the battery of the Cortaine, a hill of earth, as high as the wall: and alreadg they came to the wall aboue the counterscharfe ouer against the Turrion of the Arsenall, and had made one Commander complete, fenced with shares, like vnto plough shares, in proportion and height correspondent to ours.

Mans courage oft abateth, but hope neuer forsaketh. Saguntina fames.

Within the Citie were remaining but fiue hundreth Italian Souldiours, who were not hurt, yet very faint and weary by their long watching and paines in fighting in those feruent and burning heates, which are in those parts. And the greater and better part also of the Grecians were by this time slaine, whenas the chiefe of those Citizens remaining did fully resolue themselues (the which was about the twentieth day of Iuly) to present a supplication in writing to that noble gentleman Bragadino Proueditore, desiring and beseeching him, that seeing their Citie and Fortresse was thus battered and brought to extremitie, without sufficient ayde to defend the same, without substance or sustenance, hauing no hope of succour, or any newe supply, they hauing spent and consumed not onely their goods, but also their liues for the defence of them, and in testifying of their dutifull seruice towardes the noble and royall state of the Segniorie of Venice, that it might nowe please him, and the rest of the honourable Gouernours, that were present, and put in trust, hauing a carefull eye vnto some honourable conditions, to haue now at the last a respect to the credit and honour of their long trauelled wiues, and the safegard of their poore children, which otherwise were shortly very like to be a pray to their bloodthirsting and rauening enemies. To the which letter or supplication speedy answere was made by the forenamed honourable Bragadino, comforting them, that they should by no meanes abate their courage, and that shortly he looked for succour from the Segniorie, diminishing as much as hee might, the feare which they had conceiued in their hearts, dispatching and sending away suddenly from Cyprus into Candia, a Pinnesse to certifie the duke and gouernours there, in what extremitie they were. The Turkes by this time had ended their mines, and set them on fire, the 29. of Iuly: in the which space our men, according as they were woont to doe, renued and made vp againe the vaimures ruined before by the Ordinance, and hauing no other stuffe left to aduaunce them with, made sacker of Kersie, vnto the which the noble Tiepolo diligently looked. The three mines of the Commander did great damage to vs, hauing throwen downe the greater part of the earth, whereas the gouernour Randacchi was slaine. The mine of the Arsenall ouerthrew all the rest of the Turrion, hauing smoldered and choked one whole garrison of our souldiers, the two flanckers onely still remaining.

In Iuly the heat is so extreme in this Iland, that the inhabitants thereof are not woont to trauell, but by night onely.

A letter or supplication exhibited by the Cypriots. Sig. Bra.

The answere of the former letter.

It standeth with reason, in hope of sauing the greater, to let the lesser go.

The fift assault.

THe enemies trauelled much to become masters of those foresayd flankers, and to sally foorth by the other batteries, and this assault lasted from three of the clocke in the after noone vntil night, where, and at what time were slaine very many of our enemies. In this assault Sig. Giacomo Strambali, amongst the rest, shewed much worthinesse, as hee had done before in other conflictes.

The sixt and last assault.

THe next morning following, at the breake of the day, they assailed all places, the which assault continued more then sixe houres, with very little hurt on our side, because our enemies fought more coldly then they were wont to doe, annoying of vs continually on the Sea

side with their Gallies, shooting in all their assaults and batteries continually Cannon shotin all parts of the Citie, as neere as they might. After we had defended and repulsed this assault, and perceiued things brought to a narrower straite then they were wont to be at, wee hauing left in all the whole Citie but seuen barrels of pouder, the gouernours of the Citie fully determined to yeelde vp themselues and the Citie, with honourable conditions. Wherefore the first of August in the after noone, they tooke a truce, one being come for that purpose from Mustafa the Generall, with whom they concluded the next morning following to giue two hostages a piece, vntill such time as both armies were agreed. For our hostages (by the appointment of the right honourable Bragadino) were sent foorth the earle Hercole Martinengo, and Signior Matteo Colsi a Citizen of Famagusta, and from our enemies came into the Citie the Lieutenant of Mustafa, and the Aga of the Gianizzers, the which were met, euen vnto the gate of the Citie of Signiour Baglione with two hundreth harquebusers: ours also were met in like maner with great pompe with horsemen and harquebusers, with the sonne also of Mustafa in person, who made very much of them.

Necessitie oftimes presseth vs in the end to that, which our will continually spurneth against.

Giannesseri be the gard of the great Turke, so that Aga de Gianniseri is the captaine of the Turkes gard.

The Lord Baglione imparld with these hostages, which were then come for that purpose of the articles of peace, requiring by them of their Generall, their liues, armour, and goods, fiue peeces of Ordinance, three of the best horses, and safe passage from thence vnto Candia accompanied with their Gallies, and last of all, that the Grecians inhabiting the Island, might dwell there still quietly, and enioy peaceably their owne goods and possessions, liuing still Christians hereafter, as they had done before. All the which requests and articles were agreed vpon, granted, and subscribed vnto by the hand of Mustafa. Foorthwith were sent Gallies, and other vessels into the hauen, so that our souldiers immediatly began to imbarke themselues, of the which the greater part were already gone aboorde, the Nobilitie and our chiefe Captaines also being likewise very desirous to depart.

Iust Turkish dealing, to speake and not to meane: so daintly to promise, and neuer to performe the same.

The 15. of August in the morning, the worthy Bragadino sent me with a letter vnto Mustafa, by the which hee signified, that the same night hee would come vnto him to deliuer vp the keyes of the Citie, and that he would leaue in the holde the honourable gentleman Tiepolo, praying him therefore, that whilest hee should haue iust cause thus to bee abroad, that there might be no harme done at home, and in the Citie. The Turkes from our truce taking vntill that time, practised with vs all familiarly, and without any suspition of sinister or double dealing, they hauing shewed vs much courtesie both in word and deede. Mustafa himselfe by worde of mouth presently answered me to this letter, in this sort, that I should returne, and make relation to this noble man Bragadino, who had sent mee, that he should come ouer to him at his owne pleasure, for hee was very desirous both to see and know him, for his great worthinesse and prowesse, that hee had tried to be in him, and in the other of his Captaines and Souldiers, of whose manhood and courage he would honourably report, where soeuer he came, as occasion should serue thereunto: and to conclude, that hee should nothing doubt of any thing: because in no maner of condition hee would suffer any violence to be done to those, which remained behind within the Citie. So I speedily returning made true report of the same: and towards night about foure of the clocke, the right honourable Bragadino accompanied with the L. Baglione, with Signior Aluigi Martinengo, with the right worshipfull Signior Gio. Antonio Querini, with the right worshipfull Signior Andrea Bragadino, with the knight of Haste, with the captaine Carlo Ragonasco, with captaine Francesco Straco, with captaine Hector of Brescia, with captaine Girolomo di Sacile, and with other gentlemen and fiftie souldiours, the Gouernours and Noble men with their swordes, and the souldiours with their harquebuzes came foorth of their hold, and went vnto the pauillion of Mustafa, of whom, all they at the beginning were curteously receiued, and caused to sit downe by him, he reasoning and discoursing with them of diuers things, a certaine time, and drawing them from one matter to another, at the last vpon a sudden picked a quarell vnto them, especially burdening that noble Bragadino with an vntrueth, laying to his charge ỳ he had caused certaine of his slaues in the time that the truce continued betweene thẽ, to be put to death. The which thing was most false. So that hee being angry therewith, suddenly stept foorth, and commaunded them to bee bound. Thus they being vnarmed (not suffered at that time to enter into his pauillion, with their former weapons) and

and bound, were led one by one into the market place, before his pauillion, being presently cut and hewen in sunder in his presence, and last of all from that woorthy and noble Bragadino (who being bound as the rest, and being commaunded twise or thrise to stretch foorth his necke, as though hee should haue bene beheaded, the which most boldly hee did without any sparke of feare) his eares were cut off, and causing him to bee stretched out most vilely vpon the ground, Mustafa talked with him, and blasphemed the holy name of our Sauiour, demaunding him, where is now thy Christ, that hee helpeth thee not? To all the which no answere at all was giuen of that honourable gentleman. The earle Hercole Martinengo, which was sent for one of the hostages, who was also bound, was hidden by one of Mustafas eunuches vntill such time as his furie was past, afterward his life being graunted him, hee was made the eunuches slaue. Three Grecians which were vnder his pauillion were left vntouched. All the souldiers which were found in the campe, and all sortes of Christians to the number of three hundred, were suddenly slaine, they nothing mistrusting any such treason, or tirannie. The Christian souldiers which were embarked a litle before, were linked and fettered with iron chaines, made slaues, all things being taken from them, and stripped into their shirtes.

The propertie of true fortitude is, not to be broken with sudden terrors.

Mustafa, cosingermaine to ye thiefe, which hong on the left side of our Sauiour at his Passion.

The second day after this murther was committed, which was the 17. of August, Mustafa entred the first time into the Citie, and caused the valiant and wise gouernour Tiepolo to bee hanged, who remained behind, waiting the returne of Signior Bragadino. I being in the citie at that present, when other of my countreymen were thus miserably slaine and made slaues, hid my selfe in certaine of the Grecians houses the space of fiue dayes, and they not being able to keepe mee in couert any longer for feare of the great penaltie, which was proclaimed agaynst such transgressors and concealers, I offred, and gaue my selfe slaue to one Sangiaccho del Bir, promising him fiue hundred * Zechins for my ransome, with whom I remained in the Campe. The Friday folowing (being the Turkes sabboth day) this woorthy and patient gentleman Bragadino was led still in the presence of that vnfaithfull tirant Mustafa, to the batteries made vnto the Citie, whereas he being compelled to cary two baskets of earth, the one vpon his backe, the other in his hand slaue-like, to euery sundry battrie, being enforced also to kisse the ground as oft as he passed by him, was afterward brought vpto the sea side, where he being placed in a chaire to leane and stay vpon, was winched vp in that chaire, and fastened vnto the maineyard of a galley, and hoisted vp with a crane, to shew him to all the Christian souldiours and slaues (which were in the hauen already shipped) hee being afterward let downe, and brought to the market place, the tormenters tooke of his clothes from him, and tacked him vnto the pillorie, whereas he was most cruelly flaied quicke; with so great constancie and faith on his part, that he neuer lost or abated any iot of his stedfast courage, being so farre from any fainting, that hee at that present with most stout heart reproched them, and spake much shame of his most traiterous dealing in breaking of his faithfull promise. At the last without any kind of alteration of his constancie, he recommending his soule vnto almightie God, gaue vp the ghost. When hee had thus ended his life (thanks be to God) his skin being taken and filled with strawe, was commaunded foorthwith to be hanged vpon the bowsprit of a * Foist, and to be caried alongst the coast of Syria by the sea side, that all the port townes might see, and vnderstand who he was.

* Zechial, be certaine pieces of fine gold coined in Venice, euery one of the which is in value sixe shillings eight pence of our mony, & somewhat better: & equal altogether to a Turkish Byralton.

His death answerable to his former life.

This is now so much as I am able to declare to your highnesse by that I sawe my selfe, and can remember whilest that I was in the Fortresse: that also which by true relation of others I could vnderstand, and sawe also my selfe in the campe, whilest I was slaue, I will likewise briefly vtter vnto you. The enemies armie was in number two hundred thousand persons of all sortes and qualities. Of souldiers which tooke pay there were 80. thousand, besides the which number, there were 14. thousand of Giannizzers taken out from all the holdes of Syria, Caramania, Natolia, and part of them also which came from the * gate of the great Turke. The venturers with the sword were 60. thousand *in number*. The reason, why there were so many of this sort, was because Mustafa had dispersed a rumour through the Turkes dominion, that Famagusta was much more wealthy and rich, then the citie of Nicosia was: so for that cause, and by the commodious and easie passage from Syria ouer into

* A Foist is as it were a Brigandine, being somewhat larger then halfe a galley, much vsed of the Turkish Gurtzares, or as we call them Pirates or Rouers.

* The gate of the great Turke, is as much to say, as Constantinople, the which they call in the Turkish language Stambuli.

Cyprus, these venturers were easily induced to come thither. In 75. dayes (all the which time the batterie still continued) 140. thousand iron pellets were shot of, numbred, and seene. The chiefe personages which were in their armie neere vnto Mustafa, were these following; the Bassa of Aleppo, the Bassa of Natolia, Musafer Bassa of Nicosia, the Bassa of Caramania, the Aga of the Giannizzers, Giambelat † Bey, the Sangiaccho of Tripolis, the ‡ Begliarbei of Greece, the Bassa of Sciuassi and of Marasco, Ferca Framburaro, the § Sangiaccho of Antipo, Soliman Bey, three Sangiacchos of Arabia, Mustafa Bey generall of the Venturers, Fergat gouernour of Malathia, the Framburaro of Diuerie, the Sangiaccho of Arabia and other Sangiacchos of lesser credite, with the number of fourescore thousand persons besides, as by the muster made by his Commission might well appeare.

Gli Venturieri da spada, are a kind of venturing souldiers, who commonly are wont to follow the army in hope of the spoile.

Aleppo, a famous citie neere vnto Antiochia, otherwise called in Greeke, ἡλιόπολις, the city of the Sunne.

† Bey in ye Turkish language, signifieth knight with vs.

‡ Begliarbei signifieth lord Admirall.

§ Sangiaccho, is that person wt the Turkes, that gouerneth a prouince or countrey.

God suffereth much to be done to his seruants, but neuer forsaketh them.

Necessitie oft times sharpeneth mens wits, & causeth boldnes.

The Framburaro which was at Rhodes, was appointed and left gouernour at Famagusta, and the report was that there should bee left in all the Island of Cyprus, twentie thousand persons, with two thousand horses, many of the which I saw, being very leane and euill appoynted for seruice. It seemeth also a thing not impertinent to the matter, to signifie to you, how I, by the especiall grace of God, was deliuered out of their cruell hands, I hauing paied within two & fortie dayes (all the which time I was slaue) fiue *hundred* Zechins for my ransome to him, whose prisoner I was, by the meanes of the Consul for the French merchants, a ligier then at Tripolis, who a litle before came from Tripolis in Syria vnto Cyprus, into the Turkes campe. Yet for all that I had paied this summe of money to him, hee would not so set me at libertie, but fed mee vp still with faire wordes, and promised mee that hee would first bring mee vnto his gouernement, which abutted vpon a piece of the famous riuer of Euphrates, and afterward dismisse me. The which malice and falsehood of his I perceiuing, determined with my selfe to giue him the slip, and to flie; so I waiting my time, and repairing often to the Citie, at length met with a small Fisher boate, of the which a poore Grecian was Owner and master, with whom in one night with two onely oares and a small saile made of two shirts, I passed ouer from Cyprus vnto Tripolis, being in very great danger of drowning, whereas I remained in couert in the house of certaine Christians, vntill the fiue and twentie of September, at what time I departed from thence in a little French shippe called Santa Vittor, which came into these partes, and as wee rode, wee touched at a part of Cyprus Westward, called Capo delle Gatte, where as I came on land, and talking with certaine of the *inhabitants* of the Villages, who were then by chaunce a Hauking, demaunded of them, how they were intreated of the Turkes, and after what sort the Island was tilled: to the which they answered, that they could not possiblie bee in worse pickle then they were at that present, not enioying that quietly which was their owne, being made villaines and slaues, and almost alwayes carying away the Bastonados, so that now (they sayd) they knew by triall too perfectly the pleasant and peaceable gouernment of the Christians, wishing and praying God that they might shortly returne. And concerning the tillage of the Island they made answere moreouer, that no part of it was plowed or laboured, sauing onely that mountaine which was towards the West, and that because they were litle troubled with the crueltie of the Turkes, but as for the plaine and East part of the Island, there was small seede sowen therein, but became in a maner desert, there being left but few inhabitants, and lesse store of cattell there. Afterward wee departing from thence arriued in ‖ Candia, I for my part being clothed in sackecloth, whereas soone after by the great curtesie of the right honourable Signior Latino Orsino, I was new apparelled accordingly, friendly welcommed, and my necessitie relieued. From whence I shortly after sayling in a Cypriottes ship (thankes be to almightie God) arriued in this Citie in health, and am safely come home now at the honorable feete of your highnesse.

The nature of euery commoditie is sooner vnderstood by lacking, then by continuall enioying of the same.

‖ Candia of the old writers called Creta in Latin, Ἑκατόμπολις in Greek, because it had once a 100. Cities in it, now there remaining but onely 4. thus commonly named, Candia, la Cania, Retima, and Scythia.

The

The Captains of the Christians slaine in Famagusta.

THe lord Estor Baglione.
The lord Aluigi Martinengo.
The lord Federico Baglione.
The knight of Asta Vicegouernor.
The capitaine Dauid Noce Master of the Campe.
The capitaine Meani of Perugia Serieant Maior.
The earle Sigismond of Casoldo.
The earle Francesco of Lobi of Cremona.
The captaine Francesco Troncauilla.
The captaine Hannibal Adamo of Fermo.
The captaine Scipio of the citie of Castello.
The captaine Charles Ragonasco of Cremona.
The captaine Francesco Siraco.
The captaine Roberto Maluezzo.
The captaine Cæsar of Aduersa.
The captaine Bernardin of Agubio.
The captaine Francesco Bugon of Verona.
The captaine Iames of Fabiano.
The captaine Sebastian del Sole of Florence.
The captaine Hector of Brescia, the successour to the captaine Cæsar of Aduersa.
The captaine Flaminio of Florence, successor vnto Sebastian del Sole.
The captaine Erasmus of Fermo, successor to the captaine of Cernole.
The captaine Bartholomew of Cernole.
The captaine Iohn Battista of Riuarole.
The captaine Iohn Francesco of Venice.

The names of Christians made slaues.

THe Earle Herocles Martinengo, with Iulius Cæsar Ghelfo a Souldiour of Bressa.
The earle Nestor Martinengo, which fled.
The captaine Marco Criuellatore.
The lord Herocles Malatesta.
The captaine Peter Conte of Montalberto.
The captaine Horatio of Veletri.
The captaine Aluigi Pezano.
The Conte Iames of Corbara.
The captaine Iohn of Istria.
The captaine Soldatelli of Agubio.
The captaine Iohn of Ascoli.
The captaine Antonie of the same towne.
The captaine Sebastian of the same towne.
The captaine Salgano of the citie of Castello.
The captaine Marcheso of Fermo.
The captaine Iohn Antonio of Piacenza.
The captaine Carletto Naldo.
The captaine Lorenzo Fornaretti.
The captaine Barnardo of Brescia.
The captaine Barnardino Coco.
The captaine Simon Bagnese, successour to the captaine Dauid Noce.
The captaine Tiberio Ceruto, successor vnto Conte Sigismond.
The captaine Ioseph of Lanciano, successour vnto captaine Francesco Troncauilla.
The captaine Morgante, successor to captain Hannibal.
The Lieutenant, successour vnto the captaine Scipio.
The Standerd bearer, successour to captaine Roberto.
The captaine Ottauio of Rimini, successour to the captaine Francesco Bugon.
The captaine Mario de Fabiano, successour to captaine Iacomo.
The captaine Francesco of Venice, successour vnto captaine Antonio.
The captaine Matteo of Capua.
The captaine Iohn Maria of Verona.
The captaine Mancino.

The Fortifiers.

Iohn Marmori, slaine.
The knight Maggio, slaue.

Turkish Captaines at Famagusta.

MVstafa Generall.
The Bassa of Aleppo.
The Bassa of Natolia, slaine.
Musafer Bassa of Nicosia.
The Bassa of Caramania.
The Aga of the Giannizers.
Giambelat Bey.
The Sangiaccho of Tripolis, slaine.
The Begliarbei of Greece.
The Bassa of Sciuassi and Marasco.
Ferca Framburaro.
The Sangiaccho of Antipo, slaine.
Soliman Bey, slaine.
Three Sangiacchos of Arabia slaine.
Mustafa Bey, General of the Venturers, slain.
Fergat, ruler of Malathia, slaine.
The Framburaro of Diuerie, slaine.

The

The woorthy enterprise of Iohn Foxe an Englishman in deliuering 266. Christians out of the captiuitie of the Turkes at Alexandria, the 3. of Ianuarie 1577.

AMong our merchants here in England, it is a common voiage to traffike into Spaine: whereunto a ship, being called The three halfe Moones, manned with 38. men, and well fensed with munitions, the better to encounter their enemies withall, and hauing wind & tide, set from Portsmouth, 1563. and bended her iourney toward Siuill a citie in Spaine, intending there to trafique with them. And falling neere the Streights, they perceiued thẽselues to be beset round with eight gallies of the Turkes, in such wise, that there was no way for thẽ to flie or escape away, but that either they must yeeld or els be sunke. Which the owner perceiuing, manfully encouraged his company, exhorting them valiantly to shew their manhood, shewing them that God was their God, and not their enemies, requesting them also not to faint in seeing such a heape of their enemies ready to deuour them; putting them in mind also, that if it were Gods pleasure to giue them into their enemies hands, it was not they ẏ ought to shew one displeasant looke or countenance there against; but to take it patiently, & not to prescribe a day and time for their deliuerance, as the citizens of Bethulia did, but to put themselues vnder his mercy. And againe, if it were his mind and good will to shew his mighty power by thẽ, if their enemies were ten times so many, they were not able to stand in their hands; putting them likewise in mind of the old and ancient woorthinesse of their countreymen, who in the hardest extremities haue alwayes most preuailed and gone away conquerors, yea, and where it hath bene almost impossible. Such (quoth he) hath bene the valiantnesse of our countreymen, and such hath bene the mightie power of our God.

Iohn Foxe taken 1563.

With other like incouragements, exhorting them to behaue themselues manfully, they fell all on their knees making their prayers briefly vnto God: who being all risen vp againe perceiued their enemies by their signes and defiances bent to the spoyle, whose mercy was nothing els but crueltie, whereupon euery man tooke him to his weapon.

Then stood vp one Groue the master, being a comely man, with his sword and target, holding them vp in defiance againgt his enemies. So likewise stood vp the Owner, the Masters mate, Boateswaine, Purser, and euery man well appointed. Nowe likewise sounded vp the drums, trumpets and flutes, which would haue encouraged any man, had he neuer so litle heart or courage in him.

Then taketh him to his charge Iohn Foxe the gunner in the disposing of his pieces in order to the best effect, and sending his bullets towards the Turkes, who likewise bestowed their pieces thrise as fast toward the Christians. But shortly they drew neere, so that the bowmen fel to their charge in sending forth their arrowes so thicke amongst the Gallies, & also in doubling their shot so sore vpon the gallies, that there were twise so many of the Turkes slaine, as the number of the Christians were in all. But the Turks discharged twise as fast against the Christians, & so long, that the ship was very sore stricken & bruised vnder water. Which the Turkes perceiuing, made the more haste to come aboord the Shippe: which ere they could doe, many a Turke bought it deerely with the losse of their liues. Yet was all in vaine, and boorded they were, where they found so hote a skirmish, that it had bene better they had not medled with the feast. For the Englishmen shewed themselues men in deed, in working manfully with their browne bils and halbardes: where the owner, master, boateswaine, and their company stoode to it so lustily, that the Turkes were halfe dismaied. But chiefly the boateswaine shewed himself valiant aboue the rest: for he fared amongst the Turkes like a wood Lion: for there was none of them that either could or durst stand in his face, till at the last there came a shot from the Turkes, which brake his whistle asunder, and smote him on the brest, so that he fell downe, bidding them farewell, & to be of good comfort, encouraging them likewise to winne praise by death, rather then to liue captiues in misery and shame. Which they hearing, in deed intended to haue done, as it appeared by their skirmish: but the prease and store of the Turkes was so great, that they were not able long to endure, but were so ouerpressed, that they could not wield their weapons;

The valour & death of their Boatswaine.

pons: by reason whereof, they must needs be taken, which none of them intended to haue bene, but rather to haue died: except onely the masters mate, who shrunke from the skirmish, like a notable coward, esteeming neither the valure of his name, nor accounting of the present example of his fellowes, nor hauing respect to the miseries, whereunto he should be put. But in fine, so it was, that the Turks were victors, whereof they had no great cause to reioyce, or triumph. Then would it haue grieued any hard heart to see these Infidels so violently intreating the Christians, not hauing any respect of their manhood which they had tasted of, nor yet respecting their owne state, how they might haue met with such a bootie, as might haue giuen them the ouerthrow: but no remorse hereof, or any thing els doth bridle their fierce and tirannous dealing, but that the Christians must needs to the gallies, to serue in new offices: and they were no sooner in them, but their garments were pulled ouer their eares, and torne from their backes, and they set to the oares.

I will make no mention of their miseries, being now vnder their enemies raging stripes. I thinke there is no man wil iudge their fare good, or their bodies vnloden of stripes, and not pestered with too much heate, and also with too much cold: but I will goe to my purpose, which is, to shew the ende of those, being in meere miserie, which continually doe call on God with a stedfast hope that he will deliuer them, and with a sure faith that he can doe it.

Nigh to the citie of Alexandria, being a hauen towne, and vnder the dominion of the Turkes, there is a roade, being made very fensible with strong wals, whereinto the Turkes doe customably bring their gallies on shoare euery yeere, in the winter season, and there doe trimme them, and lay them vp against the spring time. In which road there is a prison, wherein the captiues & such prisoners as serue in the gallies, are put for all that time, vntill the seas be calme and passable for the gallies, euery prisoner being most grieuously laden with irons on their legges, to their great paine, and sore disabling of them to any labour taking. Into which prison were these Christians put, and fast warded all the Winter season. But ere it was long, the Master and the Owner, by meanes of friends, were redeemed: the rest abiding still by the miserie, while that they were all (through reason of their ill vsage and worse fare, miserably starued) sauing one Iohn Fox, who (as some men can abide harder and more miserie, then other some can, so can some likewise make more shift, and worke more deuises to helpe their state and liuing, then other some can doe) being somewhat skilfull in the craft of a Barbour, by reason thereof made great shift in helping his fare now and then with a good meale. Insomuch, til at the last, God sent him fauour in the sight of the keeper of the prison, so that he had leaue to goe in and out to the road, at his pleasure, paying a certaine stipend vnto the keeper, and wearing a locke about his leg: which libertie likewise, sixe more had vpon like sufferance: who by reason of their long imprisonment, not being feared or suspected to start aside, or that they would worke the Turkes any mischiefe, had libertie to go in and out at the sayd road, in such maner, as this Iohn Fox did, with irons on their legs, and to returne againe at night.

The Englishmen caried prisoners vnto to Hamos neere Alexandria.

In the yeere of our Lord 1577. in the Winter season, the gallies happily comming to their accustomed harborow, and being discharged of all their masts, sailes, and other such furnitures, as vnto gallies doe appertaine, and all the Masters and mariners of them being then nested in their owne homes: there remained in the prison of the said road two hundred threescore and eight Christian prisoners, who had bene taken by the Turks force, and were of sixteen sundry nations. Among which there were three Englishmen, whereof one was named Iohn Foxe of Woodbridge in Suffolke, the other William Wickney of Portsmouth, in the Countie of Southhampton, and the third Robert Moore of Harwich in the Countie of Essex. Which Iohn Fox hauing bene thirteene or foureteene yeres vnder their gentle entreatance, and being too too weary thereof, minding his escape, weighed with himselfe by what meanes it might be brought to passe: and continually pondering with himself thereof, tooke a good heart vnto him, in hope that God would not be alwayes scourging his children, and neuer ceassed to pray him to further his pretended enterprise, if that it should redound to his glory.

Not farre from the road, and somewhat from thence, at one side of the Citie, there was a cer-

a certaine victualling house, which one Peter Vnticaro had hired, paying also a certaine fee vnto the keeper of the road. This Peter Vnticaro was a Spaniard borne, and a Christian, and had bene prisoner about thirtie yeeres, and neuer practised any meanes to escape, but kept himselfe quiet without touch or suspect of any conspiracie: vntill that nowe this Iohn Foxe wing much thither, they brake one to another their mindes, concerning the restraint of their libertie and imprisonment. So that this Iohn Fox at length opening vnto this Vnticaro the deuise which he would faine put in practise, made priuie one more to this their intent. Which three debated of this matter at such times as they could compasse to meete together: insomuch, that at seuen weekes ende they had sufficiently concluded how the matter should be, if it pleased God to farther them thereto: who making fiue more priuie to this their deuise, whom they thought they might safely trust, determined in three nights after to accomplish their deliberate purpose. Whereupon the same Iohn Fox, and Peter Vnticaro, and the other sixe appointed to meete all together in the prison the next day, being
The last of December. the last day of December: where this Iohn Fox certified the rest of the prisoners, what their intent and deuise was, and how and when they minded to bring their purpose to passe: who thereunto perswaded them without much a doe to further their deuise. Which the same Iohn Fox seeing, deliuered vnto them a sort of files, which he had gathered together for this purpose, by the meanes of Peter Vnticaro, charging them that euery man should be readie discharged of his yrons by eight of the clocke on the next day at night.

Ianuarie. On the next day at night, this said Iohn Fox, and his sixe other companions, being all come to the house of Peter Vnticaro, passing the time away in mirth for feare of suspect, till the night came on, so that it was time for them to put in practise their deuise, sent Peter Vnticaro to the master of the roade, in the name of one of the Masters of the citie, with whom this keeper was acquainted, and at whose request he also would come at the first: who desired him to take the paines to meete him there, promising him, that he would bring him backe againe. The keeper agreed to goe with him, willing the warders not to barre the gate, saying, that he would not stay long, but would come againe with all speede.

In the meane season, the other seuen had prouided them of such weapons, as they could get in that house: and Iohn Fox tooke him to an olde rustie sword blade, without either hilt or pomell, which he made to serue his turne, in bending the hand ende of the sword, in steed of a pomell, and the other had got such spits and glaiues as they found in the house.

The keeper now being come vnto the house, and perceiuing no light, nor hearing any noyse, straight way suspected the matter: and returning backward, Iohn Fox standing behind the corner of the house, stepped foorth vnto him: who perceiuing it to be Iohn Fox, saide, O Fox, what haue I deserued of thee, that thou shouldest seeke my death? Thou villaine (quoth Fox) hast bene a bloodsucker of many a Christians blood, and now thou shalt know what thou hast deserued at my handes: wherewith he lift vp his bright shining sword of tenne yeeres rust, and stroke him so maine a blowe, as therewithall his head claue a sunder, so that he fell starke dead to the ground. Whereupon Peter Vnticaro went in, and certified the rest how the case stood with the keeper: who came presently foorth, and some with their spits ranne him through, and the other with their glaiues hewed him in sunder, cut off his head, and mangled him so, that no man should discerne what he was.

Then marched they toward the roade, whereinto they entered softly, where were six warders, whom one of them asked, saying, who was there? quoth Fox & his company, all friendes. Which when they were all within, proued contrary: for, quoth Fox, my masters, here is not to euery man a man, wherefore looke you play your parts. Who so behaued themselues in deede, that they had dispatched these sixe quickly. Then Iohn Fox intending not to be barred of his enterprise, and minding to worke surely in that which he went about, barred the gate surely, and planted a Canon against it.

Then entred they into the Gailers lodge, where they found the keyes of the fortresse & prison by his bed side, and there had they all better weapons. In this chamber was a chest, wherein was a rich treasure, and all in duckats, which this Peter Vnticaro, & two more, opening, stuffed themselues so full as they could, betweene their shirts and their skinnes which

which Iohn Fox would not once touch, and sayde, that it was his and their libertie which he sought for, to the honour of his God, & not to make a marte of the wicked treasure of the Infidels. Yet did these words sinke nothing into their stomakes, they did it for a good intent: so did Saul saue the fattest Oxen, to offer vnto the Lord, and they to serue their owne turne. But neither did Saul scape the wrath of God therefore, neither had these that thing which they desired so, and did thirst after. Such is Gods iustice. He that they put their trust in, to deliuer them from the tyrannous hands of their enemies, he (I say) could supply their want of necessaries.

Nowe these eight being armed with such weapons as they thought well of, thinking themselues sufficient champions to encounter a stronger enemie, and comming vnto the prison, Fox opened the gates and doores thereof, and called forth all the prisoners, whom he set, some to ramming vp the gate, some to the dressing vp of a certaine gallie, which was the best in all the roade, and was called the captaine of Alexandria, whereinto some caried mastes, sailes, oares, and other such furniture as doth belong vnto a gallie.

At the prison were certaine warders, whom Iohn Fox and his companie slewe: in the killing of whom, there were eight more of the Turkes, which perceiued them, and got them to the toppe of the prison: vnto whom Iohn Fox, and his company, were faine to come by ladders, where they found a hot skirmish. For some of them were there slaine, some wounded, and some but scarred, and not hurt. As Iohn Fox was thrise shot through his apparell, and not hurt, Peter Vnticaro, and the other two, that had armed them with the duckats, were slaine, as not able to weild themselues, being so pestered with the weight and vneasie carying of the wicked and prophane treasure: and also diuerse Christians were aswell hurt about that skirmish, as Turkes slaine.

Amongst the Turkes was one thrust thorowe, who (let vs not say that it was ill fortune) fell off from the toppe of the prison wall, and made such a lowing, that the inhabitants thereabout (as here and there scattering stoode a house or two) came and dawed him, so that they vnderstood the case, how that the prisoners were paying their ransomes: wherewith they raised both Alexandria which lay on the west side of the roade, and a Castle which was at the Cities end, next to the roade, and also an other Fortresse which lay on the Northside of the roade: so that nowe they had no way to escape, but one, which by mans reason (the two holdes lying so vpon the mouth of the roade) might seeme impossible to be a way for them. So was the red sea impossible for the Israelites to passe through, the hils and rockes lay so on the one side, and their enemies compassed them on the other. So was it impossible, that the wals of Iericho should fall downe, being neither vndermined, nor yet rammed at with engines, nor yet any mans wisedome, pollicie, or helpe set or put thereunto. Such impossibilities can our God make possible. He that helde the Lyons iawes from renting Daniel asunder, yea, or yet from once touching him to his hurt: can not he hold the roring canons of this hellish force? He that kept the fiers rage in the hot burning Ouen, from the three children, that praised his name, can not he keepe the fiers flaming blastes from among his elect?

Now is the roade fraught with lustie souldiers, laborers, and mariners, who are faine to stand to their tackling, in setting to euery man his hand, some to the carying in of victuals, some munitions, some oares, and some one thing, some another, but most are keeping their enemie from the wall of the road. But to be short, there was no time mispent, no man idle, nor any mans labour ill bestowed, or in vaine. So that in short time, this gally was ready trimmed vp. Whereinto euery man leaped in all haste, hoyssing vp the sayles lustily, yeelding themselues to his mercie and grace, in whose hands are both winde and weather.

Now is this gally on flote, and out of the safetie of the roade: now haue the two Castles full power vpon the gally, now is there no remedy but to sinke: how can it be auoided? The canons let flie from both sides, and the gally is euen in the middest, and betweene them both. What man can deuise to saue it? there is no man, but would thinke it must needes be sunke.

There was not one of them that feared the shotte, which went thundring round about their

eares, nor yet were once scarred or touched, with fiue & forty shot, which came from the Castles. Here did God hold foorth his buckler, he shieldeth now this gally, and hath tried their faith to the vttermost. Now commeth his speciall helpe: yea, euen when man thinks them past all helpe, then commeth he himselfe downe from heauen with his mightie power, then is his present remedie most readie prest. For they saile away, being not once touched with the glaunce of a shot, and are quickly out of the Turkish canons reach. Then might they see them comming downe by heapes to the water side, in companies like vnto swarmes of bees, making shew to come after them with gallies, in bustling themselues to dresse vp the gallies, which would be a swift peece of worke for them to doe, for that they had neither oares, mastes, sailes, gables, nor any thing else ready in any gally. But yet they are carying them into them, some into one gally, and some into another, so that, being such a confusion amongst them, without any certaine guide, it were a thing impossible to ouertake them: beside that, there was no man that would take charge of a gally, the weather was so rough, and there was such an amasednes amongst them. And verely I thinke their God was amased thereat: it could not be but he must blush for shame, he can speake neuer a word for dulnes, much lesse can he helpe them in such an extremitie. Well, howsoeuer it is, he is very much to blame, to suffer them to receiue such a gibe. But howsoeuer their God behaued himselfe, our God shewed himselfe a God indeede, and that he was the onely liuing God: for the seas were swift vnder his faithfull, which made the enemies agast to behold them, a skilfuller Pilot leades them, and their mariners bestirre them lustily: but the Turkes had neither mariners, Pilot, nor any skilfull Master, that was in a readinesse at this pinch.

When the Christians were safe out of the enemies coast, Iohn Fox called to them all, willing them to be thankfull vnto almighty God for their deliuerie, and most humbly to fall downe vpon their knees, beseeching him to aide them vnto their friends land, and not to bring them into an other daunger, sith hee had most mightily deliuered them from so great a thraldome and bondage.

Thus when euery man had made his petition, they fell straight way to their labour with the oares, in helping one another, when they were wearied, and with great labour striuing to come to some Christian land, as neere as they could gesse by the starres. But the windes were so diuers, one while driuing them this way, another while that way, that they were now in a newe maze, thinking that God had forsaken them, and left them to a greater danger. And forasmuch as there were no victuals now left in the gally, it might haue beene a cause to them (if they had beene the Israelites) to haue murmured against their God: but they knew how that their God, who had deliuered them out of Ægypt, was such a louing and mercifull God, as that hee would not suffer them to be confounded, in whom he had wrought so great a wonder: but what calamitie soeuer they sustained, they knew it was but for their further triall, and also (in putting them in mind of their farther miserie) to cause them not to triumph and glory in themselues therefore. Hauing (I say) no victuals in the gally, it might seeme that one miserie continually fel vpon an others neck: but to be briefe, the famine grew to be so great, that in 28 dayes, wherein they were on the sea, there died eight persons, to the astonishment of all the rest.

Extremity of famine.

So it fell out, that vpon the 29 day, after they set from Alexandria, they fell on the Isle of Candie, and landed at Gallipoli, where they were made much of by the Abbot and Monks there, who caused them to stay there, while they were well refreshed and eased. They kept there the sworde, wherewith Iohn Fox had killed the keeper, esteeming it as a most precious iewell, and hung it vp for a monument.

Iohn Fox his sword kept as a monument in Gallipoli.

When they thought good, hauing leaue to depart from thence, they sayled along the coast, till they arriued at Tarento, where they solde their gallie, and deuided it, euery man hauing a part thereof. The Turkes receiuing so shamefull a foile at their hand, pursued the Christians, and scoured the seas, where they could imagine that they had bent their course. And the Christians had departed from thence on the one day in the morning, and seuen galies of the Turkes came thither that night, as it was certified by those who followed Fox, and his companie, fearing least they should haue bene met with. And then they came foote

to

to Naples, where they departed a sunder, euery man taking him to his next way home. From whence Iohn Fox tooke his iourney vnto Rome, where he was well entertayned of an Englishman, who presented his worthy deede vnto the Pope, who rewarded him liberally, and gaue him his letters vnto the king of Spaine, where he was very well entertained of him there, who for this his most worthy enterprise gaue him in fee twentie pence a day. From whence, being desirous to come into his owne countrie, he came thither at such time as he conueniently could, which was in the yeere of our Lorde God, 1579. Who being come into England, went vnto the Court, and shewed all his trauell vnto the Councell: who considering of the state of this man, in that hee had spent and lost a great part of his youth in thraldome and bondage, extended to him their liberalitie, to helpe to maintaine him now in age, to their right honour, and to the incouragement of all true hearted Christians.

The copie of the certificate for Iohn Fox, and his companie, made by the Prior, and the brethren of Gallipoli, where they first landed.

WE the Prior, and Fathers of the Couent of the Amerciates, of the city of Gallipoli, of the order of Preachers doe testifie, that vpon the 29 of Ianuary last past, 1577, there came into the said citie a certaine gally from Alexandria, taken from the Turkes, with two hundreth fiftie and eight Christians, whereof was principal Master Iohn Fox, an Englishman, a gunner, and one of the chiefest that did accomplish that great worke, whereby so many Christians haue recouered their liberties. In token and remembrance whereof, vpon our earnest request to the same Iohn Fox, he hath left here an olde sworde, wherewith he slewe the keeper of the prison: which sword we doe as a monument and memoriall of so worthy a deede, hang vp in the chiefe place of our Couent house. And for because all things aforesaid, are such as we will testifie to be true, as they are orderly passed, and haue therefore good credite, that so much as is aboue expressed is true, and for the more faith thereof, we the Prior, and Fathers aforesaide, haue ratified and subscribed these presents. Geuen in Gallipoly, the third of Februarie 1577.

I Frier Vincent Barba, Prior of the same place, confirme the premisses, as they are aboue written.
I Frier Albert Damaro, of Gallipoly, Subprior, confirme as much.
I Frier Anthony Celleler of Gallipoly, confirme as aforesaid.
I Frier Bartlemew of Gallipoly, confirme as aboue said.
I Frier Francis of Gallipoly, confirme as much.

The Bishop of Rome his letters in the behalfe of Iohn Fox.

BE it knowen vnto all men, to whom this writing shall come, that the bringer hereof Iohn Fox Englishman, a Gunner, after he had serued captiue in the Turkes gallies, by the space of foureteene yeeres, at length, thorough God his helpe, taking good oportunitie, the third of Ianuarie last past, slew the keeper of the prison, (whom he first stroke on the face) together with foure and twentie other Turkes, by the assistance of his fellow prisoners: and with 266. Christians (of whose libertie he was the author) launched from Alexandria, and from thence arriued first at Gallipoly in Candie, and afterwardes at Tarento in Apulia: the written testimony and credite of which things, as also of others, the same Iohn Fox hath in publike tables from Naples.

Vpon Easter eue he came to Rome, and is now determined to take his iourney to the Spanish Court, hoping there to obtaine some reliefe toward his liuing: wherefore the poore distressed man humbly beseecheth, and we in his behalfe do in the bowels of Christ, desire you, that taking compassion of his former captiuitie, and present penurie, you doe not onely suffer him freely to passe throughout all your cities and townes, but also succour him with your charitable almes, the reward whereof you shall hereafter most assuredly receiue, which we

hope you will afford to him, whom with tender affection of pitie wee commende vnto you. At Rome, the 20 of Aprill 1577.

Thomas Grolos Englishman Bishop of Astraphen.
Richard Silleum Prior Angliæ.
Andreas Ludouicus Register to our Soueraigne Lord the Pope, which for the greater credit of the premises, haue set my seale to these presents. At Rome, the day and yeere aboue written.
Mauricius Clement the gouernour and keeper of the English Hospitall in the citie.

The King of Spaine his letters to the Lieutenant, for the placing of Iohn Fox in the office of a Gunner.

TO the illustrious Prince, Vespasian Gonsaga Colonna, our Lieutenant and Captaine Generall of our Realme of Valentia. Hauing consideration, that Iohn Fox Englishman hath serued vs, and was one of the most principall, which tooke away from the Turkes a certaine gallie, which they haue brought to Tarento, wherein were two hundred, fiftie, and eight Christian captiues: we licence him to practise, and giue him the office of a Gunner, and haue ordained, that he goe to our said Realme, there to serue in the said office in the Gallies, which by our commandement are lately made. And we doe commaund, that you cause to be payed to him eight ducats pay a moneth, for the time that he shall serue in the saide Gallies as a Gunner, or till we can otherwise prouide for him, the saide eight duckats monethly of the money which is already of our prouision, present and to come, and to haue regarde of those which come with him. From Escuriall the tenth of August, 1577.

I the King.
Iuan del Gado.
And vnder that a confirmation of the Councell.

The renuing and increasing of an ancient and commodious trade vnto diuerse places in the Leuant seas, and to the chiefest partes of all the great Turks dominions, by the meanes of the Right worsh. citizens Sir Edward Osburne Alderman, and M. Richard Staper marchant of London.

THis trade into the Leuant (as is before mentioned, page 96 of this present volume, whereunto I referre the Reader) was very vsuall and much frequented from the yeere of our Lord 1511, till the yeere 1534, and afterward also, though not so commonly, vntill the yeere 1500, when as the barke Aucher vnder the conduct of M. Roger Bodenham made a prosperous voyage vnto Sicilia, Candia, Sio, and other places within the Leuant. Since which time the foresaid trade (notwithstanding the Grand Signiors ample priuilege granted to M. Anthony Ienkenson 1553, and the strong and weighty reasons of Gaspar Campion for that purpose) was vtterly discontinued, and in maner quite forgotten, as if it had neuer bene, for the space of 20 yeares and more. Howbeit the discreete and worthy citizens Sir Edward Osborne and M. Richard Staper seriously considering what benefite might grow to the common wealth by renuing of the foresaid discontinued trade, to the inlarging of her Maiesties customes, the furthering of nauigation, the venting of diuerse generall commodities of this Realme, and the inriching of the citie of London, determined to vse some effectuall meanes for the reestablishing and augmenting thereof.

The voyage of Iohn Wight, and Ioseph Clements to Constantinople.

Wherefore about the yeere 1575 the foresaid R.W. marchants at their charges and expenses sent Iohn Wight and Ioseph Clements by the way of Poland to Constantinople, where the said Ioseph remained 18 monethes to procure a safe conduct from the grand Signior, for M. William Harborne, then factor for Sir Edward Osborne, to haue free accesse into his Highnes dominions, and obtained the same.

The first voyage of M. William Harborne to Constantinople.

Which businesse after two yeres chargeable trauell and suit being accomplished, the sayd M. Harborne the first of Iuly 1578 departed from London by the sea to Hamburgh, and thence

thence accompanied with Ioseph Clements his guide and a seruant, he trauailed to Leopolis in Poland, and then apparelling himselfe, his guide, and his seruant after the Turkish fashion (hauing first obteyned the king of Poland his safe conduct to passe at Camienijecz the frontier towne of his dominions next vnto Turky) by good means he obteined fauour of one Acmet Chaus the Turks ambassadour then in Poland, and readie to returne to Constantinople, to bee receiued into his companie and carouan. And so the fourth of September 1578 he departed with the said Acmet from Leopolis in Poland, and trauelling through Moldauia, Valachia, Bulgaria, and Romania, gratifying the Voiuaodes with certaine courtesies, he arriued at Constantinople the 28 of October next insuing. Where he behaued himselfe so wisely and discreetely, that within few moneths after he obtained not onely the great Turkes large and ample priuiledge for himselfe, and the two worshipfull persons aforesaid, but also procured his honourable and friendly letters vnto her Maiestie in maner following.

The letters sent from the Imperiall Musulmanlike highnesse of Zuldan Murad Can, to the sacred regall Maiestie of Elizabeth Queene of England, the fifteenth of March 1579, conteyning the grant of the first priuileges.

IN greatnes and glory most renowmed Elizabeth, most sacred Queene, and noble prince of the most mightie worshippers of Iesus, most wise gouernor of the causes and affaires of the people and family of Nazareth, cloud of most pleasant raine, and sweetest fountaine of noblenesse and vertue, ladie & heire of the perpetuall happinesse & glory of the noble Realme of England (whom all sorts seeke vnto and submit themselues) we wish most prosperous successe and happie ends to all your actions, and do offer vnto you such pleasures and curtesies as are worthy of our mutuall and eternall familiaritie: thus ending (as best beseemeth vs) our former salutations.

In most friendly maner we giue you to vnderstand, that a certaine man hath come vnto vs in the name of your most excellent Regall Maiestie, commending vnto vs from you all kindnesse, curtesie and friendly offices on your part, and did humbly require that our Imperiall highnesse would vouchsafe to giue leaue and libertie to him and vnto ‖ two other merchants of your kingdome, to resort hither and returne againe, and that by way of traffike they might be suffered to trade hither with their goods and merchandizes to our Imperiall dominions, and in like sort to make their returne.

‖ These two were Sir Edward Osborne and M. Richard Stapet.

Our stately Court and Countrey hath beene euer open for the accesse both of our enemies and friends. But because we are informed that your most excellent Regall Maiesty doth abound with good will, humanitie, & all kind of louing affection towards vs, so much the rather shall the same our Countrey be alwayes open to such of your subiects, as by way of merchandize shall trade hither: and we will neuer faile to aide & succor any of them that are or shal be willing to esteeme of our friendship, fauour, & assistance: but will reckon it some part of our dutie to gratifie them by all good meanes. And forasmuch as our Imperiall highnesse is giuen to vnderstand that your most excellent Regall Maiestie doth excell in bountie & curtesie, we therfore haue sent out our Imperiall commandement to all our kings, iudges, and trauellers by sea, to all our Captaines and voluntarie seafaring men, all condemned persons, and officers of Ports and customes, straightly charging and commanding them, that such foresaid persons as shall resort hither by sea from the Realme of England, either with great or small vessels to trade by way of marchandize, may lawfully come to our imperiall Dominions, and freely returne home againe, and that no man shall dare to molest or trouble them. And if in like sort they shall come into our dominions by land, either on foote or on horsebacke, no man shall at any time withstand or hinder them: but as our familiars and confederates, the French, Venetians, Polonians, and the ‖ king of Germany, with diuers other our neighbours about vs, haue libertie to come hither, & to returne againe into their owne countreys, in like sort the marchants of your most excellent Regall Maiesties kingdome shall haue safe conduct and leaue to repayre hither to our Imperiall dominions, and so to returne againe into their own Country: straightly charging that they be suffered to vse and trade all kind of marchandize as any other Christians doe, without let or disturbance of any.

‖ He calleth the Germaine emperor but king of Germanie.

Therefore

Therefore when these our Imperiall letters shall be brought to your most excellent Regall Maiestie, it shall be meet, according to our beneuolence, humanity, and familiarity towards your most excellent Maiesty, that you likewise bethinke your selfe of your like beneuolence, humanitie and friendshippe towards vs, to open the gate thereof vnto vs, and to nourish by all good meanes this kindnesse and friendship: and that like libertie may be granted by your Highnesse to our subiects and merchants to come with their merchandizes to your dominions, either by sea with their ships, or by land with their wagons or horses, and to returne home againe: and that your most excellent Regall Maiestie do alwayes declare your humanitie, good will, and friendship towards vs, and alwayes keepe open the dore thereof vnto vs.

The Turke demandeth like priuiledges for his subiects in the Queenes dominions.

Giuen at our citie of Constantinople the fifteenth day of March, and in the yeere of our most holy Prophet Mahomet ‖ 987.

With vs the yeere 1579.

The answere of her Maiestie to the aforesaid Letters of the Great Turke, sent the 25 of October 1579, in the Prudence of London by Master Richard Stanley.

ELIZABETHA Dei ter maximi, & vnici cœli terræq; Conditoris gratia, Angliæ, Franciæ & Hiberniæ regina, fidei Christianæ contra omnes omnium inter Christianos degentium, & Christi nomen falsò profitentium Idololatrias inuictissima & potentissima Defensatrix, augustissimo, inuictissimóque principi Sultan Murad Can, Turcici regni dominatori potentissimo, Imperijq; orientis, Monarchæ supra omnes soli & supremo, salutē, & multos cum rerum optimarū affluentia fœlices, & fortunatos annos. Augustissime & inuictissime Cæsar, accepimus inuictissimæ Cæsareæ vestræ celsitudinis literas, die decimoquinto Martij currentis anni ad nos scriptas Constantinopoli, ex quibus intelligimus quàm benignè quámq; clementer, literæ supplices quæ Cæ-areæ vestræ celsitudini a quodam subdito nostro Guilielmo Hareborno in Imperiali Celsitudinis vestræ ciuitate Constantinopoli commorante offerebantur, literæ profectionis pro se & socijs eius duobus hominibus mercatoribus subditis nostris cum mercibus suis ad terras ditionesq; Imperio vestro subiectas tam per mare quàm per terras, indéq; reuersionis veniæ potestatisq; humillimam complexæ petitionem, ab inuictissima vestra Cæsarea celsitudine, acceptæ fuerunt. Neq; id solùm, sed quàm mira cum facilitate, dignáq; augustissima Cæsarea clementia, quod erat in dictis literis supplicibus positum, ei socijsq; suis donatum & concessum fuit, pro ea, vti videtur, solùm opinione, quam de nobis, & nostra amicitia vestra celsitudo concepit. Quod singulare beneficium in dictos subditos nostros collatum tam gratè tamq; beneuolè accepimus (maximas celsitudini vestræ propterea & agentes, & habentes gratias) nullo vt vnquam patiemur tempore, pro facultatum nostrarum ratione, proq; ea quam nobis inseuit ter maximus mundi monarcha Deus (per quem & cuius auspicijs regnamus) naturæ bonitate, qua remotissimas nos esse voluit, & abhorrentes ab ingratitudinis omni vel minima suspitione, docuitq; nullorum vnquam vt principum, vllis in nos meritis nos sineremus vinci, aut superari, vt apud ingratam principem tantum beneficium deposuisse, se vestra Celsitudo existimet. Propterea; animum nostrum inpræsentiarum vestræ celsitudini emetimur, benè sentiendo & prædicando, quantopere nos obstrictas beneficij huius in subditos nostros collati putemus memoriâ sempiternâ: longè vberiorem, & ampliorem gratitudinis erga vestram celsitudinem nostræ testificationem daturæ, cum tempora incident, vt possimus & à nobis desiderabitur. Quoniam autem quæ nostris paucis subditis, eáq; suis ipsorum precibus, sine vlla intercessione nostra concessa donatio est, in æquè libera potestate sita est ad omnes terras ditionesq; Imperio vestro subiectas, cum mercibus suis tam per mare quàm per terras eundi & redeundi, atq; inuictissimæ Cæsareæ vestræ celsitudinis confœderatis, Gallis, Polonis, Venetis, atq; adeo regis Romanorum subditis largita vnquam aut donata fuit, celsitudinem vestram rogamus ne tam singularis beneficentiæ laus in tam angustis terminis duorum aut trium hominum concludatur, sed ad vniuersos subditos nostros diffusa, propagatáque, celsitudinis vestræ beneficium eò reddat augustius, quò eiusdem donatio latiùs patebit, & ad plures pertinebit. Cuius tam singularis in nos beneficij meritum, eò erit celsitudini vestræ minùs pœnitendum, quò sunt merces illæ, quibus regna nostra abundant, & aliorum principū ditiones egent, tam humanis vsibus commodæ támq; necessariæ, nulla gens

vt

vt sit, quæ eis carere queat, proptereáq; longissimis, difficillimísq; itineribus conquisitis non vehementer gaudeat. Cariùs autem distrahunt alijs, quo ex labore suo quísq; victum & quæstum quæritat, adeo vt in earum acquisitione vtilitas, in emptione autem ab alijs onus sit. Vtilitas celsitudinis vestræ subditis augebitur liberâ hac paucorum nostrorum hominum ad terras vestras profectione: onus minuetur, profectionis quorumcúnque subditorum nostrorum donatione. Accedet præterea quæ à nobis in celsitudinis vestræ subditos proficiscetur, par, æquáque mercium exercendarum libertas, quoties & quando voluerint ad regna dominiáq; nostra mercaturæ gratia accedere. Quam celsitudini vestræ pollicemur tam amplam latéque patentem fore, quàm est vlla à confœderatorum vestrorum vllis principibus antedictis, regibus videlicet Romanorum, Gallorum, Polonorum, ac republica Veneta, celsitudinis vestræ subditis vllo vnquam tempore concessa & donata. Qua in re si honestæ petitioni nostræ inuictissima Cæsarea vestra celsitudo dignabitur auscultare, faciétque vt acceptis nostris literis intelligamus gratum nè habitura sit quod ab ea contendimus & rogamus, ea proposita præstitáque securitate, quæ subditos nostros quoscúnque ad dominia sua, terra, maríque proficiscentes, indéq; reuertentes tutos & securos reddat ab omni quorumcúnque subditorum suorum iniuria, efficiemus, vt quæ Deus opt. max. in regna dominiáq; nostra contulit commoda (quæ tam singularia sunt, omnium vt principum animos pelliceant ad amicitiam, summæq; necessitudinis coniunctionem nobiscum contrahendam, stabiliendámque quo liberius tantis summi Dei beneficijs fruantur, quibus carere nequeunt) nostri subditi ad regna dominiáque Celsitudinis vestræ aduehant tam affluenter támque cumulate, vt vtríque incommodo prædicto necessitatis & oneris plenissimè succurratur. Facit prætereà singularis ista Celsitudinis vestræ in nos Gentémque nostram summæ beneuolentiæ significatio ac fides, vt eandem, in causam quorundam subditorum nostrorum, qui captiui triremibus vestris detinentur, interpellemus, rogemúsque, vt quoniam nullo in celsitudinem vestram peccato suo, siuè arma in eam ferendo, siuè iniquiùs præter fas & ius gentium se gerendo in suos subditos, in hanc calamitatem inciderint, soluti vinculis, & libertate donati, nobis pro sua fide & obsequio inseruientes, causam vberiorem præbeant vestræ Celsitudinis in nos humanitatem prædicandi: & Deum illum, qui solus, & supra omnia & omnes est acerrimus idololatriæ vindicator, suíque honoris contra Gentium & aliorum falsos Deos Zelotes, præcabimur, vt vestram inuictissimam Cæsaréam Celsitudinem omni beatitate eorum donorum fortunet, quæ sola & summè iure merito habentur desideratissima.

Datæ è Regia nostra Grenouici, prope ciuitatem nostram Londinum, quintodecimo Mensis Octobris, Anno Iesu Christi Saluatoris nostri 1579, Regni verò nostri vicesimo primo.

The same in English.

ELizabeth by the grace of the most mightie God, and onely Creatour of heauen and earth, of England, France and Ireland Queene, the most inuincible and most mighty defender of the Christian faith against all kinde of idolatries, of all that liue among the Christians, and fully professe the Name of Christ, vnto the most Imperiall and most inuincible prince, Zuldan Murad Can, the most mightie ruler of the kingdome of Turkie, sole and aboue all, and most souereigne Monarch of the East Empire, greeting, and many happy and fortunate yeeres, with abundance of the best things.

Most Imperiall and most inuincible Emperour, wee haue receiued the letters of your mightie highnesse written to vs from Cōstantinople the fifteenth day of March this present yere, whereby we vnderstand how gratiously, and how fauourably the humble petitions of one William Hareborne a subiect of ours, resident in the Imperial citie of your highnes presented vnto your Maiestie for the obteining of accesse for him and two other Marchants more of his company our subiects also, to come with marchandizes both by sea and land, to the countreis and territories subiect to your gouernment, and from thence againe to returne home with good leaue and libertie, were accepted of your most inuincible Imperiall highnesse, and not that onely, but with an extraordinarie speed and worthy your Imperiall grace, that which was craued by petition was granted to him, and his company in regard onely (as it seemeth) of that

that opinion which your highnesse conceiued of vs and our amitie: which singular benefit done to our aforesaid subiects, wee take so thankefully, and in so good part (yeelding for the same our greatest thanks to your highnesse) that we will neuer giue occasion to your said highnesse (according as time, and the respect of our affaires will permit) once to thinke so great a pleasure bestowed vpon an vngratefull Prince. For the Almighty God, by whom, and by whose grace we reigne, hath planted in vs this goodnesse of nature, that wee detest and abhorre the least suspition of ingratitude, and hath taught vs not to suffer our selues to bee ouermatched with the good demerits of other Princes. And therefore at this time wee doe extende our good minde vnto your highnesse, by well conceiuing, and publishing also abroad, how much we repute our selfe bound in an euerlasting remembrance for this good pleasure to our Subiects, meaning to yeelde a much more large and plentifull testification of our thankefulnesse, when time conuenient shall fall out, and the same shall bee looked for at our handes.

But whereas that graunt which was giuen to a fewe of our Subiects, and at their onely request without any intercession of ours, standeth in as free a libertie of comming and going to and from all the lands and kingdoms subiect to your Maiestie, both by land & sea with marchandizes, as euer was granted to any of your Imperiall highnesse confederates, as namely to the French, the Polonians, the Venetians, as also to the subiects of the king of the Romanes, wee desire of your highnesse that the commendation of such singular courtesie may not bee so narrowly restrained to two or three men onely, but may be inlarged to all our subiects in generall, that thereby your highnesse goodnesse may appeare the more notable, by reason of the graunting of the same to a greater number of persons. The bestowing of which so singular a benefit your highnesse shall so much the lesse repent you of, by howe much the more fit and necessary for the vse of man those commodities are, wherewith our kingdomes doe abound, and the kingdomes of other princes doe want, so ỹ there is no nation that can be without them, but are glad to come by them, although by very *long* and difficult trauels: and when they haue them, they sell them much deerer to others, because euery man seeketh to make profite by his labour: so that in the getting of them there is profit, but in the buying of them from others there is losse. But this profite will be increased to the subiects of your highnesse by this free accesse of a few of our subiects to your dominions, as also the losse and burden wilbe eased, by the permission of generall accesse to all our people. And furthermore we will graunt as equall and as free a libertie to the subiects of your highnesse with vs for the vse of traffique, when they wil and as often as they wil, to come, and go to and from vs and our kingdomes. Which libertie wee promise to your highnesse shalbe as ample, and as large as any was euer giuen or granted to your subiects by the aforesaide princes your confederats, as namely the king of the Romanes, of France, of Poland, and the common wealth of Venice. In which matter, if your most inuincible Imperiall highnesse shall vouchsafe to incline to our reasonable request, and shall giue order vpon these our letters, that wee may haue knowledge how the same is accepted of you, and whether it wilbe granted, with sufficient securitie for our subiects to go, and returne safe and secure from all violences and iniuries of your people, we on the other side wil giue order, that those commodities which Almighty God hath bestowed vpon our kingdomes (which are in deed so excellent, that by reason of them all princes are drawen to enter, and confirme leagues of amitie and good neighborhood with vs, by that meanes to enioy these so great blessings of God, which we haue, and they can in no case want) our subiects shall bring them so abundantly and plentifully to the kingdomes and dominions of your highnesse, that both the former inconueniences of necessitie, and losse, shall most sufficiently be taken away.

Moreouer the signification and assurance of your highnesse great affection to vs and our nation, doeth cause vs also to intreat and vse mediation on the behalfe of certaine of our subiects, who are detained as slaues and captiues in your Gallies, for whom we craue, that forasmuch as they are fallen into that misery, not by any offence of theirs, by bearing of armes against your highnesse, or in behauing of themselues contrary to honestie, and to the law of nations, they may be deliuered from their bondage, and restored to libertie, for their seruice towardes

towardes vs, according to their duetie: which thing shall yeeld much more abundant cause to vs of commending your clemencie, and of beseeching that God (who onely is aboue all things, and all men, and is a most seuere reuenger of all idolatrie, and is ielous of his honour against the false gods of the nations) to adorne your most inuincible Imperiall highnesse with all the blessings of those gifts, which onely and deseruedly are accounted most worthy of asking.

Giuen at our palace of Greenwich, neere to our Citie of London, the fiue and twentieth day of October, in the yeere of Iesus Christ our Sauiour one thousand, fiue hundreth, seuentie and nine, and of our reigne the one and twentieth.

The charter of the priuileges granted to the English, & the league of the great Turke with the Queenes Maiestie in respect of traffique, dated in Iune 1580.

IMmensa & maxima ex potestate potentissimi, terribilibúsque verbis & nunquam finienda innumerabiliue clementia & ineffabili auxilio sanctissimi & pura mente colendissimi tremendissimíq; vniuersitatum creatoris, princeps temporum præsentium, vnicus modernæ ætatis monarcha, totius orbis terrarum potentibus sceptra diuidere potens, clementiæ, gratiæq; diuinæ vmbra, regnorum prouinciarumue, & vrbium ciuitatumue distributor permultarum: Nos sacratissimus Cæsar Muzulmanicus, Mecchæ, id est domus diuinæ, Medinæ, gloriosissimæ & beatissimæ Ierusalem, Aegypti fertilissimæ, Iemen & Zouan, Eden & Canan, Sami paciferæ & Hebes, Iabza & Pazra, Zeruzub & Halepiæ, Caramaniæ & Diabekiruan, & Dulkadiriæ, Babyloniæ, & totius triplicis Arabiæ, Euzortm & Georgianorum, Cypri diuitis, & regnorum Asiæ, Ozakior, Camporum Maris albi & nigri, Græciæ & Mesopotamiæ, Africæ & Goletæ, Algeris & Tripolis occidentalis, selectissimæq; Europæ, Budæ, & Temeswar, & regnorum transalpinorum, & his similium permultorum princeps Cæsarué sacerrimus, potentissimus Murad Can, filius principis Zelim Can, qui fuit Zoleiman Can, qui fuit Zelim Can, qui fuit Paiezid Can, qui fuit Mehemed Can, &c.

Nos princeps potentissimus Murad Can hoc in signum nostræ Cæsareæ amicitiæ significamus, manifestamus, quòd in temporibus modernis Regina Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ Elizabetha in Christianitate honoratissima Regina (cuius mercatorum exitus sit fœlicissimus) ad nostram excelsam, & iustitiæ plenam, fulgidissimámue portam, quæ omnibus principibus mundi est refugium & requies, per egregium Gulielmum Harebornum literas misit suas, quibus sua maiestas significauit, quod tempore præterito quidam subditi sui venissent ad nostram portam excelsam, & suam obedientiam erga eam demonstrauissent, & ob eam causam illis quoque ad nostras ditiones mercandi gratia venire & redire poscerent, venis & potestas fuisset data: & quòd in locis & hospitijs eorum per mare & terram nemo auderet impedire & illis damnum facere, mandatum Cæsareum fuisset datum: & quòd hanc nostram gratiam, quam paucis hominibus suæ maiestatis demonstrauissemus, vniuersis suis subditis concederemus, petebat. Quare, quemadmodum cum serenissimis beneuolentiam & obedientiam, seruitiúue sua demonstrantibus erga nostram portam excelsam regibus & principibus confœderatis (vt sunt rex Gallorum, Veneti, & rex Polonorum, & cæteri) pacem & fœdus sanctissimum pepigimus: sic etiam cum præfata Regina amicitiam custodiendam, pacem & fœdus coniunximus. Illius igitur homines, & vniuersi mercatores, sine aliquo impedimento cum suis mercibus & oneribus cunctis ad nostras ditionis Cæsareas pacificè & securè veniant, & suam exerceant mercaturam, maneant in suis statibus, & secundum suos mores negocientur. Et adhæc, sua maiestas significabat ex hominibus suis aliquos iamdudum captos fuisse, & in captiuitate detineri, & quòd hi dimitterentur petebat, & quòd sicut alijs principibus nobiscum confœderatis priuilegia & mandata Cæsarea super fœdus sanctissimum dedissemus, sic præfatæ quoque Reginæ priuilegium & mandata Cæsarea vt daremus, nostræ Cæsareæ celsitudini placeret. Quare secundùm nostram beneuolentiam & gratiam innatam, optata suæ maiestatis apud nos grata fuere: Et hoc nostrum priuilegium iustitijs plenum dedimus maiestati suæ: Et Beglerbegis, Zanziacbegis famulis nostris, & Kazijs, id est, iudicibus, & omnibus teloniatoribus omnium locorum, portuum, & vadorum

Padus Turcici Imperatoris cum Regina initum.

firmiter mandamus, vt donec ex parte præfatæ reginæ fœdus, & pax, & eorum conditiones articulique (vt conuenit) custodiuntur & seruantur, nostræ quóque Cæsareæ celsitudinis mandata sunt:

Articuli huius priuilegij.

1 Vt præfatæ Reginæ homines, & subditi eius quibuuis rebus & mercibus, oneribus & suppellectilibus per mare in magnis & paruis nauibus, per terram autem homines cum oneribus & pecoribus, securè & pacificè ad nostras ditiones Cæsareas veniant, & nemo illis noceat, sed securè & sine aliquo impedimento negocientur, & in suis statibus & conditionibus permaneant.

2 Item, si præfati homines & mercatores in suis rectis vijs & negociationibus aliquo modo caperentur, sine aliqua tergiuersatione dimittantur liberentúrque.

3 Item, si naues eorum ad aliquos portus & loca venire voluerint, pacificè omni in tempore, & sine impedimento veniant, & discedant in sua loca.

4 Item, si in tempestatibus maris naues eorum essent in periculo & auxilio opus esset illis, naues nostræ Cæsareæ celsitudinis, earúmque homines, & aliorum naues hominésque statim auxilium & opem ferant illis, mandamus.

5 Item, si edulia suis pecunijs emere voluerint, nemo resistat illis, sed sine impedimento edulia emant.

6 Item, si infortunium maris naues eorum in terram proiecerit, Beggi & iudices, & cæteri nostri subditi sint auxilio illis, merces & res eorum quæ remanserint iterum reddantur illis, & nemo impediat illos.

7 Item, si præfatæ reginæ homines, eorum interpretes, & mercatores, siue per terram, siue per mare mercandi gratiâ ad nostras ditiones venire velint, legitimo telonio, & vectigali reddito, pacificè vagentur, capitanei & reges maris & nauium, & aliud genus hominum per mare vagantium in personis, & rebus eorum, pecoribúsque, ne noceant illis.

8 Item, si aliquis ex Anglis debitor, aut ære alieno esset obstrictus, intueriúque non possit, ratione debitorum alterius nullus nisi esset fideiussor capiatur aut impediatur.

9 Item, si Anglus testamentum fecerit, & sua bona cuicúnque legauerit, illi dentur bona illius, & si sine testamento moreretur, consul eorum cuicúnque sociorum mortui hominis dixerit debere dari, illi dentur bona mortui hominis.

10 Item, si Angli, & ad Angliam pertinentium locorum mercatores & interpretes, in vendendis & emendis mercibus fideiussionibus & rebus aliquid negocij habuerint, ad iudicem veniant, & in librum inscribi faciant negotium, & si voluerint, literas quóque accipiant à iudice, propterea quòd si aliquid inciderit, videant librum & literas, & secundùm tenorem eorum perficiantur negocia eorum suspecta: si autem néque in librum inscriberentur, néque literas haberent, iudex falsa testimonia non admittat, sed secundùm iustitiam legem administrans non sinat illos impediri.

11 Item, si aliquis diceret, quod isti Christiani nostræ fidei Muzulmanicæ male dixerint, & eam vituperijs affecerint, in hoc negocio etiam & alijs, testes falsi minimè admittantur.

12 Item, si aliquis eorum aliquod facinus patraret, & fugiens non possit inueniri, nullus nisi esset fideiussor pro alterius facto retineatur.

13 Item, si aliquod mancipium Anglicum inueniretur, & consul eorũ peteret illud, examinetur diligenter mancipium, & si inuentum fuerit Anglicum, accipiatur, & reddatur Anglis.

14 Item, si aliquis ex Anglis huc venerit habitandi aut mercandi gratiâ, siue sit vxoratus, siue sit sine vxore, non soluat censum.

15 Item, si in Alexandria, in Damasco, in Samia, in Tunis, in Tripoli occidentali, in Aegypti portubus & in alijs omnibus locis, vbicúnq; voluerint facere Consules, faciant: Et iterum si voluerint eos mutare, & in loco priorũ consulum alios locare, liberè faciant, & nemo illis resistat.

16 Item, si illorum interpres in arduis negotijs occupatus abesset, donec veniret interpres, expectetur, & interim nemo illos impediat.

17 Item,

17 Item, si Angli inter se aliquam litem haberent & vellent ad suos consules ire, nemo resistat illis, sed liberè veniant ad Consules suos, vt secundùm mores eorum finiatur lis orta.

18 Item, si post tempus aut datum huius priuilegij, piratæ, aut alij aliqui liberi gubernatores nauium per mare vagantes, aliquem ex Anglis ceperint, & trans mare vel cis mare venderint, secundùm iustitiam examinetur: & si Anglus inuentus fuerit, & religionem Muzulmanicam assumpserit, liberè dimittatur: si autem adhuc esset Christianus, Anglis reddatur, & emptores suam pecuniam ab illo petant, à quo emerant.

19 Item, si nostræ Cæsareæ Celsitudinis naues armatæ exiuerint ad mare, & ibi inuenerint naues Anglicas merces portantes, nemo impediat illas, imò amicè tractentur, & nullum damnum faciant illis: Quemadmodum Gallis, Venetis, & cæteris nobiscum confœderatis regibus, & principibus priuilegium, & articulos priuilegijs dedimus, & concessimus, simili modo his quóque Anglis priuilegium & articulos priuilegijs dedimus & concessimus, & contra legem diuinam, & hoc priuilegium, nemo vnquam aliquid audeat facere.

20 Item, si naues magnæ, & paruæ in itinere & loco vbi stant detinebuntur, nemo illos audeat impedire, sed potiùs auxilio sint illis.

21 Item, si latrones & fures vi raperent naues illorum, nauiúmque merces, magna diligentia quærantur latrones & fures, & seuerissimè puniantur.

22 Ad extremum, Beglerbegij, & Zanziacbegi, Capitanei nostri, Mancipia, & per mare nauigantes serui Capitaneorum, & Iudices, & Teloniatores, & Gubernatores nauium Reiz dicti, & liberi Reiz, omnes isti præfati, secundùm tenorem huius priuilegij, tenorémue articulorum eius, omnia facere teneantur, & debeant. Et donec hoc in priuilegio descriptum fœdus, & pax illius Maiestatis ex parte sanctè seruabitur, & custodietur, ex parte etiam nostra Cæsarea custodiri, & obseruari mandamus.

Datum Constantinopoli, anno nostri prophetæ Sanctissimi 988, in principio mensis Iunij, anno autem Iesu 1580.

The interpretation of the letters, or priuilege of the most mightie and Musumanlike Emperour Zuldan Murad Can, granted at the request of Elizabeth by the grace of the most mightie God, and only Creator of heauen and earth, of England, France and Ireland Queene, confirming a peace and league betwixt both the said Princes and their subiects.

WE most sacred Musulmanslike Emperour, by the infinite and exceeding great power, by the euerlasting and wonderfull clemencie, & by the vnspeakable helpe of the most mighty & most holy God, creator of all things, to be worshipped and feared with all purenesse of minde, and reuerence of speech, The prince of these present times the onely Monarch of this age, able to giue scepters to the potentates of the whole world, the shadow of the diuine mercy and grace, the distributer of many kingdoms, prouinces, townes and cities, Prince, and most sacred Emperour of Mecca, that is to say, of Gods house, of Medina, of the most glorious and blessed Ierusalem, of the most fertile Egypt, Iemen and Iouan, Eden and Canaan, of Samos the peaceable, and of Hebes, of Iabza, and Pazra, of Zeruzub and Halepia, of Caramaria and Diabekiruan, of Dulkadiria, of Babylon, and of all the three Arabias, of the Euzians and Georgians, of Cyprus the rich, and of the kingdomes of Asia, of Ozakior, of the trackes of the white and blacke Sea, of Grecia and Mesopotamia, of Africa and Goleta, of Alger, and of Tripolis in the West, of the most choise and principall Europe, of Buda and Temeswar, and of the kingdomes beyond the Alpes, and many others such like, most mightie Murad Can, the sonne of the Emperour Zelim Can, which was the sonne of Zoleiman Can, which was the sonne of Zelim Can, which was the sonne of Paiizid Can, which was the sonne of Mehemed Can, &c.

We most mightie prince Murad Can, in token of our Imperiall friendship, doe signifie and declare, that now of late Elizabeth Queene of England, France and Ireland, the most honourable Queene of Christendom (to whose marchants we wish happy successe) sent her letters by her worthy seruant William Hareborne vnto our stately and most magnificent Porch

replenished with iustice, which is a refuge and Sanctuary to all the princes of the world, by which letters her Maiestie signified, that whereas heretofore certaine of her subiects had repaired to our saide stately Porche, and had shewed their obedience to the same, and for that cause had desired that leaue and libertie might also be granted vnto them, to come and goe for traffiques sake too and from our dominions, and that our Imperial commandement might be giuen, that no man should presume to hurt or hinder them, in any of their abodes or passages by sea or land, and whereas shee requested that we would graunt to all her subiects in generall, this our fauour, which before wee had extended onely to a fewe of her people: therefore as wee haue entred into amitie, and most holy league with the most excellent kings and princes our confederats, shewing their deuotion, and obedience or seruices towards our stately Porch (as namely the French king, the Venetians, the king of Polonia and others). so also we haue contracted an inuiolable amitie, peace and league with the aforesaid Queene. Therefore wee giue licence to all her people, and marchants, peaceably and safely to come vnto our Imperiall dominions, with all their marchandise and goods without any impeachment, to exercise their traffique, to vse their owne customes, and to buy and sell according to the fashions of their owne countrey.

And further her Maiestie signified vnto vs, that certaine of her people had heretofore bene taken prisoners, and were detained in captiuitie, and required that they might bee set at libertie, and that as we had graunted vnto other Princes our confederats, priuiledges, and Imperiall decrees, concerning our most inuiolable league with them, *so it* would please our Imperial Maiesty to graunt and confirme the like priuiledges, and princely decrees to the aforesaid Queene.

Wherefore according to our humanitie and gracious ingraffed disposition, the requests of her Maiestie were accepted of vs, and we haue granted vnto her Maiestie this priuilege of ours agreeable to reason & equitie. And we straightly command all our Beglerbegs, and Zanziacbegs our seruants, and our Reyz, that is to say, our Iudges, and all our customers in all places, hauens and passages, that as long as this league and amitie with the conditions, and articles thereof, are kept and obserued on the behalfe of the aforesaid Queene, 1 Our Imperiall commandement and pleasure is, that the people and subiects of the same Queene, may safely and securely come to our princely dominions, with their goods and marchandise, and ladings, and other commodities by sea, in great and smal vessels, and by land with their carriages and cattels, and that no man shall hurt them, but they may buy and sell without any hinderance, and obserue the customes and orders of their owne countrey.

2 Item, if the aforesaid people and marchants shalbe at any time in the course of their iourneis and dealings by any meanes taken, they shall be deliuered and inlarged, without any excuse or cauillation.

3 Item, if their ships purpose to arriue in any of our ports and hauens, it shalbe lawfull for them so to do in peace, and from thence againe to depart, without any let or impediment.

4 Item, if it shall happen that any of their *ships in* tempestuous weather shall bee in danger of losse and perishing, and thereupon shall stand in need of our helpe, we will, and commaund that our men and ships be ready to helpe and succour them.

5 Item, if they shalbe willing to buy any victuals for their money, no person shall withstande them, but they shall buy the same without any disturbance to the contrary.

6 Item, if by any casualtie their shippes shall bee driuen on shoare in perill of shipwracke, our Begs and Iudges, and other our Subiects shall succour them, and such wares, and goods of theirs as shall bee recouered from the losse, shall bee restored to them, and no man shall wrong them.

7 Item, if the people of the aforesayd Queene, their interpreters and marchants, shall for trafique sake, either by lande or Sea repaire to our dominions paying our lawfull toll and custome, they shall haue quiet passage, and none of our Captaines or gouernours of the Sea, and shippes, nor any kinde of persons, shall either in their bodies, or in their goods and cattels, any way molest them.

8 Item,

8 Item, if any Englishman shall grow in debt, and so owe money to any other man and thereupon doth absent himselfe that he can not be found, let no man be arrested or apprehended for any other mans debt, except he be the surety.

9 Item, if any Englishman shall make his will and testament, to whom soeuer by the same hee shall giue his goods, the partie shall haue them accordingly, and if hee die intestate, hee to whom the Consull or gouernour of the societie shall say the goods of the dead are to bee giuen, hee shall haue the same.

10 Item, if the Englishmen or the marchants and interpreters of any places vnder the iurisdiction of England shall happen in the buying and selling of wares, by promises or otherwise to come in controuersie, let them go to the Iudge, and cause the matter to be entred into a booke, and if they wil, let them also take letters of the Iudge testifying the same, that men may see the booke and letters, whatsoeuer thing shall happen, and that according to the tenour thereof the matter in controuersie and in doubt may be ended: but if such things be neither entred in booke, nor yet the persons haue taken letters of the Iudge, yet he shall admit no false witnesse, but shall execute the Law according to iustice, and shall not suffer them to be abused.

11 Item, if any man shall say, that these being Christians haue spoken any thing to the derogation of our holy faith and religion, and haue slandered the same, in this matter as in all others, let no false witnesses in any case be admitted.

12 Item, if any one of them shall commit any great crime, and flying thereupon cannot bee found, let no man be arrested, or detained for another mans fact, except he be his suretie.

13 Item, if any slaue shall be found to be an Englishman, and their Consull or gouernour shall sue for his libertie, let the same slaue be diligently examined, and if hee be found in deed to be English, let him be discharged and restored to the Englishmen.

14 Item, if any Englishman shall come hither either to dwel or traffique, whether hee be married or vnmarried, he shall pay no polle or head money.

15 Item, if either in Alexandria, Damasco, Samos, Tunis, Tripolis in ℣ west, the port townes of Ægypt, or in any other places, they purpose to choose to themselues Consuls or gouernours, let them doe so, and if they will alter them at any time, and in the roome of the former Consuls place others, let them do so also, and no man shall restraine them.

16 Item, if their interpreter shalbe at any time absent, being occupied in other serious matters, let the thing then in question bee stayed and differed till his comming, and in the meane time no man shall trouble them.

17 Item, if any variance or controuersie shall arise among the Englishmen, and thereupon they shall appeale to their Consuls or gouernours, let no man molest them, but let them freely doe so, that the controuersie begunne may be finished according to their owne customes.

18 Item, if after the time and date of this priuilege, any pirats or other free gouernours of ships trading the Sea shall take any Englishman, and shall make sale of him, either beyonde the Sea, or on this side of the Sea, the matter shalbe examined according to iustice, and if the partie shalbe found to be English, and shall receiue the holy religion, then let him freely be discharged, but if he wil still remaine a Christian, let him then be restored to the Englishmen, and the buyers shall demaund their money againe of them who solde the man.

19 Item, if the ships of warre of our Imperiall highnesse shal at any time goe forth to Sea, and shall finde any English ships laden with marchandise, no man shall hinder them, but rather shall vse them friendly, and doe them no wrong, euen as wee haue giuen and granted articles, and priuileges to the French, Venetians, and other Kings and princes our confederates, so also wee haue giuen the like to the English: and contrary to this our diuine lawe and priuilege, let no man presume to doe any thing.

20 Item, if either their great or small ships shall in the course of their voyage, or in any place to which they come, bee stayed or arrested, let no man continue the same arrest, but rather helpe and assist them.

21 Item,

21 Item, if any theeues and robbers shall by force take away any of their ships, and marchandise, let the same theeues and robbers be sought, and searched for with all diligence, and let them be punished most seuerely.

22 Last of all the Beglerbegs, and Zanziacbegs, our Captaines, our slaues and seruants of Captaines vsing the sea, and our Iudges, customers and gouernours of ships called Reiz, and free Reiz, all these, according to the tenor of this priuilege and articles, shalbe bound to doe accordingly: and, as long as the Queene of England on her part shall duely keepe and obserue this league and holy peace, expressed in this priuilege, we also for our Imperial part, do charge and commaund the same so long to be straightly kept and obserued.

Giuen at Constantinople, in the 988. yeere of our most holy prophet, in the beginning of the moneth of Iune, And in the yeere of Iesvs 1580.

Her Maiesties letter to the Turke or Grand Signior 1581. promising redresse of the disorders of Peter Baker of Ratcliffe, committed in the Leuant.

ELizabeth by the diuine grace of the eternall God, of England, France and Ireland most sacred Queene, and of the most Christian faith, against all the prophaners of his most holy Name the zealous and mightie defendour, &c. To the most renowned and emperious Cæsar, Sultan Murad Can, Emperour of all the dominions of Turkie, and of all the East Monarchie chiefe aboue all others whosoeuer, most fortunate yeeres with the successe of al true happinesse. As with very great desire we wish and embrace the loue and amitie of forreine Princes, and in the same by al good dueties and meanes we seeke to be confirmed: so to vs there may bee nothing more grieuous and disliking, then that any thing should happen through the default of our Subiects, which any way might bring our faith and fidelitie into suspition: Although wee are not ignorant how many good princes by the like misaduenture be abused, where the doings of the Subiects are imputed to the want of good gouernment. But such matters of importance and so well approued we may not omit: such is to vs the sacred estimation of our honour, and of our Christian profession, as we would the same should appeare as well in the concluding of our promises and agreements, as in the faithfull performing of the same.

The matter which by these our letters wee specially beholde, is a most iniurious and grieuous wrong which of late came vnto our vnderstanding, that should be done vnto certaine of your subiects by certaine of our Subiects, as yet not apprehended: but with all seueritie vpon their apprehension they are to be awarded for the same. And as the deede in it selfe is most wicked, so is it much more intollerable, by how much it doeth infringe the credit of our faith, violate the force of our authoritie, and impeach the estimation of our word faithfully giuen vnto your Imperiall dignitie. In which so great a disorder if wee should not manifest our hatred towardes so wicked and euil disposed persons, we might not onely most iustly be reproued in the iudgement of all such as truely fauour Iustice, but also of all Princes the patrones of right and equitie, might no lesse be condemned. That therefore considered, which of our parts is ordained in this cause which may be to the good liking of your highnesse, we are most especially to request of your Imperiall Maiestie, that through the default and disorder of a sort of euill and wicked disposed persons, you wil not withdraw your gratious fauour from vs, neither to hinder the trafique of our Subiects, which by vertue of your highnesse sufferance, and power of your licence are permitted to trade into your dominions & countreys, or that either in their persons or goods they be preiudiced in their traueyling by land or by water, promising vnto your greatnesse most faithfully, that the goods whereof your subiects by great wrong and violence haue bene spoyled, shall wholly againe be restored, if either by the liues or possessions of the robbers it may any way be brought to passe: And that hereafter (as now being taught by this euill example) wee will haue speciall care that none vnder the title of our authoritie shall be suffered to commit any the like wrongs or iniuries.

This was Baker of Ratcliffe, who with the barke called the Roe, robbed certaine Grecians in the Leuant.

Neither they which haue committed these euil parts had any power vnder your highnesse safeconduct graunted vnto our subiects, but from some other safeconduct, whether it were

true

true or fained, we knowe not, or whether they bought it of any person within the gouernment of Marseils: but vnder the colour thereof they haue done that, which the trueth of our dealing doeth vtterly abhorre. Notwithstanding howsoeuer it be, wee will surely measure their euill proceedings with most sharpe and iust correction, and that it shall repent them of the impeachment of our honours, as also it shalbe an example of our indignation, that others may dread at all times to commit the like offence. Wherefore that our amitie might be continued, as if this vnfortunate hap had neuer chanced, and that the singuler affection of our Subiects towardes your Imperiall Maiestie vowed, and dayly more and more desired, might be conserued and defended, we thereunto do make our humble snite vnto your greatnesse: And for so great goodnesse towardes vs and our people granted, doe most humbly pray vnto the Almightie creatour of heauen and earth, euer to maintaine and keepe your most renowmed Maiestie in all happinesse and prosperitie.

Dated at our palace of Greenewich the 26. of Iune, Anno 1581.

The letters patents, or priuileges graunted by her Maiestie to Sir Edward Osborne, Master Richard Staper, and certaine other Marchants of London for their trade into the dominions of the great Turke, in the yeere 1581.

ELizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. To all our Officers, ministers, and Subiects, and to all other people as well within this our Realme of England, as else where vnder our obeysance, iurisdiction, or otherwise, vnto whom these our letters shall be seene, shewed or read, greeting. Where our welbeloued Subiects Edward Osborne Alderman of our Citie of London, and Richard Staper of our sayde City Merchant, haue by great aduenture and industrie, with their great costes and charges, by the space of sundry late yeeres, trauailed, and caused trauaile to bee taken, as well by secret and good meanes, as by dangerous wayes and passages both by lande and Sea, to finde out and set open a trade of Marchandize and traffique into the Lands, Islands, dominions, and territories of the great Turke, commonly called the Grand Signior, not heretofore in the memory of any man nowe liuing knowen to be commonly vsed and frequented by way of marchandise, by any the Marchants or any Subiects of vs, or our progenitours; and also haue by their like good meanes and industrie, and great charges procured of the sayde Grand Signior (in our name,) amitie, safetie, and freedome, for trade and traffique of Marchandise to bee vsed, and continued by our Subiects within his sayde Dominions, whereby there is good and apparant hope and likelyhoode both that many good offices may bee done for the peace of Christendome, and reliefe of many Christians that bee or may happen to bee in thraldome or necessitie vnder the sayde Grand Signior, his vassals or Subiects, and also good and profitable vent and vtterance may be had of the commodities of our Realme, and sundry other great benefites to the aduancement of our honour, and dignitie Royall, the increase of the reuenues of our Crowne, and generall wealth of our Realme: Knowe ye, that hereupon wee greatly tendering the wealth of our people, and the incouragement of our Subiects in their good enterprises for the aduancement of the Common weale, haue of our speciall grace, certaine knowledge and meere motion, giuen and graunted, and by these presents for vs, our heires and successours, doe giue and graunt vnto our sayd trustie, and welbeloued Subiects, Edward Osborne, and vnto Thomas Smith of London Esquier, Richard Staper, and William Garret of London Marchants, their executors, and administrators, and to the executours and administratours of them, and of euery of them, that they, and euery of them, and such other person and persons Englishmen borne, not exceeding the number of twelue, as they the sayde Edward, and Richard shall appoint, nominate, or admit to be parteners, aduenturers, or doers with them the sayde Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, in their societie by themselues, their seruants, Factours or deputies, and to such others as shall bee nominated according to the tenour of these our letters Patents, shall and may during the terme of seuen yeeres from the date of these Patents, freely trade, traffique, and vse feates of Marchandise into, and from the dominions of the sayde Grand Signior, and euery of them, in such order, and maner, forme, liberties and condition to all intents and purposes as shalbe

be betweene them limitted, and agreed, and not otherwise, without any molestation, impeachment, or disturbance, any Lawe, statute, vsage, diuersitie of religion or faith, or other cause or matter whatsoeuer to the contrary notwithstanding.

And that it shalbe lawful to the said Edward and Richard their executors and administrators, (during the said terme) to appoint or admit to be parteners and aduenturers with them the sayde Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, such persons not exceeding the number of twelue (as afore is said) to trafique and vse the said trade & feat of marchandise according to our saide graunt. And that all and euery such person and persons, as shall hereafter fortune to bee appointed or admitted as parteners in the said trade or trafique according to these our letters patents, shall and may from the time of such appointment or admittance, haue and enioy the freedome and libertie of the said trade and trafique, during the residue of the said terme of seuen yeeres, according to such limitation and agreement as is aforesaide, and that it shall and may be lawfull to and for the saide Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, their executours and administratours, seruants factours and deputies, and all such as shall be so appointed, nominated or admitted, to bee parteners or aduenturers in the saide trade, or so many of them as can and will, to assemble themselues for or about any the matters, causes, affaires or businesse of the saide trade in any place or places for the same conuenient, from time to time during the said terme of 7. yeeres, within our dominions or elsewhere, and to make, ordeine, and constitute reasonable lawes and ordinances, for the good gouernment of the said Company, and for the better aduancement and continuance of the said trade and trafique, not being contrary or repugnant to the lawes, estatutes or customes of our Realme, and the same lawes or ordinances so made to put in vse, and execute accordingly, and at their pleasures to reuoke the same lawes and ordinances, or any of them, as occasion shall require.

And in consideration that the said Edward Osborne hath bene the principall setter foorth and doer in the opening, & putting in vre of the said trade, we do therefore especially ordeine, constitute, and prouide by these patents, that the saide Edward Osborne shall be gouernour of all such as by vertue of these our letters patents, shall be parteners, aduenturers, or trafiquers in the said trade, during the said terme of seuen yeeres, if hee so long liue: And that if the saide Edward shall happen to decease during the saide terme, the saide Richard Staper then liuing, then the said Richard Staper shall likewise be gouernour during the residue of the said terme (if he so long liue) and that if the said Edward and Richard shall both happen to decease during the said terme, then the partners or aduenturers for the time being, or the greatest part of them, shall from time to time as necessitie shall require, choose and elect a gouernour of the said Company.

Prouided alwayes, that if there shall happen any great or vrgent occasion to remoue or displace any person that shall be gouernour of the saide fellowship, that then it shall, and may be lawfull for vs, our heires and successours, to remooue, and displace euery such gouernour, and to place another of the said fellowship in the same office, during such time as such person should haue enioyed the same, according to this our graunt, if there had bene no cause to the contrary.

And we further for vs, our heires, and successors, of our especiall grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion, do graunt to the said Edward Osborne, Thomas Smith, Richard Staper, and William Garret, their executors and administrators, that nothing shall bee done to be of force or validitie touching the sayde trade or trafique, or the exercise thereof, without or against the consent of the said Edward, during such time as hee shall bee Gouernour as afore is saide. And after that time without the consent of the Gouernour for the time being, and the more part of the said Company.

And further, wee of our more ample and abundant grace, meere motion and certaine knowledge, haue graunted, and by these patents for vs, our heires and successors, doe graunt to the saide Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, their executors and administrators, that they, the saide Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, their executors and administrators, and the said person and persons, by them the said Edward and Richard to be nominated, or appointed as afore is said, together, with such two other persons, as wee our heires or successors from time

time to time during the sayd terme shall nominate, shall haue the whole trade and trafique, and the whole entire onely libertie, vse and priuilege of trading, and trafiquing, and vsing feate of marchandise, into, and from the said dominions of the said Grand Signior, and euery of them. And when there shall be no such persons so nominated or appointed by vs, our heires or successors, that then the said Edward Osborne, Thomas Smith, Richard Staper, and William Garret, their executors and administrators, and such persons by them so to be appointed, shall haue the saide whole trade and trafique, and the whole entire, and onely libertie, vse, and priuiiege of trading and trafiquing aforesaid. And that they the said Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, their executors & administrators, and also al such as shal so be nominated or appointed to be partners or aduenturers in the said trade, according to such agreement as is abouesaid, and euery of them, their seruants, factors and deputies, shal haue ful and free authoritie, libertie, facultie, licence and power to trade and trafique into and from all and euery the saide dominions of the saide Grand Signior, and into, and from all places where, by occasion of the said trade, they shall happen to arriue or come, whether they be Christians, Turkes, Gentiles or other, and into, and from all Seas, riuers, ports, regions, territories, dominions, coastes and places with their ships, barks, pinnesses and other vessels, and with such mariners and men, as they will lead with them or send for the said trade, as they shall thinke good at their owne proper cost and expenses, any law, statute, vsage, or matter whatsoeuer to the contrary notwithstanding. And that it shalbe lawful for the said Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, and to the persons aforesaid, and to and for the mariners and seamen to bee vsed and employed in the said trade and voyage to set and place in the tops of their ships and other vessels the armes of England with the red crosse ouer the same, as heretofore they haue vsed the red crosse, any matter or thing to the contrary notwithstanding.

And we of our further royall fauor, and of our especiall grace, certaine knowledge and meere motion haue graunted, and by these presents doe graunt to the said Edward Osburne, Thomas Smith, Richard Staper, and William Garret, their executors and administrators by these presents, that the said lands, territories, and dominions of the said Grand Signior, or any of them, shall not be visited, frequented, nor haunted by way of marchandise by any other our subiects during the said terme, contrary to the true meaning of these patents.

And by vertue of our high prerogatiue royall (which wee will not haue argued or brought in question) we straightly charge and commaund, and prohibite for vs, our heires, and successours, all our subiects (of what degree or qualitie soeuer they be) that none of them directly, or indireetly, do visite, haunt, frequent or trade, trafique, or aduenture by way of marchandise into, or from any of the Dominions of the saide Grand Signior, or other places abouesayde by water or by lande (other then the said Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, their executours or administrators, or such as shalbe admitted, and nominated as is aforesaide) without expresse licence, agreement, and consent of the saide Gouernour, and company or the more part of them, whereof the said Gouernour alwayes to be one, vpon paine of our high indignation, and of forfeiture and losse, as well of the ship and shippes, with the furniture thereof, as also of the goods, marchandizes, and things whatsoeuer they be of those our Subiects which shall attempt, or presume to saile, trafique, or aduenture, to or from any the dominions, or places abouesaid, contrary to the prohibition aforesaid: the one halfe of the same forfeiture to be to the vse of vs, our heires & successors, and the other halfe to the vse of the said Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, and the said companie, and further to suffer imprisonment during our pleasure, and such other punishment as to vs, for so high contempt, shal seeme meete and conuenient.

And further of our grace speciall, certaine knowledge, and meere motion we haue condescended and graunted, and by these patents for vs, our heires and successors, doe condescend and graunt to the said Edward, Thomas, Richard & William, their executors and administrators, that we our heires & successors during the said terme, will not graunt liberty, licence or power to any person or persons whatsoeuer, contrary to the tenor of these our letters patents, to saile, passe, trade or trafique into or from the said dominions of the said Grand Signior or any of them, without the cõsent of the said Edward, Thomas, Richard & William, and such as

shalbe named or appointed as afore is said, or the most of them. And that if at any time hereafter during the said terme, ỳ said Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, or the suruiuors of them, shal admit or nominate any of our subiects to be partners & aduenturers in the said trade to the number of 12. or vnder as afore is said, that then we our heires and successors at the instance and petition of the said Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, or the suruiuors of them in our Chauncerie to be made, and vpon the sight of these presents, will grant and make to the said Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, or to the suruiuors of them, and to such persons as so shall be nominated or appointed by their speciall names, surnames, & additions as is aforesaid, new letters patents vnder the great seale of England in due forme of law with like agreement, clauses, prohibitions, prouisoes and articles (mutatis mutandis) as in these our letters patents are conteined, for, and during the residue of the said terme of seuen yeres then remaining vnexpired. And that the sight of these presents shalbe sufficient warrant to the Lord Chancellour, or Lord keeper of the great seale for the time being, for the making, sealing and passing of such new letters patents, without further writ or warrant for the same to be required, had, or obtained.

And the said Edward Osburne, Thomas Smith, and Richard Staper, and William Garret and such others as shalbe so nominated and appointed, as is aforesaid, to be of their trade or companie, shall yeerely during 6. of the last yeres of the said 7. yeres, lade out of this our Realme, and bring home yeerely, for, and in the feate and trade of marchandizing aforesaid, so much goods and marchandizes, as the custome, and subsidie inwards and outwards, shall amount in the whole to the summe of 500. li. yeerely. So that the said Edward Osburne, Thomas Smith, Richard Staper, and William Garret and the said persons so to be nominated as is aforesaid, or any of them, or their ship or shippes be not barred, stayed, restrained or let by any reasonable occasion from the saide trade or trafique, and so that the said ship or ships do not perish by any misfortune, or bee spoyled by the way in their voyage.

And further, the said Edward Osborne, Thomas Smith, Richard Staper, and William Garret, and such others as shall be appointed as aforesaide to be of their said trade or Company, shall giue notice vnto the Lord Admirall of England, or to some of the principall officers of the Admiraltie for the time being, of such ship or shippes as they shall set foorth in the same voyage, and of the number of Mariners appointed to goe in the same ship or shippes, by the space of fifteene dayes before the setting or going foorth of the same ship or shippes. And also the said Edward Osborne, Thomas Smith, Richard Staper and William Garret, and such other as shall be by them the saide Edward and Richard, nominated to be of the said trade, shall and will at the setting foorth of their ship, or shippes, for the same voyage, permit and suffer the Master of the Ordinance of vs, our heires and successors, or some others, our or their principall officers of the Ordinance, to take a view of the number and quantitie of such Ordinance, powder, and munition as shall be caried in the said ship, or shippes, and shall also at the returne of the same ship, or shippes, suffer a view to be taken, and vpon request made, make an accompt to the saide officers of our Ordinance, of the expenses, and wastes of the said Ordinance, powder, and munition, so to bee caried in the same ship, or shippes.

Prouided alwayes, that if any of the said trade or Company, or their seruants, factors, or sailers, in any ship by them laden, shall commit any piracie or outrage vpon the seas, and that, if the said Company or societie shall not, or do not, within reasonable time, after complaint made, or notice giuen to the said Company, or to any of them, either satisfie or recompense the parties that so shall fortune to be robbed, or spoiled by any of the said Company, or sailers, in the said ships, or els shall not do their endeuour to the vttermost of their reasonable power, to haue the parties so offending punished for the same their offences, that then, and from thencefoorth, these present letters patents shall be vtterly voyd, cease, and determine.

Prouided likewise, that if it shall hereafter appeare vnto us, our heires, or successors, that this grant, or the continuance thereof in the whole, or in any part thereof, shall not be profitable to vs, our heires, our successors, or to this our Realme, that then, and from thencefoorth,

vpon,

vpon, and after one full yeeres warning, to be giuen vnto the said Company, or to the Gouernour thereof, by vs, our heires, or successors, this present grant shall cease, be voyd, and determine, to all intents, constructions, and purposes.

Prouided also, that we, our heires and successors, from time to time, during the said 7. yeeres, may lawfully nominate, appoint, and authorise two persons, being fit men, to be of the saide company, and for want or lacke of them, two others to be aduenturers in the said trade, for such stocke and summe of money, as they shall put in, so that the said persons to bee nominated, or authorised, shall be contributorie to all charges of the said trade & aduenture indifferently, according to their stockes: and as other aduenturers of the said trade shall doe for their stockes, and so that likewise they doe obserue the orders of the said Company, allowable by this our graunt, and that such persons so to be appointed by vs, our heires or successors, shall and may, with the saide Company, and fellowship, vse the trade and feate of marchandise aforesaide, and all the liberties and priuileges herein before granted, according to the meaning of these our letters patents, any thing in these our letters patents contained to the contrary notwithstanding.

And further of our speciall grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion, we haue condescended and granted, and by these presents for vs, our heires and successors, doe condescend, and grant to the said Edward Osborne, Thomas Smith, Richard Staper, and William Garret, their executors, and administrators, that if at the ende of the said terme of seuen yeeres, it shall seeme meete, and conuenient vnto the said Edward Osborne, Thomas Smith, Richard Staper, and William Garret, or the suruiuor of them, that this present grant shall be continued: and if that also it shall appeare vnto vs, our heires, or successors, that the continuance thereof shall not be preiudiciall, or hurtfull to this our Realme, that then we, our heires, or successors, at the instance and petition of the said Edward Osborne, Thomas Smith, Richard Staper, and William Garret, or the suruiuor of them, to be made to vs, our heires, or successors, wil grant and make to the said Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, or the suruiuor of them, and to such other persone, as so shall be by the said Edward and Richard nominated and appointed, new letters patents, vnder the great seale of England, in due forme of lawe, with like couenants, grants, clauses, and articles, as in these presents are contained, or with addition of other necessary articles, or change of these, in some part, for and during the full terme of seuen yeeres then next following. Willing, and straightly commanding, and charging all and singuler our Admirals, Viceadmirals, Justices, Maiors, Sheriffes Escheaters, Constables, Bailiffes, and all and singuler our other officers, ministers, liege men, and subiects whatsoeuer, to be aiding, fauouring, helping, and assisting vnto the said Gouernour, and company, and their successors, and to their Deputies, officers, seruants, assignes, and ministers, and euery of them, in executing and enioying the premisses, as well on land as on sea, from time to time, and at all times when you, or any of you, shall be thereunto required, any statute, act, ordinance, prouiso, proclamation, or restraint heretofore had, made, set forth, ordained, or prouided, or any other matter, cause or thing to the contrary, in any wise notwithstanding.

In witnesse whereof we haue caused these our letters to be made patents, witnesse our selfe, at Westminster, the 11. day of September, in the 23. yeere of our raigne.

The first voyage or iourney made by Master Laurence Aldersey, Marchant of London, to the Cities of Ierusalem, and Tripolis, &c. in the yeere 1581. Penned and set downe by himselfe.

I Departed from London the first day of April, in the yeere of our Lord 1581, passing through the Nether-land and vp the riuer Rhene by Colen, and other cities of Germanie. And vpon Thursday, the thirde day of May, I came to Augusta, where I deliuered the letter I had to Master Ienise, and Master Castler, whom I found very willing to pleasure me, in any thing that I could or would reasonably demaund. He first furnished me with a horse to Venice, for my money, and then tooke me with him a walking, to shew me the Citie, for that I had a day to tary there, for him that was to be my guide. He shewed me first the State- house,

The description of Augusta in Germanie.

house, which is very faire, and beautiful: then he brought mee to the finest garden, and orchard, that euer I sawe in my life: for there was in it a place for Canarie birdes, as large as a faire Chamber, trimmed with wier both aboue and beneath, with fine little branches of trees for them to sit in, which was full of those Canarie birdes. There was such an other for Turtle doues: also there were two pigeon houses ioyning to them, hauing in them store of Turtle doues and pigeons. In the same garden also were sixe or seuen fishponds, all railed about, and full of very good fish. Also, seuen or eight fine fountaines, or water springs, of diuers fashions: as for fruite, there wanted none of all sorts, as Orenges, figges, raisons, wallnuts, grapes, besides apples, peares, fillbirds, small nuts, and such other fruite, as wee haue in England.

Then did hee bring mee to the water tower of the same Citie, that by a sleight and deuise hath the water brought vp as high as any Church in the towne, and to tel you the strange deuises of all, it passeth my capacitie. Then he brought me to another faire garden, called the Shooters hoose, where are buts for the long bowe, the crosse bowe, the stone bowe, the long peece, and for diuers other exercises more.

After this, we walked about the walles of the Citie, where is a great, broade, and deepe ditch, vpon one side of the towne, so full of fish, as euer I saw any pond in my life, and it is reserued onely for the States of the Citie. And vpon the other side of the Citie is also a deepe place all greene, wherein Deere are kept, and when it pleaseth the States to hunt for their pleasure, thither they resort, and haue their courses with grayhounds, which are kept for that purpose.

Venice. The fift of May, I departed from Augusta towards Venice, and came thither vpon Whitsunday, the thirteenth of the same moneth. It is needlesse to speake of the height of the mountaines that I passed ouer, and of the danger thereof, it is so wel knowen already to the world: the heigth of them is marueilous, and I was the space of sixe dayes in passing them.

I came to Venice at the time of a Faire, which lasted foureteene dayes, wherein I sawe very many, and faire shewes of wares. I came thither too short for the first passage, which went away from Venice about the seuenth or eight of May, and with them about three score pilgrims, which shippe was cast away at a towne called Estria, two miles from Venice, and all the men in her, sauing thirtie, or thereabout, lost.

Within eight dayes after fell Corpus Christi day, which was a day amongst them of procession, in which was shewed the plate and treasure of Venice, which is esteemed to be worth two millions of pounds, but I do not accompt it worth halfe a quarter of that money, except there be more than I sawe. To speake of the sumptuousnesse of the Copes and Vestments of the Church, I leaue, but the trueth is, they be very sumptuous, many of them set all ouer with pearle, and made of cloth of golde. And for the Iesuits, I thinke there be as many at Venice, as there be in Colen.

The number of Iewes in Venice. The number of Iewes is there thought to be 1000, who dwell in a certaine place of the Citie, and haue also a place, to which they resort to pray, which is called the Iewes Sinagogue. They all, and their offspring vse to weare red caps, (for so they are commaunded) because they may thereby be knowen from other men. For my further knowledge of these people, I went into their Sinagogue vpon a Saturday, which is their Sabbath day: and I found them in their seruice or prayers, very deuoute: they receiue the fiue bookes of Moses, and honour them by carying them about their Church, as the Papists doe their crosse.

Their Synagogue is in forme round, and the people sit round about it, and in the midst, there is a place for him that readeth to the rest: as for their apparell, all of them weare a large white lawne ouer their garments, which reacheth from their head, downe to the ground.

The Psalmes they sing as wee doe, hauing no image, nor vsing any maner of idolatrie: their error is, that they beleeue not in Christ, nor yet receiue the New Testament. This Citie of Venice is very faire, and greatly to bee commended, wherein is good order for all things: and also it is very strong and populous: it standeth vpon the maine Sea, and hath many Islands about it, that belong to it.

To tell you of the duke of Venice, and of the Seigniory: there is one chosen that euer beareth

beareth the name of a duke, but in trueth hee is but seruant to the Seigniorie, for of himselfe hee can doe litle: it is no otherwise with him, then with a Priest that is at Masse vpō a festiuall day, which putting on his golden garment, seemeth to be a great man, but if any man come vnto him, and craue some friendship at his handes, hee will say, you must goe to the Masters of the Parish, for I cannot pleasure you, otherwise then by preferring of your suite: and so it is with the duke of Venice, if any man hauing a suite, come to him, and make his complaint, and deliuer his supplication, it is not in him to helpe him, but hee will tell him, You must come this day, or that day, and then I will preferre your suite to the Seigniorie, and doe you the best friendship that I may. Furthermore, if any man bring a letter vnto him, hee may not open it, but in the presence of the Seigniorie, and they are to see it first, which being read, perhaps they will deliuer it to him, perhaps not. Of the Seigniory there be about three hundreth, and about fourtie of the priuie Counsell of Venice, who vsually are arayed in gownes of crimsen Satten, or crimsen Damaske, when they sit in Counsell.

In the Citie of Venice, no man may weare a weapon, except he be a souldier for the Seigniorie, or a scholler of Padua, or a gentleman of great countenance, and yet he may not do that without licence.

As for the women of Venice, they be rather monsters then women. Euery Shoomakers or Taylors wife will haue a gowne of silke, and one to carie vp her traine, wearing their shooes very neere halfe a yard high from the ground: if a stranger meete one of them, he will surely thinke by the state that she goeth with, that he meeteth a Lady. The excesse of the women of Venice.

I departed from this Citie of Venice, vpon Midsommer day, being the foure and twentieth of Iune, and thinking that the ship would the next day depart, I stayed, and lay a shippeboord all night, and we were made beleeue from time to time, that we should this day, and that day depart, but we taried still, till the fourteenth of July, and then with scant winde we set sayle, and sayled that day and that night, not aboue fiftie Italian miles: and vpon the sixteene day at night, the winde turned flat contrary, so that the Master knewe not what to doe: and about the fift houre of the night, which we reckon to be about one of the clocke after midnight, the Pilot descried a saile, and at last perceiued it to be a Gallie of the Turkes, whereupon we were in great feare. His embarking at Venice for Ierusalem.

The Master being a wise fellowe, and a good sayler, beganne to deuise howe to escape the danger, and to loose litle of our way: and while both he, and all of vs were in our dumps, God sent vs a merry gale of winde, that we ranne threescore and tenne leagues before it was twelue a clocke the next day, and in sixe dayes after we were seuen leagues past Zante. And vpon Munday morning, being the three and twentie of the same moneth, we came in the sight of Candia which day the winde came contrary, with great blasts and stormes, vntill the eight and twentie of the same moneth: in which time, the Mariners cried out vpon me, because I was an English man, & sayd, I was no good Christian, and wished that I were in the middest of the Sea, saying, that they, and the shippe, were the worse for me. I answered, truely it may well be, for I thinke my selfe the worst creature in the worlde, and consider you your selues also, as I doe my selfe, and then vse your discretion. The Frier preached, and the sermon being done, I was demaunded whether I did vnderstand him: I answered, yea, and tolde the Frier himselfe, thus you saide in your sermon, that we were not all good Christians, or else it were not possible for vs to haue such weather: to which I answered, be you well assured, that we are not indeede all good Christians, for there are in the ship some that hold very vnchristian opinions: so for that time I satisfied him, although (they said) that I would not see, when they said the procession, and honoured their images, and prayed to our Lady and S. Marke.

There was also a Gentleman, an Italian, which was a passenger in the ship, and he tolde me what they said of me, because I would not sing, Salue Regina and Aue Maria, as they did: I told them, that they that praied to so many, or sought helpe of any other, then of God the Father, or of Iesus Christ his onely sonne, goe a wrong way to worke, and robbed God of his honour, and wrought their owne destructions.

All

All this was told the Friers, but I heard nothing of it in three daies after: and then at euening prayer, they sent the purser about with the image of our Lady to euery one to kisse, & I perceiuing it went another way from him, and would not see it: yet at last he fetched his course about, so that he came to me, & offered it to me as he did to others, but I refused it: whereupon there was a great stirre: the patron and all the friers were told of it, and euery one saide I was a Lutheran, and so called me: but two of the friers that were of greatest authoritie, seemed to beare me better good will then the rest, and trauelled to the patron in my behalfe, and made all well againe.

Cyprus. Missagh. The second day of August we arriued in Cyprus, at a towne called Missagh: the people there be very rude, and like beasts, and no better, they eat their meat sitting vpon the ground, with their legges a crosse like tailors, their beds for the most part be hard stones, but yet some of them haue faire mattraces to lie vpon.

Ioppa. Vpon Thursday the eight of August we came to Ioppa in a small barke, which we hired betwixt Missagh and Salina, and could not be suffered to come on land till noone the next day,

The Basha of Ioppa. and then we were permitted by the great Basha, who sate vpon the top of a hill to see vs sent away. Being come on land, we might not enter into any house for victuals, but were to content our selues with our owne prouision, and that which we bought to carie with vs was taken from vs. I had a paire of stirrops, which I bought at Venice to serue me in my journey, and trying to make them fit for me, when the Basha saw me vp before the rest of the companie, he sent one to dismount me, and to strike me, whereupon I turned me to the Basha, and made a long legge, saying, Grand mercie Signior: and after a while we were horsed vpon litle asses, and sent away, with about fiftie light horsemen to be our conduct through the wildernesse, called Deserta fœlix, who made vs good sport by the way with their pikes, gunnes, and fanchins.

Rama. That day being S. Laurence day, we came to Rama, which is tenne Italian miles from Ioppa, and there we stayed that night, and payed to the captaine of the castell euery man a chekin, which is seuen shillings and two pence sterling. So then we had a new gard of souldiers, and left the other.

The house we lodged in at Rama had a doore so low to enter into, that I was faine to creepe in, as it were vpon my knees, & within it are three roomes to lodge trauellers that come that way: there are no beds, except a man buy a mat, and lay it on the ground, that is all the prouision, without stooles or benches to sit vpon. Our victuals were brought vs out of the towne, as hennes, egges, bread, great store of fruite, as pomgranates, figges, grapes, oringes, and such like, and drinke we drue out of the well. The towne it selfe is so ruinated, that I take it rather to be a heape of stones then a towne.

Then the next morning we thought to haue gone away, but we could not be permitted that day, so we stayed there till two of the clocke the next morning, and then with a fresh gard of souldiers we departed toward Ierusalem. We had not ridde fiue English miles, but we were

Troopes of theeuish Arabians. incountred with a great number of the Arabians, who stayed vs, and would not suffer vs to passe till they had somewhat, so it cost vs for all our gard aboue twentie shillings a man betwixt Ioppa and Ierusalem. These Arabians troubled vs oftentimes. Our Truchman that payed the money for vs was striken downe, and had his head broken because he would not giue them as much as they asked: and they that should haue rescued both him and vs, stood still, and durst doe nothing, which was to our cost.

His arrival in the sight of Ierusalem. Being come within sight of Ierusalem, the maner is to kneele downe, and giue God thankes, that it hath pleased him to bring vs to that holy place where he himselfe had beene: and there we leaue our horses, and go on foote to the towne, and being come to the gates, there they tooke our names, and our fathers names, and so we were permitted to go to our lodgings.

The gouernor of the house met vs a mile out of the towne, and very curteously bade vs all welcome, and brought vs to the monasterie. The gates of the citie are all couered with yron, the entrance into the house of the Christians is a very low & narrow doore, barred or plated with yron, and then come we into a very darke entry: the place is a monastery: there we lay,

day, & dieted of free cost, we fared reasonable well, the bread and wine was excellent good, the chambers cleane, & all the meat well serued in, with cleane linnen.

We lay at the monasterie two days, Friday and Saturday, and then we went to Bethlem with two or three of the friers of the house with vs: in the way thither we saw many monuments, as:

The mountaine where the Angell tooke up Abacuck by the haire, and brought him to Daniel in the Lions denne. The monuments in and about Ierusalem.

The fountaine of the prophet Ieremie.

The place where the wise men met that went to Bethlem to worship Christ, where is a fountaine of stone.

Being come to Bethlem we sawe the place where Christ was borne, which is now a chappell with two altars, whereupon they say masse: the place is built with gray marble, and hath bene beautifull, but now it is partly decayed.

Neere thereto is the sepulchre of the innocents slaine by Herod, the sepulchres of Paul, of Ierome, and of Eusebius.

Also a little from this monasterie is a place vnder the ground, where the virgine Mary abode with Christ when Herod sought him to destroy him.

We stayed at Bethlem that night, and the next day we went from thence to the mountaines of Iudea, which are about eight miles from Ierusalem, where are the ruines of an olde monasterie. In the mid way from the monasterie to Ierusalem is the place where Iohn Baptist was borne, being now an olde monasterie, and cattell kept in it. Also a mile from Ierusalem is a place called Inuentio sanctæ crucis, where the wood was found that made the crosse.

In the citie of Ierusalem we saw the hall where Pilate sate in iudgement when Christ was condemned, the staires whereof are at Rome, as they told vs. A litle from thence is the house where the virgin Mary was borne.

There is also the piscina or fishpoole where the sicke folkes were healed, which is by the wals of Ierusalem. But the poole is now dry.

The mount of Caluaria is a great church, and within the doore thereof, which is litle, and barred with yron, and fiue great holes in it to looke in, like the holes of tauerne doores in London, they sit that are appointed to receiue our money with a carpet vnder them vpon a banke of stone, & their legges a crosse like tailors: hauing paid our money, we are permitted to go into the church: right against the church doore is the graue where Christ was buried, with a great long stone of white marble ouer it, and rayled about, the outside of the sepulchre is very foule, by meanes that euery man scrapes his name and marke vpon it, and is ill kept.

Within the sepulchre is a partition, & in the further part thereof is a place like an altar, where they say masse, and at the doore thereof is the stone whereupon the Angell sate when he sayde to Marie, He is risen, which stone was also rowled to the doore of the sepulchre.

The altar stone within the sepulchre is of white marble, the place able to conteine but foure persons, right ouer the sepulchre is a deuise or lanterne for light, and ouer that a great louer, such as are in England in ancient houses. There is also the chappell of the sepulchre, and in the mids thereof is a canopie as it were of a bed, with a great sort of Estridge egges hanging at it, with tassels of silke and lampes.

Behinde the sepulchre is a litle chappell for the Chaldeans and Syrians.

Vpon the right hand comming into the church is the tombe of Baldwine king of France, and of his sonne: and in the same place the tombe of Melchisedech.

There is a chappell also in the same church erected to S. Helen, through which we go vp to the place where Christ was crucified: the stayres are fiftie steps high, there are two altars in it: before the high altar is the place where the crosse stood, the hole whereof is trimmed about with siluer, and the depth of it is halfe a mans arme deepe: the rent also of the mountaine is there to be seene in the creuis, wherein a man may put his arme. S. Helens chappell.

Vpon the other side of the mount of Caluarie is the place where Abraham would haue sacrificed

sacrificed his sonne. Where also is a chapell, and the place paued with stones of diuers colours.

There is also the house of Annas the high Priest, and the Oliue tree whereunto Christ was bound when he was whipt. Also the house of Caiphas, and by it the prison where Christ was kept, which is but the roome of one man, and hath no light but the opening of the doore.

Without Ierusalem in the vally of Iosaphat is a church vnder the ground, like to the shrouds in Pauls, where the sepulchre of the virgin Mary is: the staires be very broad, and vpon the staires going downe are two sepulchres: vpon the left hand lieth Ioasaphat, and vpon the right hand lieth Ioachim and Anna, the father and mother of the virgin Mary.

Going out of the valley of Iosaphat we came to mount Oliuet, where Christ praied vnto his father before his death: and there is to be seene (as they tolde me) the water & blood that fell from the eyes of Christ. A litle higher vpon the same mount is the place where the Apostles slept, and watched not. At the foot of the mount is the place where Christ was imprisoned.

Vpon the mountaine also is the place where Christ stood when he wept ouer Ierusalem, and where he ascended into heauen.

His departure from Ierusalem.

Now hauing seene all these monuments, I with my company set from Ierusalem, the 20 day of August, and came againe to Ioppa the 23 of the same moneth, where wee tooke shipping presently for Tripolis, and in foure dayes we came to Mecina the place where the ships lie that come for Tripolis.

Tripolis in Syria.

The citie of Tripolis is a mile and a halfe within the land, so that no ship can come further then Mecina: so that night I came thither, where I lay nine daies for passage, and at last we imbarked our selues in a good ship of Venice called the new Naue Ragasona. We entred the ship the second of September, the fourth we set saile, the seuenth we came to Salina, which is 140 miles from Tripolis: there we stayed foure dayes to take in more lading, in which meane time I fell sicke of an ague, but recouered againe, I praise God.

Salina.

Salina is a ruinated citie, and was destroyed by the Turke ten yeeres past: there are in it now but seuenteene persons, women and children. A litle from this citie of Salina is a salt piece of ground, where the water groweth salt that raineth vpon it.

Missagh a town in Cyprus.

Thursday the 21 of September, we came to Missagh, & there we stayed eight dayes for our lading: the 18 of September before we came to Missagh, and within ten miles of the towne, as we lay at an anker, because the winde was contrary, there came a great boat full of men to boord vs, they made an excuse to seeke for foure men which (they said) our ship had taken from theirs about Tripolis, but our captaine would not suffer any of them to come in to vs.

The next morning they came to vs againe with a great gally, manned with 500 men at y least, whereupon our captaine sent the boat to them with twelue men to know their pleasure: they said they sought for 4 men, and therefore would talke with our maister: so then the maisters mate was sent them, and him they kept, and went their way: the next morning they came againe with him, & with three other gallies, and then would needes speake with our captaine, who went to them in a gowne of crimson damaske, and other very braue apparell, and fiue or sixe other gentlemen richly apparelled also. They hauing the Turks safe conduct, shewed it to the captaine of the gallies, and laid it vpon his head, charging him to obey it: so with much adoe, and with the gift of 100 pieces of golde we were quit of them, and had our man againe.

Candie.

That day as aforesaid, we came to Missagh, and there stayed eight dayes, and at last departed towards Candie, with a scant winde.

The 11 day of October we were boorded with foure gallies, manned with 1200 men, which also made a sleeuelesse arrant, and troubled vs very much, but our captaines pasport, and the gift of 100 chekins discharged all.

Zante.

The 27 of October we passed by Zante with a merrie winde, the 29 by Corfu, and the third

third of Nouember we arriued at Istria, and there we left our great ship, and tooke small Istria boates to bring vs to Venice.

The 9 of Nouember I arriued again at Venice in good health, where I staied nine daies, and the 25 of the same moneth I came to Augusta, and staied there but one day.

The 27 of Nouember I set towards Nuremberg where I came the 29, and there staied till the 9 of December, and was very well interteined of the English marchants there: and the gouernors of the towne sent me and my company sixteene gallons of excellent good wine.

From thence I went to Frankford from Frankford to Collen, from Collen to Arnam, from Arnam to Vtreight, from Vtreight to Dort, from Dort to Antwerpe, from Antwerpe to Flushing, from Flushing to London, where I arriued vpon Twelfe eue in safetie, and gaue thanks to God, hauing finished my iourney to Ierusalem and home againe, in the space of nine moneths and fiue dayes.

The passeport made by the great Maister of Malta vnto the Englishmen in the barke Raynolds. 1582.

FRere Hugo de Loubeux Verdala, Dei gratia sacræ domus hospitalis sancti Ioannis Hierosolymitani magister humilis, pauperúmq; Iesu Christi custos, vniuersis & singulis principibus ecclesiasticis & secularibus, archiepiscopis, episcopis, ducibus, marchionibus, baronibus, nobilibus, capitaneis, vicedominis, præfectis, castellanis, admiralijs, & quibuscúnque triremium vel aliorum nauigiorum patronis, ac ciuitatum rectoribus, potestatibus ac magistratibus, cæterísque officialibus, & quibuscunque personis cuiusuis dignitatis, gradus, status & conditionis fuerint, vbilibet locorum & terrarum constitutis, salutem.

Notum facimus & in verbo veritatis attestamur, come nel mese di Maggio prossime passato le nostre galere vennero dal viaggio di Barberia, doue hauendo mandato per socorrere a vn galionetto de Christiani che hauea dato trauerso in quelle parti, essendo arriuati sopra questa isola alla parte de ponente trouarono vna naue Inglesa, sopra cargo de essa il magnifico Giouanni Keale, & Dauid Filly patrono, volendo la reconoscere che naue fosse, han visto, che se metteua in ordine per defendersi, dubitando che dette nostre galere fossero de inimici: & per che vn marinaro riuoltose contra la volonta de detti magnifico Giouanni Keale & Dauid Filly, habbi tirato vn tiro di artiglieria verso vna de dette galere, & che non se amangnaua la vela de la Maiestra secondo la volonta de detti magnifico Giouanni Keale & Dauid Filly patrono, furimensata detta naue nel presente general porto di Malta, secondo l'ordine del venerando Generale de dette galere, & essendo qua, monsignor Inquisitore ha impedita quella per conto del sancto officio, & si diede parte alla santita di nostro signor Gregorio papa xiij. A la fin fu licenciata per andarsene al suo viaggio. Han dónq; humilmente supplicato detti magnifico Giouanni Keale & Dauid Filly per nome & parte delli magnifici Edwardo Osborn senatore & Richardo Staper merchanti Inglesi della nobile citta di Londra, & anco di Thomaso Wilkinson scriuano, piloti, nocheri, & marinari, gli volessimo dare le nostre lettere patente & saluo condutto, accioche potranno andare & ritornare quãdo gli parera commodo con alcuna roba & mercantia a loro benuista: si come noi, essendo cosa giusta & che retornera commoda a nostra relligione & a questi forrestieri, per tenor de li presenti se gli habiamo concesse con le conditione però infra scritte. videlicet:

Che ogni volta che detti mercadanti con sopradetta naue o con altra non porteranno mercantie de contrabando, & che constara per fede authentica & con lettere patente de sanita, poteran liberalmente victualiarse de tutte le victuarie necessarie, & praticare in questa isola & dominij, & poi partisene & seguire suo viaggio per doue volessero in leuante o altroue, come tutti altri vaselli & specialmente de Francesi & altri nationi, & di vendere & comprare qual si voglia mercantia a loro benuista.

Item, che potera portare poluere de canone & di archibuso, salnitro, carboni di petra rosetta, platine de rame, stagno, acciale, ferro, carisée commune, tela grossa bianca per far tende de galere, balle de ferro de calibro, petre de molino fine, arbore & antenne de galere, bastardi & alteri. Et in conclusione, hauenda visto che loro per il tempo che restarano qua, si portorno da fideli & Catholici Christiani, & che sua sanctita habbia trouato bono il saluo

condutto del gran Turko a loro concesso, per il timor della armata Turkesca & di altri vaselli de inimici, inherendo alla volonta di sua sanctità, & massime per che hauera de andare & passare per diuersi lochi & tanto lontani come Ingilterra, Flandra, & tutti parti di ponente, & in altroue, a noi ha parso farle le presente nostre lettere patente come fidele conuersatore nostro, accio piu securamente & senza obstaculo possa andare & ritornare quando li parera con detta naue o con altre, a loro benuista. Per tanto donque tutti & ciascun di voi sudetti affectuosamente pregamo, che per qual si voglia de vostra iurisditione, alla quale detto magnifico Giouanni Keale & Dauid Filly anome quo supra con la naue & marinari de detti loro principali o altri caschera, nauigare, passare, & venire sicuramente, alla libera, senza alcuno disturbo o altro impedimento li fasciate, & facciate lasciare, stare, & passare, tornare, & quando li parera partire, talmente che per amore & contemplatione nostra il detto magnifico Giouanni Keale a nome quo supra con le naue, marinari, & mercantia non habbi difficulta, fastidio & ritentione alcuna, anzi se gli dia ogni agiuto & fauore, cosa degnadi voi, giusta, & a noi gratissima, de recompensaruila con vguale & maggior seruitio, quando dall'occasione ne saremo rechiesti. Et finalmente commandammo a tutti & qual si voglia relligiosi & frati de nostra relligione di qual si voglia cõditione, grado & stato che siano, & a tutti riceuitori & procuratori nostri in tutti & qual si voglia priorati nostri deputati & deputandi in vertu di santa obedientia, & atutti nostri vassalli & alla giurisditione di nostra relligione sogetti, che in tale & per tale tenghino & reputino il detto magnifico Giouanni Keale a nome vt supra, naue, marinari, & mercantia, sensa permittere, che nel detto suo viaggio, o in alcun altro luogo sia molestato, o in qual si voglia manera impedito, anzi tutte le cose sue & negotij loro sian da voi agiourati & continuamente fauoriti. In cuius rei testimonium Bulla nostra magistralis in cera nigra præsentibus est impressa. Datæ Melitæ in conuentu nostro die duodecimo Mensis Iulij. 1582.

The same in English.

FRier Hugo of Loubeux Verdala, by the grace of God, master of the holy house, the hospital of S. Iohn at Ierusalem, and an humble keeper of the poore of Ieeus Christ, to all & euery prince ecclesiastical & secular, archbishops, bishops, Dukes, Marqueses, Barons, Capteines, Vicelords, Maiors, Castellanes, Admirals, and whatsoeuer patrons of Gallies, or other greater shippes, and gouernors of cities, potentates and magistrates, and other officers and persons whatsoeuer, of what dignitie, degree, state and condition soeuer they be, dwelling in all places and landes, greeting.

We make it knowne, and in the word of truth do witnesse, that in the moneth of May last past, our gallies came on the voyage from Barbarie, where hauing commandement to succour a little ship of the Christians which was driuen ouer into that part, being arriued vpon this Iland on the West part they found one English ship vnder the charge of the worshipfull Iohn Keele, and Dauid Fillie master: and our men willing to know what ship it was, they seemed to put themselues in order for their defence, doubting that the said our gallies were of the enemies, & therefore one mariner attempted contrary to the will of the worshipfull Iohn Keele, and Dauid Fillie maister, and had shot off a piece of artillerie against one of the said gallies, and because she would not strike amaine her sayle, according to the will of the saide worshipfull Iohn Keele, and Dauid Fillie master, the said ship was brought backe again vnto the present port of Malta, according to the order of the reuerend generall of the said gallies: and in being there maister Inquisitor staid it by authoritie of the holy office, and in that behalfe by the holinesse of our Lord pope Gregorie the thirteenth, in the end was licenced to depart on her voyage. They therefore the said worshipfull Iohn Keele and Dauid Fillie, in the name and behalfe of the worshipfull master Edward Osborne Alderman, and Richard Staper, English marchants of the noble citie of London, haue humbly besought together with Thomas Wilkinson the purser, pilots, master and mariners, that we would giue our letters patents, and safe conducts, that they might goe and returne, when they shall see opportunitie, with their goods and merchandizes at their pleasure: whereupon the thing seeming vnto vs iust, and that it might be for the profite of our religion, and of these strangers, by the

the tenor of these presents we haue graunted the same to them: yet, with the conditions hereunder written. viz.

That euery time the said marchants of the said ship, or with any other, shall not bring such marchandize as is forbidden, and that by sufficient proofe and letters testimonial it appeareth that they are free from the infections of the plague, they may victuall themselues with all necessarie victuals, and traffike with vs, and in this Iland and dominion, and afterwarde may depart and follow their voyage whither they will into the Leuant or else where, as all other vessels, and especially of France and other nations do, and sell and buy whatsoeuer marchandize they shal thinke good.

Item, that they may bring powder for cannon and harquebush, saltpeeter, cole of Newcastle, plates of latin, tinne, steel, yron, cõmon karsies white, course canuas to make saile for the gallies, balles of yron for shot, fine milstones, trees & masts for gallies, litle and others, and in conclusion, hauing seene that they for the time of their abode here, did behaue themselues like faithfull and catholike Christians, & that his holines hath allowed the safeconduct of the great Turke to them granted for feare of the Turkish armie, and other vessels of the enemie, submitting our selues to the pleasures of his holinesse, and especially because our people haue occasion to passe by diuers places so farre off, as England, Flanders, and all parts Westwards, and in other places, we haue vouchsafed to make these our letters patents, as our faithfull assistant, so as more surely, and without let they may go and returne when they shall thinke good, with the said ship or with others at their pleasure. We therefore pray all and euery of your subiects effectually that by what part soeuer of your iurisdiction, vnto the which the said worshipfull Iohn Keele and Daniel Fillie by name abouesaid, with the ship and mariners of the said principall place or other, shall haue accesse, saile, & passe, and come safely with libertie without any disturbance or other impediment, that you giue leaue, and cause leaue to be giuen that they may passe, stay and returne, and when they please, depart, in such sort, that for our loue & contentation the said worshipfull Iohn Keele, with the ship and mariners haue no let, hinderance, or retention, also that you giue all helpe and fauour, a thing worthy of your iustice, and to vs most acceptable, to be recompenced with equall and greater seruice, when vpon occasion it shalbe required.

And finally, we command all, and whatsoeuer religious people, and brothers of our religion, of whatsoeuer condition, degree, and state they be, and all other receiuers and procurators, in all and whatsoeuer our priories deputed, and to be deputed by vertue of the holy obedience, and all our people, and all that are subiect to the iurisdiction of our religion, that in, and by the same they hold, and repute the said worshipfull Iohn Keele in the name as abouesaid, the ship, mariners, and marchandize, without let in the same their voyage, or in any other place, that they be not molested, nor in any wise hindered, but that in all their causes and businesse they be of you holpen, and furthered continually. In witnesse whereof, our seale of gouernment is impressed to these presents in blacke waxe. Giuen at Malta in our Conuent, the twelfth of the moneth of Iuly, in the yeere 1582.

The Queenes Commission vnder her great seale, to her seruant master William Hareborne, to be her malesties Ambassadour or Agent, in the partes of Turkie. 1582.

ELIZABETHA, Dei optimi Maximi, conditoris & rectoris vnici clementia, Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ Regina, veræ fidei contra Idololatras falsò Christi nomen profitentes inuicta & potentissima propugnatrix, vniuersis, & singulis præsentes has literas visuris, & inspecturis, salutem. Cùm augustissimus, & inuictissimus princeps, Zuldan Murad Can, Turcici regni Dominator potentissimus, imperiique Orientis Monarcha, fœdus, amicitiámque nobiscum percusserit, iurauerítque, (quam nos perpetuis futuris temporibus, quantum in nobis erit, inuiolatè seruare destinamus) ad eámque magis ornandam, illustrandámque concesserit idem augustissimus Imperator subditis nostris liberam suas merces excercendi rationem in omnibus Musulmanici imperij sui partibus, cum tam ampla priuilegiorum concessione, quàm alijs bonis principibus, socijs, & fœderatis nostris largitus est, quorum priuile-

giorum donationem nos gratam, acceptámque habentes, pari cum animi gratitudine colere certum habemus, deliberatúmque, nihil in votis habentes potiùs, quàm bonorum erga nos principum animos beneuolos honoratissima mente fouere, promereríque: Sciatis, nos de singulari erga nos, obsequiúmque nostrum, fide, obseruantia, prudentia, & dexteritate multùm nobis chari Guilielmi Hareborne, è custodibus corporis nostri vnius, plurimùm confidentes, eum Oratorem, Nuntium, Procuratorem, & Agentem nostrum certum & indubitatum ordinamus, facimus, & constituimus, per præsentes: dantes ei, & concedentes potestatem, & authoritatem, nomine nostro, & pro nobis prædictũ amicitiæ fœdus confirmandi, priuilegiorum concessionem in manus suas capiendi, ratámque habendi, omnibus & singulis subditis nostris, Musulmanicis oris terrísque negotiantibus, pro Maiestatis nostræ authoritate præcipiendi, mandandíque, vt sint in suis commercijs, quamdiu, quotiésque cum Mansulmanicis versantur, dictorum priuilegiorum præscripto obtemperantes in omnibus, ac per omnia, ad obsequia tanta amicitia digna se componentes, ac in delinquentes in fœdus nostrum iustitiam exequatur. Potestatem, & authoritatem ei damus in omnes, & singulos subditos nostros in quibuscunque & locis, & partibus Musulmanici Imperij dominationi subiectis negotiantes, constituendi emporiorum suorum sedes in quibus voluerit portubus, & ciuitatibus, in aliis vetandi, in constitutis autem emporiorum sedibus, consules curandi, leges præceptionésque ferendi, condendíque, quarum ex præscripto dicti nostri subditi, & eorum quilibet sese publicè, & priuatim gerant, eorum violatores corrigendi, castigandíq; omnia denique & singula faciendi, perimplendíque, quæ ad dictorum subditorum nostrorum honestam gubernationem, & commercij exercendi in illis partibus rationem pertinent: promittentes bona fide, & in verbo Regio, nos ratum, gratum, & firmum habituras, quæcunque dictus Orator, & Agens noster, à legibus nostris non abhorrentia in præmissis aut præmissorum aliquo fecerit. In cuius rei testimonium, has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes, & sigilli nostri impressione iussimus muniri. Datum è castro nostro Windesoriæ, 20. die Mensis Nouembris, Anno Iesu Christi 1582. regni verò nostri, vicesimo quarto.

The same in English.

ELizabeth, by the clemencie of the most good and most great God, the only creator and gouernour of all things, Queene of England, France, and Ireland, inuincible, and most mightie defender of the true faith, against all Idolaters falsly professing the name of Christ, to all and singuler persons, to whose sight and view these our present letters may come, greeting. Whereas the most renowmed, and most inuincible Prince Zuldan Murad Can, the most mighty gouernour of the kingdom of Turkie, and Monarch of the East Empire, hath entered into league and friendship with vs, (which we for our part, as much as lieth in vs, doe purpose solemnly, and inuiolablie to keepe in all times to come) and whereas for the better countenancing and authorizing of the same, the foresayd renowmed Empesour hath graunted vnto our subiects free libertie of traffique, in all the partes of his sacred Empire, with as ample and large a grant of priuileges, as is giuen to other good Princes our neighbours and confederates, the grant of which priuileges, we taking very thankfully, and acceptably, are certainely, and throughly determined to keepe and maineteine, with the like goodnesse and curtesie of minde, desiring nothing more, then with an honourable respect to nourish, and deserue the beneuolent affections of good Princes toward vs: Know ye, that wee thinking well, and hauing good confidence in the singular trustinesse, obedience, wisedome, and disposition of our welbeloued seruaunt William Hareborne, one of the Esquiers of our body, towards vs, and our seruice, doe by these presents, make, ordaine and constitute him our true and vndoubted Orator, Messenger, Deputie, and Agent. Giuing and granting vnto him power and authoritie, in our name, and for vs, to confirme the foresaid league of friendship, to take into his hands, and to ratifie the grant of the priuileges, and to commaund, and enioyne by the authoritie of our Maiestie, all and singular our Subiects trading and dealing in any of the coastes and kingdomes of that Empire, that as long as they remaine in traffique with his subiects, they be obedient to the prescription and order of the foresayd priuileges, applying themselues in all things, and through all things, to such duetie

ties and seruices as appertaine to so great a leagne and friendship, and the offenders agaynst this our league to receiue iustice, and punishment accordingly. We further giue vnto him power and authoritie ouer all and singuler our Subiects, dealing, and vsing traffique in any place or part whatsoeuer, subiect to the gouernement of that Empire, to appoint the places of their traffiques, in what Hauen or Citie it shall please him, and to prohibite them from all other places, and wheresoeuer their traffiques are appointed to bee kept, there to make and create Cousuls or Gouernours, to enact lawes and statutes, by the vertue and tenor whereof all our foresayd subiects, and euery one of them, shall both publikely and priuately vse and behaue themselues, to correct and punish the breakers of those lawes: and last of all, to doe and fulfill all and singular things whatsoeuer, which shall seeme requisite and conuenient for the honest and orderly gouernment of our said subiects, and of the maner of their traffique in those parts. Promising assuredly, and in the word of a Prince, that whatsoeuer shall be done of our sayd Orator and Agent, in all, or in any of the premisses, not repugnant and contrary to our lawes, shall be accepted, ratified, and confirmed by vs. In witnesse whereof, we haue caused these our letters to be made patents, and our seale thereunto to be appensed. Giuen at our Castle of Windsore, the 20. day of Nouember, in the yeere of Christ 1583. and of our raigne the 24.

The Queenes Letter to the great Turke 1582. written in commendation of Master Hareborne, when he was sent Ambassadour.

ELIZABETH &c. Augustissimo inuictissimóque principi, &c. Cùm ad postulatum nostrum Cæsarea vestra Maiestas, anno salutoris nostri Iesu 1580. pacis fœdus nobiscum pepigerit, coniunctum cum liberalissima priuilegiorum quorundam concessione, quorum beneficio subditi nostri cum omni securitate tutissimè liberrimèque ad vniuersas & singulas Musulmanici imperij vestri partes terra marique proficisci, in iisque commercij exercendi gratia, negotiari, habitare, manere, exindéque ire & redire cum volent queant, ab ijs qui sub Cæsarea vestra Maiestate in magistratu sunt vbique locorum protegendi defendendique sine vlla vel corporum, vel bonorum læsione: nos tantæ concessionis beneficium gratum acceptúmque habentes, quantum in nobis est, approbamus confirmamúsque: pollicentes in verbo regio, quod nos eandem pacem sine vlla violatione sartam tectámq; conseruabimus: faciemúsq; vt subditi nostri priuilegiorum sibi indultorum concessione ita vtantur, vt Cæsaream vestram Maiestatem magnificentissimæ suæ liberalitatis nunquam pœnitere queat. Quoniam autem concessionis huius virtus in vsu potiùs quàm verbis, Maiestatis vtriúsq; nostrum sententiâ, ponenda videtur, voluimus huuc mandatarium virum Guilielmum Hareborne, ex satellitibus quibus ad corporis nostri tutelam vtimur vnum, virum compluribus virtutibus ornatum, ad Cæsaream vestram Maiestatem ablegare, qui tum nomine nostro vobis gratias ageret, tum vt eius opera vteremur ad eam subditorum nostrorum mercimoniorum rationem stabiliẽdam, tam in Imperiali vestra ciuitate Constantinopoli, quàm alijs imperij vestri Musulmanici locis, quæ ex præscripto priuilegiorum, Cæsareæ vestræ Maiestatis benignitate, conceditur, & ex vsu subditorum vtriúsq; nostrum erit. Ad quam rem quoniam opus illi erit Cæsareæ vestræ Maiestatis authoritate, summa contentione ab eadem rogamus, velit id agere apud omnes qui sub se in magistratu sunt, vt quibuscunq; poterunt melioribus modis huic nostro mandatario in Cæsareæ vestræ Maiestatis placito exequendo, adiutores sint & esse velint. Ei enim hanc curam demandauimus, in qua quàm fidem suam sit honestè liberaturus erga Maiestatem vtriusq; nostrũ nentiquam dubitamus: cui etiam, vt in omnibus sint obtemperantes nostri subditi, quantum Cæsareæ vestræ Maiestatis concessio patitur, volumus. Præterea, cum præclarus vir Mustafa sacræ Cæsareæ vestræ Maiestatis Musulmannorum interpres egregiam nauarit operam vt hoc inter nos fœdus fieret, rogamus summoperè vt in nostram gratiam eum in Mustafaracarum ordinem Cæsarea vestra Maiestas recipere dignetur. Si in his aliisque omnibus honestis causis hic noster agens subditiq; nostri Imperatoriæ vestræ sublimitatis æquanimitatem senserint, florebit inter has gentes nobile commercium, & nos omnibus officijs huic vestræ Maiestatis fauori & beneuolentiæ (si vlla ratione rebus vestris

Mustafa interpres.

tris commodare poterimus). respondere libentissimè semper paratæ erimus. Deus optimus maximus mundi opifex, &c.

The same in English.

ELizabeth by the grace of the most mightie God and only creator of heauen and earth, of England, France, and Ireland Queene, the most inuincible and most mightie defender of the Christian faith against all kind of idolatries of all that liue among the Christians and falsly professe the name of Christ, vnto the most Imperiall and most inuincible prince, Sultan Murad Can, the most mighty ruler of the kingdom of Turkie, sole aboue all, and most soueraigne Monarch of the East Empire, greeting.

Whereas at our request your Imperiall Maiestie in the yeere of our Sauiour Iesus 1580. hath entered into a league of peace with vs, whereunto was vnited a most large & bountiful grant of certaine priuileges, by benefite whereof our subiects may with all securitie most safely and freely trauell by Sea and land into all and singular parts of your Musulmanlike Empire, and in the same exercising the trade of merchandise, may traffique, dwell, remaine, depart from thence, and returne thither at their pleasure, and in all places be maintained and defended from all damage of bodies and goods, by such as are in authoritie vnder your Imperiall Maiestie: we thankfully and gratefully receiuing the benefite of so great a priuilege, as much as in vs lieth doe approoue and confirme the same, promising in the worde of a Prince, that wee will keepe the said league perfect and inuiolable, and will cause our subiects so to vse the grant of the priuileges giuen vnto them, as your Imperiall Maiestie shall neuer haue occasion to repent you of your most princely liberalitie. And because the force of this grant, in the iudgement of both our maiesties, seemeth rather to consist in the vse therof, then in the wordes, we thought good to send vnto your Imperiall maiestie this our ambassadour William Hareborne, one of the Esquiers of our body, which both on our behalfe should yeeld thanks vnto your maiestie, and also that we might vse his good indeuour for the establishing of such order in our subiects trade of merchandise, as well in your Imperiall citie of Constantinople, as in other places of your Musulmanlike Empire, as according to the prescript of the priuileges is granted by your princely maiesties goodnesse, and shall be for the benefite of both our subiects. For performance whereof, because hee standeth in neede of your Imperiall Maiesties authoritie, wee earnestly beseech the same, that you would cause all those which bee in authoritie vnder your Highnesse, by all their best meanes to aide and assist this our Ambassadour in executing this your Imperiall Maiesties pleasure, for vnto him wee haue committed this charge: wherein how honestly hee will discharge his credite toward both our Maiesties, I no whit stand in doubt: to whose also our pleasure is, that all our subiects shall bee obedient, as farre as the grant of your Imperiall maiestie doeth permit. Moreouer, whereas that woorthie personage Mustafa, your Imperiall maiesties Interpretor, hath taken speciall paines for the procuring of this league betweene vs, wee earnestly beseech you that for our sakes your Imperiall Maiestie would vouchsafe to aduance him vnto the degree of the Mustafaraks or chiefe pensioners. If in these and in all other honest causes, our aforesayde Agent and our subiectes shall finde your Imperiall Highnesses fauour, a noble traffique will flourish betweene these nations, and wee (if by any way wee may stand your State in steade) will alwayes most willingly be readie to requite this your Maiesties fauour and good will with all kinde of good offices. Almightie God the maker of the world preserue and keepe your Imperiall Maiestie, &c.

M. Wil. Hareborne sent ambassadour to the Turke.

A request for the preferring of Mustafa Bey.

A Letter of the Queenes Maiestie to Alli Bassa the Turkes high Admirall, sent by her ambassadour M. William Hareborne, and deliuered vnto him aboord his gallie in the Arsenal.

ELIZABETHA, &c. Illustrissimo viro Alli Bassa, magni Musulmanici Cæsaris Admiralio, salutem & successus fortunatos. Non ignotum esse Excellentiæ vestræ arbitramur, priuilegia quædam à potentissimo Cæsare Musulmanico domino vestro clementissimo subditis nostris Anglicis concessa esse, vt illis liceat in omnibus imperij Musulmanici prouincijs tutò & securè manere

manere ac negotiari: non aliter quàm hoc ipsum Francis, Polonis, Venetis, Germanis antea indultum est. Qua ex causa nos Gulielmum Hareborne nobis dilectum, è corporis custodibus vnũ, ac multis nominibus ornatum ad inclytam Constantinopolis ciuitatem pro agente misimus: qui ex priuilegiorum prædictorum præscripto nostras & subditorum nostrorum res in illis locis constitueret. Facere igitur non potuimus, quin Excellentiæ vestræ Gulielmum hunc, pro ea qua apud magnum Cæsarem polles authoritate, commendaremus: petentes summopere vt tutò in mari sine Classiariorum vestrorum violentia, & securè in portibus absque ministrorum rapinis & iniuria, tam ipse quàm omnes Angli subditi nostri possint versari: vti pro tenore literarum patentium à magno Cæsare concessarum illis licere ex illarum conspectione perspicuum esse potest. Gratissimum ergo nobis excellentia vestra facerit, si portuum omnium, aliorúmque locorum, qui vestræ iurisdictioni parent, custodibus, item classium & nauium præfectis omnibus mandare velit, vt Gulielmus iste, aliíque Angli subditi nostri cum in illorum erunt potestate, amicè & humaniter tractarentur. Quemadmodum nos vicissim omnes magni Cæsaris subditos omni humanitatis genere tractabimus, si in Oceani maria, aliáue loca venerint, quæ nostro parent imperio. Postremo excellentiam vestram pro eo quem in nostros extendet fauore ijs omnibus officijs prosequemur, quæ à gratissima principe in optime de se merentes debent proficisci. Benè & fœliciter valeas. Datum è castro nostro Windesorij die vicesimo mensis Nouembris, Anno Iesu Christi saluatoris nostri 1582. Regni verò nostri vicessimo quarto.

A briefe Remembrance of things to be indeuoured at Constantinople, and in other places in Turkie, touching our Clothing and our Dying, and things that bee incident to the same, and touching ample vent of our naturall commodities, & of the labour of our poore people withall, and of the generall enriching of this Realme: drawen by M. Richard Hakluyt of the middle Temple, and giuen to a friend that was sent into Turkie 1582.

1 ANile wherewith we colour Blew to be brought into this realme by seed or roote.

2 And the Arte of compounding of the same.

3 And also all other herbes vsed in dying in like maner to bee brought in.

4 And all Trees whose leaues, Seedes, or Barkes, or Wood doe serue to that vse, to be brought into this realme by Seed or Roote.

5 All little Plants and Buskes seruing to that vse to be brought in.

6 To learne to know all earths and minerals forren vsed in dying, and their naturall places, for possible the like may here be found vpon sight.

7 Also with the materials vsed in dying to bring in the excellencie of the arte of dying.

8 To procure from Muhaisira a citie in Ægypt to Constantinople, the seed of Sesamum the herbe, and the same into this realme. Common trade is betweene Alexandria and Constantinople, and therefore you may easily procure the seeds. Of this seed much oyle is made, and many mils set on worke about the same in the sayd Muhaisira, and if this seede may prosper in England, infinite benefite to our Clothing trade may rise by the same. This citie is situate vpon Nilus the riuer, and thence this is brought to Venice and to diuers other Cities of Italie, and to Antwerpe.

9 To note all kindes of clothing in Turkie, and all degrees of their labour in the same.

10 To endeuour rather the vent of Kersies, then of other Clothes as a thing more beneficiall to our people.

11 To endeuour the sale of such our clothes as bee coloured with our owne naturall colours as much as you can, rather then such as be coloured with forren colours.

12 To seeke out a vent for our Bonettos, a cap made for Barbarie, for that the poore people may reape great profite by the trade.

13 To endeuour vent of knit Stocks made of Norwich yarne, & of other yarne, which brought to great trade, may turne our poore people to great benefite, besides the vent of the substance, of our colours, and of our diuers labour.

14 To

14 To endeuor a vent of our Saffron for the benefit of our poore people: for a large vent found, it setteth many on worke.

Remembrances for master S. to giue him the better occasion to informe himselfe of some things in England, and after of some other things in Turkie, to the great profite of the Common weale of this Countrey. Written by the foresayd master Richard Hakluyt, for a principall English Factor at Constantinople 1582.

SInce all men confesse (that be not barbarously bred) that men are borne as well to seeke the common commoditie of their Countrey, as their owne priuate benefite, it may seeme follie to perswade that point, for each man meaneth so to doe. But wherein men should seeke the common commoditie, and what way, and by what meane that is to bee brought about, is the point or summe of the matter, since euery good man is ready to imploy his labour. This is to bee done by an infinite sort of meanes, as the number of things bee infinite that may be done for common benefite of the Realme. And as the chiefe things so to bee done be diuers, so are they to bee done by diuers men, as they bee by wit and maner of education more fit, or lesse fit, for this and for that. And for that of many things that tend to the common benefite of the State, some tend more, and some lesse, I finde that no one thing, after one other, is greater then Clothing, and the things incident to the same. And vnderstanding that you are of right good capacitie, and become a Factor at Constantinople, and in other partes in Turkie, I finde no man fitter of all the English Factors there, then you. And therefore I am so bold to put you in minde, and to tell you wherein with some indeuour you may chaunce to doe your Countrey much good, and giue an infinite sorte of the poore people occasion to pray for you here throughout the Realme: this that I meane is in matter of Cloth, &c.

1 First, you cannot denie but that this Realme yeeldeth the most fine Wooll, the most soft, the most strong Wooll, the most durable in Cloth, and most apte of nature of all other to receiue Die, and that no Island or any one kingdome so small doeth yeeld so great abundance of the same: and that no Wooll is lesse subiect to mothes, or to fretting in presse, then this, as the old Parliament robes of Kings, & of many noble Peeres to be shewed may plainly testifie.

2 There is no commoditie of this Realme that may set so many poore subiects on worke, as this doeth, that doeth bring in so much treasure, and so much enrich the merchant, and so much employ the Nauie of this Realme, as this commoditie of our Wooll doeth.

Ample and full Vent of this noble and rich commoditie is it that the common weale of this realme doeth require.

Spaine nowe aboundeth with Wools, and the same are Clothed. Turkie hath Wools, and so haue diuers prouinces of Christendome and of Heathenesse, and cloth is made of the same in diuers places.

1 But if England haue the most fine, and the most excellent Wools of the world in all respects (as it cannot bee denied, but it hath) 2 If there may bee added to the same, excellent artificiall, and true making, and excellent dying. 3 Then no doubt but that we shall haue vent for our Clothes, although the rest of the world did abound much more with Wool then it doeth, and although their workemanship and their dying were in euery degree equal with ours of England, vnlesse the labour of our people imployed that way, and the materials vsed in dying should be the cause of the contrary by dearth.

But if Forren nations turne their Wools, inferiour to ours, into truer and more excellent made cloth, and shall die the same in truer, surer, and more excellent and more delectable colours, then shall they sell and make ample vent of their Clothes, when the English cloth of better wooll shall rest vnsold, to the spoyle of the Merchant, of the Clothier, and of the breeder of the wooll, and to the turning to bag and wallet of the infinite number of the poore people imploied in clothing in seuerall degrees of labour here in England.

Which

Which things wayed, I am to tell you what things I wish you in this Realme, and after in Turkie, to indeuour from time to time, as your laisure may permit the same.

Before you goe out of the Realme, that you learne:

1 TO know woolI, all kind of clothes made in this realme, and all other employments of woolI, home or forren, be ỹ same in Felt clokes, felt hats, in the red knit cap for Barbarie, called Bonettos rugios colorados, or whatsoeuer, &c.

All the deceits in Clothmaking; as the sorting together of Wools of seuerall natures, some of nature to shrinke, some to hold out, which causeth cloth to rockle and lie vneuen.

The euill sorting of threed of good or bad woolI, some tootoo hard spun, some tootoo soft spun deliuered to be wouen.

The faults in Weauing.

The faults in Walking, Rowing, and Burling, and in Racking the Clothes aboue measure vpon the Teintors: all which faults may be learned of honest men, which faults are to be knowen to the merchant, to be shunned and not to be vsed.

2 Then to learne of the Diers to discerne all kind of colours; as which be good and sure, and which will not hold: which be faire, which not; which colours by the dearth of the substances bee deare, and which by reason of the cheapenesse of the Materials with which they be died, be cheape colours.

3 Then to take the names of all the materials and substaunces vsed in this Citie or in the realme, in dying of cloth or silke.

To learne to know them, as which be good, which bad.

And what colours they die.

And what prices they be of.

And of them which bee the Naturals of this Realme, and in what part of the Realme they are to be had.

And of all the forren materials vsed in dying to know the very naturall places of them, and the plentie or the scarcenesse of each of them.

These things superficially learned in the realme before you goe, you are the fitter in forren parts to serue your Countrey, for by this meanes you haue an enterie into the thing that I wish you to trauell in.

What you shall doe in Turkie, besides the businesse of your Factorship.

1 FOrasmuch as it is reported that the Woollen clothes died in Turkie bee most excellently died, you shall send home into this realme certaine Mowsters or pieces of Shew to be brought to the diers hall, there to be shewed, partly to remooue out of their heads, the tootoo great opinion they haue conceiued of their owne cunning, and partly to mooue them for shame to endeuour to learne more knowledge to the honour of their countrey of England, and to the vniuersall benefit of the realme.

2 You shall deuise to amend the Dying of England, by carying hence an apte yoong man brought vp in the Arte, or by bringing one or other from thence of skill, or rather to deuise to bring one for Silkes, and another for Wooll and for Woollen cloth, and if you cannot worke this by ordinarie meanes, then to worke it by some great Bassas meane, or if your owne credite there be not sufficient by meane of your small abode in those parties, to worke it by the helpe of the French ambassador there resident, for which purpose you may insinuate your selfe into his acquaintance, and otherwise to leaue no meane vnsought that tendeth to this end, wherein you are to doe as circumstances may permit.

3 Then to learne to know all the materials and substances that the Turkes vse in dying, be they of Herbes, simple or compound, be they Plants, Barkes, Wood, Berries, Seedes, Graines, or Minerall matter, or what els soeuer. But before all other, such things as yeeld those famous colours that carrie such speciall report of excellencie, that our Merchaunts may bring them to this realme by ordinarie trade, as a light meane for the better vent of our clothes.

4 To know the vse of those, and where the naturall place of them and of ech of them is, I meane the place where ech of them groweth or is bred.

5 And in any wise, if Anile that coloureth blew be a naturall commodity of those parts, and if it be compounded of an herbe, to send the same into this realme by seed or by root in barrell of earth, with all the whole order of sowing, setting, planting, replanting, and with the compounding of the same, that it may become a naturall commodity in this realme as Woad is, to this end that the high price of forreine Woad (which deuoureth yeerely great treasure) may be brought downe. So shall the marchant buy his cloth lesse deare, and so he shalbe able to occupy with lesse stocke, be able to afoord cloth cheaper, make more ample vent, and also become a greater gainer himselfe, and all this to the benefit of this realme.

6 To do the like with herbe & plant, or tree that in dying is of any excellent vse, as to send the same by seed, berry, root, &c: for by such meanes Saffron was brought first into this realme, which hath set many poore on worke, and brought great wealth into this realme. Thus may Sumack, the plant wherewith the most excellent blacks be died in Spaine, be brought out of Spaine, and out of the Ilands of the same, if it will grow in this more colde climat. For thus was Woad brought into this realme, and came to good perfection, to the great losse of the French our olde enemies. And it doth marueilously import this realme to make naturall in this realme such things as be special in the dying of our clothes. And to speake of such things as colour blew, they are of greatest vse, and are grounds of the most excellent colours, and therefore of all other to be brought into this realme, be it Anile or any other materiall of that quality.

7 And because yellowes and greenes are colours of small prices in this realme, by reason that Olde and Greenweed wherewith they be died be naturall here, and in great plenty, therefore to bring our clothes so died to common sale in Turkie were to the great benefit of the marchant, and other poore subiects of this realme, for in sale of such our owne naturall colours we consume not our treasure in forren colours, and yet we sell our owne trifles dearely perhaps.

8 The woolles being naturall, and excellent colours for dying becomming by this meanes here also naturall, in all the arte of Clothing then we want but one onely speciall thing. For in this so temperate a climat our people may labor the yere thorowout, whereas in some regions of the world they cannot worke for extreme heat, as in some other regions they cannot worke for extreme colde a good part of the yere. And the people of this realme by the great and blessed abundance of victuall are cheaply fed, and therefore may afoord their labour cheape. And where the Clothiers in Flanders by the flatnesse of their riuers cannot make Walkmilles for their clothes, but are forced to thicken and dresse all their clothes by the foot and by the labour of men, whereby their clothes are raised to an higher price, we of England haue in all Shires store of milles vpon falling riuers. And these riuers being in temperate zones are not dried vp in Summer with drought and heat as the riuers be in Spaine and in hotter regions, nor frozen vp in Winter as all the riuers be in all the North regions of the world: so as our milles may go and worke at all times, and dresse clothes cheaply. Then we haue also for scowring our clothes earths and claies, as Walkers clay, and the clay of Oborne little inferior to Sope in scowring and in thicking. Then also haue we some reasonable store of Alum and Copporas here made for dying, and are like to haue increase of the same. Then we haue many good waters apt for dying, and people to spin and to doe the rest of all the labours we want not. So as there wanteth, if colours might be brought in and made naturall, but onely Oile: the want whereof if any man could deuise to supply at the full with any thing that might become naturall in this realme, he whatsoeuer he were that could bring it about, might deserue immortall fame in this our Common wealth, and such a deuise was offered to the Parliament and refused, because they denied to endow him with a certaine liberty, some others hauing obtained the same before, that practised to worke that effect by Radish seed, which onely made a triall of small quantity, and that went no further, to make that Oile in plenty: and now he that offered this deuise was a marchant, and is dead, and withall the deuise is dead with him.

Supply of the want of oile.

It

It is written by one that wrote of Afrike, that in Egypt in a city called Muhaisira there be many milles imployed in making of Oile of the seed of an herbe called Sesamum. Pena and Lobell, Physicians, write in our time, that this herbe is a codded herbe full of oily seed, and that there is plenty of this seede brought out of Egypt to diuers Cities in Italy. If this herbe will prosper in this realme, our marchants may easily bring of it, &c. Leo Africanus lib. 8.

9 Hauing heerein thus troubled you by raising to your minde the consideration of certaine things, it shall not be impertinent to tell you that it shall not be amisse that you note all the order of the degrees of labour vsed in Turky, in the arte of Clothing, and to see if any way they excell in that profession our people of these parts, and to bring notice of the same into this realme.

10 And if you shall finde that they make any cloth of any kind not made in this realme, that is there of great vse, then to bring of the same into this realme some Mowsters, that our people may fall into the trade, and prepare the same for Turkie: for the more kinds of cloth we can deuise to make, the more ample vent of our commoditie we shall haue, and the more sale of the labour of our poore subiects that els for lacke of labour become idle and burdenous to the common weale, and hurtfull to many: and in England we are in our clothing trade to frame our selues according to the desires of forren nations, be it that they desire thicke or thinne, broad or narrowe, long or short, white or blacke. 11 But with this prouiso alwayes, that our cloth passe out with as much labour of our people as may be, wherein great consideration ought to be had: for (if vent might so admit it) as it were the greatest madnesse in the world for vs to vent our wooll not clothed, so were it madnesse to vent our wooll in part or in the whole turned into broad cloth, if we might vent the same in Kersies: for there is great difference in profit to our people betweene the clothing of a sacke of wooll in the one, and the like sacke of wooll in the other, of which I wish the marchant of England to haue as great care as he may for the vniuersall benefit of the poore: and the turning of a sacke of wooll into Bonets is better then both &c. And also not to cary out of the realme any cloth white, but died if it may be, that the subiects of this realme may take as much benefit as is possible, and rather to seeke the vent of the clothes died with the naturall colours of England, then such as be died with forren colours.

12 And if of necessity we must be forced to receiue certaine colours from forren parts, for that this climat will not breed them, I wish that our marchants procure Anile and such other things to be planted in like climats where now it growes, in diuers other places, that this realme may haue that brought in for as base prices as is possible, and that falling out with one place we may receiue the same from another, and not buy the same at the second or the third hand &c. For if a commoditie, that is to be had of meere necessity, be in one hand, it is dearely purchased.

1 How many seuerall colours be died is to be learned of our Diers before you depart.

2 Then how many of those colours England doth die of her owne naturall home materials and substances, and how many not.

3 Then to bring into this realme herbs and plants to become naturall in our soiles, that may die the rest of the colours, that presently of our owne things here growing we can not yet die, and this from all forren places.

4 There is a wood called Logwood or Palo Campechio, it is cheape and yeeldeth a glorious blew, but our workmen can not make it sure. This wood you must take with you, and see whether the Silke diers or Woolle diers in Turky can doe it, with this one you may inrich your selfe very much, and therefore it is to be endeuoured earnestly by you. It may bring downe the price of Woad and of Anile.

Other some things to be remembred.

IF you can finde out at Tripoly in Syria or elsewhere a vent for the Cappes called in Barbarie, Bonettos colorados rugios, which is a red Scottish cap as it were without brims, you should do your countrey much good: for as a sacke of wooll turned into fine Deuonshire kersies doth set many more people on worke then a sacke spunne for broad cloth in a grosser

threed, so a sacke of wooll turned into those Bonets doth set many more poore people on worke, then a sacke turned into Kersies, by reason of the knitting. And therefore if you can indeuour that, you worke great effect. And no doubt that a maruellous vent may be found out of them into Afrike by the way of Alexandria, and by Alcayer Southeast and Southwest thence.

2 And by the vent of our knit hose of Woollen yarne, Woorsted yarne, and of Linnen thred, great benefit to our people may arise, and a great value in fine Kersies and in those knit wares may be couched in a small roome in the ship. And for these things our people are growen apt, and by indeuour may be drawen to great trade.

3 Saffron the best of the vniuersall world groweth in this realme, and forasmuch as it is a thing that requireth much labour in diuers sorts, and setteth the people on worke so plentifully, I wish you to see whether you can finde out ample vent for the same, since it is gone out of great vse in those parts. It is a spice that is cordiall, and may be vsed in meats, and that is excellent in dying of yellow silks. This commodity of Saffron groweth fifty miles from Tripoli in Syria, on an high hill called in those parts Garian, so as there you may learne at that port of Tripoli the value of the pound, the goodnesse of it, and the places of the vent. But it is sayd that from that hill there passeth yerely of that commodity fifteene moiles laden, and that those regions notwithstanding lacke sufficiencie of that commodity. But if a vent might be found, men would in Essex about Saffronwalden and in Cambridge shire reuiue the trade for the benefit of the setting of the poore on worke. So would they doe in Hereford shire by Wales, where the best of all England is, in which place the soile yeelds the wilde Saffron commonly, which sheweth the naturall inclination of the same soile to the bearing of the right Saffron, if the soile be manured and that way employed.

Leo Africanus lib. 4.

4 There is a walled towne not farre from Barbarie, called Hubbed, toward the South from the famous towne Telensin, about six miles: the inhabitants of which towne in effect be all Diers. And it is sayd that thereabout they haue plenty of Anile, & that they occupy that, and also that they vse there in their dyings, of the Saffron aforesayd. The trueth whereof, in the Southerly ports of the Mediteran sea, is easily learned in your passage to Tripoli, or in returne from thence homeward you may vnderstand it. It is reported at Saffronwalden that a Pilgrim purposing to do good to his countrey, stole an head of Saffron, and hid the same in his Palmers staffe, which he had made hollow before of purpose, and so he brought this root into this realme, with venture of his life: for if he had bene taken, by the law of the countrey from whence it came, he had died for the fact. If the like loue in this our age were in our people that now become great trauellers, many knowledges, and many trades, and many herbes and plants might be brought into this realme that might doe the realme good. And the Romans hauing that care, brought from all coasts of the world into Italie all arts and sciences, and all kinds of beasts and fowles, and all herbs, trees, busks and plants that might yeeld profit or pleasure to their countrey of Italie. And if this care had not bene heretofore in our ancesters, then had our life bene sauage now, for then we had not had Wheat nor Rie, Peaze nor Beanes, Barley nor Oats, Peare nor Apple, Vine nor many other profitable and pleasant plants, Bull nor Cow, Sheepe nor Swine, Horse nor Mare, Cocke nor Hen, nor a number of other things that we inioy, without which our life were to be sayd barbarous: for these things and a thousand that we vse more the first inhabitors of this Iland found not here. And in time of memory things haue bene brought in that were not here before, as the Damaske rose by Doctour Linaker king Henry the seuenth and king Henrie the eights Physician, the Turky cocks and hennes about fifty yeres past, the Artichowe in time of king Henry the eight, and of later time was procured out of Italy the Muske rose plant, the plumme called the Perdigwena, and two kindes more by the Lord Cromwell after his trauell, and the Abricot by a French Priest one Wolfe Gardiner to king Henry the eight: and now within these foure yeeres there haue bene brought into England from Vienna in Austria diuers kinds of flowers called Tulipas, and those and other procured thither a little before from Constantinople by an excellent man called M. Carolus Clusius. And it is sayd that since we traded to Zante that the plant that beareth the Coren is also brought into this realme from thence; and

This may be learned at Alger.

and although it bring not fruit to perfection, yet it may serue for pleasure and for some vse, like as our vines doe, which we cannot well spare, although the climat so colde will not permit vs to haue good wines of them. And many other things haue bene brought in, that haue degenerated by reason of the colde climat, some other things brought in haue by negligence bene lost. The Archbishop of Canterburie Edmund Grindall, after he returned out of Germany, brought into this realme the plant of Tamariske from thence, and this plant he hath so increased that there be here thousands of them; and many people haue received great health by this plant: and if of things brought in such care were had, then could not the first labour be lost. The seed of Tabacco hath bene brought hither out of the West Indies, it groweth heere, and with the herbe many haue bene eased of the reumes, &c. Each one of a great number of things were woorthy of a iourney to be made into Spaine, Italy, Barbarie, Egypt, Zante, Constantinople, the West Indies, and to diuers other places neerer and further off then any of these, yet forasmuch as the poore are not able, and for that the rich serued at home in quiet will not, therefore we are to make suite to such as repaire to forren kingdomes, for other businesses, to haue some care heerein, and to set before their eyes the examples of these good men, and to endeuour to do for their parts the like, as their speciall businesses may permit the same. Thus giuing you occasion by way of a little remembrance, to haue a desire to doe your countrey good, you shall, if you haue any inclination to such good, do more good to the poore ready to starue for relieſe, then euer any subiect did in this realme by building of Almeshouses, and by giuing of lands and goods to the reliefe of the poore. Thus may you helpe to driue idlenesse the mother of most mischiefs out of the realme, and winne you perpetuall fame, and the prayer of the poore, which is more woorth then all the golde of Peru and of all the West Indies.

The voyage of the Susan of London to Constantinople, wherein the worshipfull M. William Harborne was sent first Ambassadour vnto Sultan Murad Can, the great Turke, with whom he continued as her Maiesties Ligier almost sixe yeeres.

THe 14 of Nouember 1582, we departed from Blackewall, bound for the Citie of Constantinople, in the tall shippe called the Susan of London: the Master whereof was Richard Parsons, a very excellent and skilfull man in his facultie. But by occasion of contrary weather we spent two monethes before we could recouer the Kowes in the Isle of Wight. Where the 14 of Ianuary following we tooke in the worshipfull M. William Hareborne her Maiesties Ambassadour to the Turke, and his company, and sailed thence to Yarmouth in the foresayd Isle of Wight. The 19 we put from Wight. The 26 we did see Cauo de Sant Vincente. The same day we were thwart of Cauo Santo Maria. The 27 we passed by Tariffa, and Gibraltar. The 28 in the morning we passed by Velez Malaga: and that night were thwart of Cauo de Gates. The 29 at night we had sight of Cauo de Palos. The 30 in the morning we did see the high land of Denia, in the kingdome of Valentia, and that night we had sight of the Iland Formentera. The 31 in the morning appeared the Iland of Cabrera. The first of February we put into a Port in Mallorca, called Porto de Sant Pedro: where they would haue euill intreated vs for comming into the Harbour: we thought we might haue bene as bolde there as in other places of Christendome, but it proued farre otherwise. The first man we met on land was a simple Shepheard, of whom we demanded whether wee might haue a sheepe or such like to refresh our selues, who tolde vs yea. And by such conference had with him, at the last he came aboord once or twise, and had the best cheare that we could make him: and our Ambassadour himselfe talked with him, and still he made vs faire promises, but nothing at all meant to performe the same, as the end shewed. In the meane time came in a shippe of Marseils, the Master whereof did know our Ambassadour very well, with whom our Ambassadour had conference, and with his Marchants also. They came from Alger in Barbarie, which is vnder the gouernement of the Great Turke. They did present our Ambassadour with an Ape, wherefore he made very much of them, and had them often aboord. By them I suppose, he was bewrayed of his purpose as touching his message, but yet still we had faire words of the Shepheard aforesayd, and others. So that vpon their

January the fourteenth. C. Vincente. Santa Maria. Tariffa. Velez Malaga. C. de Gates. C. de Palos. Denia. Formentera. Cabrera. February the first. Mallorca. The shippes men goe on land at Porto de Sant Pedro. The Ambassadour betrayed.

words,

words, our Purser and another man went to a Towne which was three or foure miles from the port, and there were well entertained, and had of the people very faire speeches, and such small things as could be gotten vpon the sudden, and so returned to the shippe that day. Then wee were emboldened, and thought all had bene well, according to their talke. The next day, being the sixth day of Februarie, two of our Gentlemen, with one of our Marchants, and the Purser, and one of the Ambassadours men went to the Towne aforesayd, thinking to doe as the Purser and the other had done before, but it prooued contrary: for at their comming thither they had faire wordes a while, and had bread and wine, and such necessaries for their money, vntill such time as they were beset with men, and the Maiorcans neuer shewed in their countenance any such matter, but as the maner of all the people in the dominions of Spaine is, for the most part to be trecherous to vs, if they thinke they haue any aduantage. For vpon the sudden they layed handes on them, and put them in holde, as sure as might be in such a simple Towne. Then were they well guarded with men both day and night, and still deluded with faire words, & they sayd to our men it was for no hurt, but that the Viceroy of the Iland would come aboard to see the shippe. But they presently sent the Purser to the Towne of Maiorca, where he was examined by the Viceroy very straightly, what their shippe and captaine were, and what voyage they intended, but he confessed nothing at all. In the meane time they in the Towne were likewise straightly examined by a Priest and other officers vpon their othes: who for their othes sake declared the whole estate of their voyage. The Ambassadours man was a French man, and therefore was suffered to goe to the shippe on a message, but he could tell the Ambassadour none other newes, but that the Viceroy would come aboord the shippe, and that our men should come with him, but they had another meaning. For the Marseilian Marchants were stayed in like maner in the Towne, onely to make a better shew vnto vs. But in the meane time, being there three or foure dayes, there came men vnto vs euery day, more or lesse, but one day especially there came two men on horsebacke, whom we tooke to be officers, being lusty men, and very well horsed. These men desired to speake with our Captaine (for all things that passed there were done in the name of our Captaine Iohn Gray) for it was sayd by vs there, that he was Captaine of one of her Maiesties shippes: wherefore all things passed in his name: and the Ambassadour not seene in any thing but rather concealed, and yet did all, because of his tongue and good inditing in that language. For he himselfe went on land clothed in Veluet, and talked with these men, and with him ten or twelue lusty fellowes well weaponed, ech one hauing a Boarespeare or a Caliuer, the Captaine Iohn Gray being one of them, and our boat lying by very warely kept and ready. For then wee began to suspect, because the place was more frequented with men then it was woont. The men on horsebacke were in doubt to come neere, because hee came so well weaponed. But they bade him welcome, and gaue him great salutations in words as their maner is: and demanded why he came so strong, for they sayd he needed not to feare any man in the Iland. Answere was made, that it was the maner of English Captaines to goe with their guard in strange places. Then they tolde our Ambassador (thinking him to be the Captaine) that they were sent from the Viceroy to know what they did lacke, for they promised him beefe or mutton, or any thing that was in the Iland to be had, but their purpose was to haue gotten more of our men if they could, and they sayde that wee should haue our men againe the next day: with such prety delusions they fed vs still. Then our Ambassadour did write a letter to the Viceroy in her Maiesties name, and in our Captaine Iohn Grayes name, and not in his owne, and sent it by them, desiring him to send his men, and not to trouble him in his voyage, for he had giuen him no such cause, nor any of his. So these men departed with great courtesie in words on both parts. And in all this time we did see men on horsebacke and on foot in the woods and trees more then they were accustomed to be, but we could perceiue nothing thereby. The next day, or the second, came either foure or sixe of the best of them as wee thought (the Viceroy excepted) and very many men besides in the fieldes, both on foot and on horse, but came not neere the water side. And those in like order desired to speake with the Captaine, and that when he came on land the trumpets might sound: but then the Ambassadour, whom they thought to be Cap aine,

Februarie the sixth.

The English men are surprised.

The Spaniards come to the sea side to speake with the captaine.

The Spaniards come againe to parle.

Captaine, would not goe, nor suffer the trumpets to be sounded, for that he thought it was a trappe to take himselfe, and more of his company. But did send one of the principall of the Marchants to talke with them. And the Captaine Iohn Gray went also with him, not being knowen of the Spaniards, for he went as a souldiour. Thus they receiued of these men the like wordes as they had of the other before mentioned, who sayd we should haue our men againe, for they meant vs no hurt. Then our Ambassadour did write another letter, and sent it by them to the Viceroy, in like order as he did before, but he receiued no answere of them. In all this time they had priuily gathered together the principall men of the land, and had laboured day and night to bring downe ordinance, not making any shew of their trecherie towards vs. But the same night following, we saw very many lights passe in the woods among the trees. And in the morning when the watch was broken vp, being Saturday the ninth of Februarie, at faire day light, one of our men looked foorth, and saw standing on land the cariage of a piece: then was one commanded to goe into the toppe, and there he did descrie two or three pieces, and also many men on the shore, with diuers weapons that they brought. Then they suddenly tooke oure or fiue brasse pieces, and placed them on either side of the harborough where we should go out, and hid them with stones and bushes that we should not see them. Now I thinke the harborough not to be aboue the eight part of a mile ouer. Thus perceiuing their meaning which was most plaine: wee agreed to take vp our anker and goe out, and leaue our men there, hauing none other way to take. Then our Ambassadour intreated the Master of the Marseilian, his friend, to goe on land with his boat, and to know the truth: who satisfied his request. And at his returne he tolde vs that it was very true, that they would lay holde of vs if they could. Then we weighed our ankers: but hauing little winde, we towed the ship forward with the boat. The Viceroy himselfe was at the water side with more then fiue hundred men on both sides of the harbour as we thought. And when we came out with our shippe as far as their ordinance, our Ambassadour and the Captaine being in their armour, the Master commanding of the company, and trimming of the sailes, the Pilot standing on the poope, attending to his charge, with other very well furnished, and euery man in order about their businesse very ready, they on land on the contrary part hauing a very faire piece mounted on the North side openly in all our sights, as the shippe passed by, they trauersed that piece right with the maine mast or after-quarter of the shippe, and a Gunner standing by, with a linstocke in his hand, about foureteene or fifteene foot long, being (as we thought) ready to giue fire. Our whole noise of trumpets were sounding on the poope with drumme and flute, and a Minion of brasse on the summer decke, with two or three other pieces, alwayes by our Gunners trauersed mouth to mouth with theirs on land, still looking when they on land should shoot, for to answere them againe. The Pilot standing on the poope, seeing this readinesse, and the shippe going very softly, because of the calmenesse of the winde, he called to them on the South side, where the Viceroy was, and sayd vnto him: Haue you warres with vs? If you haue, it is more then we know; but by your prouision it seemeth so: if you haue, shoot in Gods name, and spare not, but they held all fast and shot not. Then the Viceroy himselfe held vp a paper, and sayd he had a letter for our Captaine, and desired vs to stay for it. Then we answered and sayd we would not, but willed him to send it by the Marseilians boat, and our men also. All this while, our trumpets, drum and flute sounded, and so we passed out in the face of them all. When they perceiued that they could lay no holde on vs, they presently sent to the Towne for our men, whom within lesse then three houres after they sent aboord with the sayd letter, wherein he desired our Captaine and his company not to take it in ill part, for he meant them no harme, but would haue seene our shippe. His letter did import these and such like faire speeches: for it altogether contained courteous salutations, saying that he might boldly come into any port within his Iland, and that he and his would shew him what friendship they might: and that the iniury that was offered was done at the request of the Shepheards and poore people of the countrey, for the more safegard of their flockes, and because it was not a thing vsuall to haue any such shippe to come into that port, with many other deceitfull words in the sayd letter.

The Ambassadour writeth to the Viceroy.

The ninth of February.

The ship Susan prepareth to defend herselfe.

The effect of the Viceroys letter to the Captaine of the Susan.

Then

The effect of the Ambassadors answere.

Then our Ambassadour wrote vnto him another letter to answere that, and gaue him thanks for his men that he had sent him, and also for his good will, and sent him a present. This done, we shot off halfe a dozen pieces, hoised our sailes, and departed on our voyage. Then the Purser and the rest of our men that had beene in holde, tolde vs that they did see the Captaine, and other gentlemen of the Iland, hauing their buskins and stockings torne from their legges, with labouring in the bushes day and night to make that sudden prouision. The 12 of February we saw an Iland of Africa side called Galata, where they vse to drag out of the Sea much Corall, and we saw likewise Sardinia, which is an Iland subiect to Sp[illegible]e. The 13 in the morning we were hard by Sardinia. The 15 we did see an Iland neere [illegible]lia, and an Iland on Africa side called Cysimbre. The same day likewise we saw an Iland called Pantalaria, and that night we were thwart the middle of Sicilia. The 16 at night we were as farre as Capo Passaro, which is the Southeast part of Sicilia. The 24 we were put into a port called Porte de Conte, in an Iland called Cephalonia: it is an out Iland in the dominions of Grecia, and now at this present gouerned by the Signory of Venice, as the rest of Grecia is vnder the Turke, for the most part. The 27 we came from thence, and that day arriued at Zante which is also in Grecia: for at this present wee entred the parts of Grecia. The second of March we came from Zante; and the same day were thwart of an Iland called Prodeno: and the 4 we were thwart of an Iland called Sapientia. There standeth a faire Towne and a Castle on the maine ouer against it, called Modon. The same day by reason of contrary windes we put backe againe to Prodeno, because we could not fetch Sapientia. The ninth we came from thence, and were as farre as Sapientia againe. The tenth we were as farre shot as Cauo Matapan; and that day we entred the Archipelago, and passed thorow betweene Cerigo and Cauo Malio. This Cerigo is an Iland where one Menelaus did sometimes reigne, from whome was stollen by Paris faire Helena, and carried to Troy, as ancient Recordes doe declare. The same day we had sight of a little Iland called Bellapola, and did likewise see both the Milos, being Ilands in the Archipelago. The 11 in the morning we were hard by an Iland called Falconara, and the Iland of Antemila. The 12 in the morning we were betweene Fermenia and Zea, being both Ilands. That night wee were betweene Negroponte and Andri, being likewise Ilands. The 13 in the morning we were hard by Psara and Sarafo, being Ilands nine or tenne miles from Chio, and could not fetch Chio. So we put roome with a port in Metelin called Sigra, and about nine of the clocke at night we ankered there. The 15 we came from thence, the sixteenth we put into Porto Delfi. This port is 9 English miles to the Northward of the City of Chio, (and it may be twelue of their miles) this night we stayed in the sayd port, being in the Iland of Chio. Then went our Marchant and one or two with him to the City of Chio. And when the By, who is the gouernour of the Iland (and is in their language a Duke) had communed with the Marchant, and those that were with him, and vnderstood of our arriuall within his dominion, the day following he armed his gallies, and came to welcome our Ambassadour, accompanied with the Ermine, that is, the Kings Customer, and also the French Consull, with diuers of the chiefe of the City, and offered him as much friendship as he could or would desire: for he did offer to attend vpon vs, and towe vs if need were to the Castles. The 21 we departed from thence, and that day passed by port Sigra againe. This Iland of Metelin is part of Asia, and is neere to Natolia. The 22 we passed by a head land called Baberno, and is also in Asia. And that day at night we passed by the Isle of Tenedo, part of Asia, and by another Iland called Maure. And the same day we passed thorow the straights of Galipoli, and by the Castles, and also by the Towne of Galipoli it selfe, which standeth in Europa. And that night we were in sight of Marmora which is neere Natolia, and part of Asia. The 23 in the morning we were thwart of Araclia, and that night we ankered in Silauria. The 24 in the morning the Marchant and the Pilot were set on land to goe to the City about the Ambassadours businesse, but there they could not land because we had the winde faire. That place of some is called Ponte grande, and is foure and twenty miles on this side of Constantinople, and because of the winde, they followed in the skiffe vntill they came to a place called Ponte picola, and there is a little bridge, it standeth eight Turkish miles from Constantinople, there the Marchant and the Pilot landed. At this bridge is an house of the great Turkes with

Galata. Sardinia. Fauagniana. Cisimbri. Pantalaria. Sicilia. C. Passaro. Porto de Conte in Cephalonia. Zante. Prodeno. Sapientia. Modon. C. Matapan. Cerigo. C. Malio. Menelaus. Bellapola. Both Milos. Falconara. Antemila. Fermenia, Zea. Negroponte. Andri. Psara, Sarafo. Sigra, a port in Metelin. Porto Delfin. The city of Chio. A By. Ermin, or Customer. Baberno. Tenedo. Maure. Galipoli. Marmora. Araclia. Silauria. Ponte grande. Ponte picola.

with a faire Garden belonging vnto it, neere the which is a point called Ponta S. Stephano, and there the shippe ankered that day. The 26 day the ship came to the seuen Towers, and the 27 we came neerer. The 29 there came three gallies to bring vs vp further: and when the shippe came against the great Turks palace, we shot off all our ordinance to the number of foure and thirty pieces. Then landed our Ambassadour, and then we discharged foure and twentie pieces, who was receiued with more then fifty or threescore men on horsebacke. The ninth of April he presented the great Bassa with sixe clothes, foure cannes of siluer double gilt, and one piece of fine holland, and to three other Bassas, that is to say, the second Bassa, which is a gelded man, and his name is Mahomet Bassa, to the third who maried the great Turks sister, and to the fourth whom they call Abraham Bassa, to euery one of these he gaue foure clothes. Now, before the great Bassa, and Abraham Bassa, at their returne from the Court (and as we thinke at other times, but at that time for a certaine) there came a man in maner of a foole, who gaue a great shout three or foure times, crying very hollowly, the place rebounded with the sound, and this man, say they, is a prophet of Mahomet, his armes and legges naked, on his feet he did weare woodden pattens of two sorts, in his hand, a flagge, or streamer set on a short speare painted, he carried a mat and bottels, and other trumpery at his backe, and sometimes vnder his arme, on his head he had a cappe of white Camels haire, flat like an helmet, written about with letters, and about his head a linnen rowle. Other seruingmen there were with the sayd Bassas, with red attire on their heads, much like French hoods, but the long flappe somewhat smaller towardes the end, with scuffes or plates of mettall, like vnto the chape of an ancient arming sword, standing on their foreheads like other Ianisaries. These Basses entertained vs as followeth: First, they brought vs into a hall, there to stand on one side, and our Ambassadour and gentlemen on the other side, who sate them downe on a bench couered with carpets, the Ambassadour in the midst; on his left hand sate our gentlemen, and on his right hand the Turkes, next to the doore where their master goeth in and out: the common sort of Turkes stayed in the Court yard, not suffered to come neere vs. When our Ambassadour had sitten halfe an houre, the Bassas (who sate by themselues in an inner small roome) sent for him; to whom the Ambassadour and his gentlemen went: they all kissed his hand, and presently returned (the Ambassadour onely excepted, who stayed there, and a Turks chaus with him) with the Ambassadour and his gentlemen went in also so many of our men as there were presents to cary in, but these neither kissed his hand nor taried. After this I went to visit the church of Santa Sophia, which was the chiefe church when it was the Christians, and now is the chiefe see and church of primacie of this Turke present: before I entred I was willed to put off my shoes, to the end I should not prophane their church, I being a Christian. The pillers on both sides of the church are very costly and rich, their Pulpets seemely and handsome, two are common to preach in, the third reserued onely for their Paschall. The ground is couered with Mats, and the walles hanged with Tapistry. They haue also Lamps in their churches, one in the middle of the church of exceeding greatnesse, and another in another part of the church of cleane golde, or double gilded, full as bigge as a barrel. Round about the church there is a gallery builded vpon rich and stately pillers. That day I was in both the chappels, in one of the which lieth the Turkes father, and fiue of his sonnes in tombes right costly, with their turbents very white and cleane, shifted (as they say) euery Friday, they be not on their heads, but stand on mouldes made for that purpose. At the endes, ouer, and about their tombes are belts, like girdles, beset with iewels. In the other chappell are foure other of his sonnes, and one daughter, in like order. In the first chappell is a thing foure foot high, couered with greene, beset with mother of pearle very richly. This is a relique of Mahomet, and standeth on the left side of the head of the great Turks tombe. These chappels haue their floores couered, and their walles hanged with Tapistric of great price, I could value the couering and hangings of one of the chappels, at no lesse then fiue hundred poundes, besides their lamps hanging richly gilded. These chappels haue their roofes curiously wrought with rich stone, and gilded. And there lie the bookes of their Lawes for euery man to reade. The 11 day of April the shippe came to the Key of the Custome house. The 16 the

Ponte S. Stephano.

The arriuall of the Sultan at Constantinople.

The Ambassadour giueth a present to the great Bassa.

A man halfe naked goeth before ye great Bassa.

The Ambassadours entertainment with the Bassas.

Santa Sophia.

A discription of their church.

The ship commeth to the custome house.

The Ambassador presenteth the Admirall Vchali.

the Ambassadour and we his men went to the Captaine Bassa, who is Admirall of the seas, his name is Vchali, he would not receiue vs into his house, but into his gallie, to deliuer our present, which was as followeth: Foure pieces of cloth, and two siluer pots gilt & grauen. The poope or sterne of his gally was gilded both within and without, and vnder his feet, and where he sate was all couered with very rich Tapistry. Our Ambassadour and his gentlemen kissed his hand, and then the gentlemen were commanded out, and our Ambassadour sate downe by him on his left hand, and the chaus stood before him. Our men might walke in the gally fore and after, some of vs taried, and some went out againe. The gally had seuen pieces of brasse in her prowe, small and great, she had thirty bankes or oares on either side,

The Sunn goeth from the Custome house. The Admirall departeth to the sea.

and at euery banke or oare seuen men to rowe. The 18 day the shippe went from the Key. And 21 the Admirall tooke his leaue of the great Turke, being bound to the Sea with sixe and thirty gallies, very fairely beautified with gilding and painting, and beset with flags and streamers, all the which gallies discharged their ordinance: and we for his farewell gaue him one and twentie pieces. Then he went to his house with his gallies, and the 22 he went to the Sea, and the Castle that standeth in the water gaue him foureteene or sixteene pieces: and when he came against the Turks Seraglio he shot off all his caliuers and his great pieces,

The Ambassadours repaire to the great Turks court.

and so hee went his way. The 24 our Ambassadour went to the Court, whose entertainement with the order thereof followeth. When wee came first on land there was way made for vs by two or three Bassaes and diuers chauses on horsebacke with their men on foot, to accompany our Ambassadour to the Court. Also they brought horses for him and his gentlemen for to ride, which were very richly furnished: and by the way there met with vs other chauses to accompany vs to the Court. When we came there wee passed thorow two gates, at the second gate there stood very many men with horses attending on their masters. When we came within that gate we were within a very faire Court yard, in compasse twise so bigge as Pauls Church-yard. On the right hand of the sayd Court was a faire gallerie like an Alley, and within it were placed railes and such other prouision. On the left side was the like, halfe the Court ouer: it was diuided into two parts, the innermost fairer then the other. The other part of that side is the place where the Councell doe vsually sit, and at the inner end of that is a faire place to sit in, much like vnto that place in Pauls Church-yard, where the Maior and his brethren vse to sit, thither was our Ambassadour brought, and set in that place. Within that sayde place is another like open roome, where hee did eate. Assoone as wee

The entertainment at dinner of the Ambassadours men.

came in, wee were placed in the innermost alley of the second roome, on the left side of the Court, which was spread with carpets on the ground fourescore or fourescore and tenne foot long, with an hundred and fiftie seuerall dishes set thereon, that is to say, Mutton boiled and rosted, Rice diuersly dressed, Fritters of the finest fashion, and dishes daintily dight with pritty pappe, with infinite others, I know not how to expresse them. We had also rosted Hennes with sundry sorts of fowles to me vnknowen. The gentlemen and we sate downe on the ground, for it is their maner so to feede. There were also Greekes and others set to furnish out the roome. Our drinke was made with Rose water and Sugar and spices brewed together. Those that did serue vs with it had a great bagge tied ouer their showlders, with a broad belt like an arming belt full of plates of copper and gilt, with part of the sayd bagge vnder his arme, and the mouth in his hand: then he had a deuise to let it out when he would into cuppes, when we called for drinke. The Ambassadour when hee had eaten, passed by vs, with the chauses aforesayd, and sate him downe in an inner roome. This place where he sate was against the gate where we came in, and hard by the Councell chamber end, somewhat on the left side of the Court, this was at the East end of the Court, for we came in at the West. All this time our presents stood by vs vntill we had dined, and diner once ended, this was their order of taking vp the dishes. Certaine were called in, like those of the Blacke gard in the Court of England, the Turks call them Moglans. These came in like rude and rauening Mastifs, without order or fashion, and made cleane riddance: for he whose hungry eye one dish could not fill turned two, one into the other, and thus euen on the sudden was made a cleane riddance of all. Then came certaine chauses and brought our gentlemen to sit with the Ambassadour. Immediatly came officers & appointed Ianisers to beare frō

frō vs our presents, who caried them on the right side of the Court, and set them hard by the doore of the Priuy chamber, as we call *it*: there all things stoode for the space of an houre. Thus the Ambassadour and his gentlemen sate still, and to the Southward of them was a doore whereas the great Turke himselfe went in and out at, and on the South side of that doore sate on a bench all his chiefe lordes and gentlemen, and on the North side of the West gate stood his gard, in number as I gesse them a thousand men. These men haue on their heads round cappes of mettall like sculles, but sharpe in the toppe, in this they haue a bunch of Ostridge feathers, as bigge as a brush, with the corner or edge forward: at the lower end of these feathers was there a smaller feather, like those that are commonly worn here. Some of his gard had smal staues, & most of them were weaponed with bowes and arrowes. Here they waited, during our abode at the Court, to gard their Lord. After the Ambassadour with his gentlemen had sitten an houre and more, there came three or foure chauses, and brought them into the great Turkes presence. At the Priuy chamber doore two noble men tooke the Ambassadour by ech arme one, and put their fingers within his sleeues, and so brought him to the great Turke where he sumptuously sate alone. He kissed his hand and stood by vntill all the gentlemen were brought before him in like maner, one by one, and ledde backewards againe his face towards the Turke; for they might neither tarry nor turne their backs, and in like maner returned the Ambassadour. The salutation that the Noble men did, was taking them by the hands. All this time they trode on cloth of golde, most of the Noble men that sate on the South side of the Priuy chamber sate likewise on cloth of golde. Many officers or Ianisaries there were with staues, who kept very good order, for no Turke whatsoeuer might goe any further than they willed him. At our Ambassadours entring they followed that bare his presents, to say, twelue fine broad clothes, two pieces of fine holland, tenne pieces of plate double gilt, one case of candlesticks, the case whereof was very large, and three foot high and more, two very great cannes or pots, and one lesser, one basin and ewer, two poppinjayes of siluer, the one with two heads: they were to drinke in: two bottles with chaines, three faire mastifs in coats of redde cloth, three spaniels, two bloodhounds, one common hunting hound, two greyhounds, two little dogges in coats of silke: one clocke valued at fiue hundred pounds sterling: ouer it was a forrest with trees of siluer, among the which were deere chased with dogs, and men on horsebacke following, men drawing of water, others carrying mine oare on barrowes: on the toppe of the clocke stood a castle, and on the castle a mill. All these were of siluer. And the clocke was round beset with iewels. All the time that we stayed at the Councell chamber doore they were telling or weighing of money to send into Persia for his Souldiours pay. There were carried out an hundred and three and thirty bags, and in euery bagge, as it was tolde vs, one thousand ducats, which amounteth to three hundred and thirty thousand * , and in sterling English money to fourescore and nineteene thousand pounds. The Captaine of the guard in the meane time went to the great Turke, and returned againe, then they of the Court made obeisance to him, bowing downe their heads, and their hands on their breasts, and he in like order resaluted them: he was in cloth of siluer, he went and came with two or three with him and no more. Then wee went out at the first gate, and there we were commanded to stay vntill the Captaine of the guard was passed by and all his guard with him, part before him and part behinde him, some on horsebacke and some on foot, but the most part on foot carrying on their shoulders the money before mentioned, and so we passed home. There was in the Court during our abode there, for the most part a foole resembling the first, but not naked as was the other at the Bassas: but he turned him cōtinually, & cried Hough very hollowly. The third of May I saw the Turke go to the church: he had more then two hundred and fifty horses before and behinde him, but most before him. There were many empty horses that came in no order. Many of his Nobilitie were in cloth of golde, but himselfe in white sattin. There did ride behinde him sixe or seuen youthes, one or two whereof carried water for him to drinke as they sayd. There were many of his guard running before him and behinde him, and when he alighted, they cried Hough very hollowly, as the aforesayd fooles.

The Turke is presented with a rich present.

A letter of Mustapha Chaus to the Queenes most excellent Maiestie.

SErenissima, prudentissima, & sacra Regia Maiestas, domina mihi semper clementissima, meorum fidelium officiorum promptam paratissimámque commendationem. Generosus & virtuosus Gulielmus Hareborne legatus vestræ sacræ Maiestatis venit ad portam excelsissimam potentissimi & inuictissimi, & semper Augustissimi Cæsaris Sultan Murad Can, cui Deus omnipotens benedicat. Et quanto honore, quanta dignitate, quantáque humanitate aliorum confœderatorum legati accipiuntur, præfatus quoque legatus vester tanta reuerentia, tantáque amplitudine acceptus & collocatus est in porta excelsissima. Et posthac subditi & homines vestræ sacræ Maiestatis ad ditiones omnes Cæsareas venire, & sua negocia tractare, & ad suam patriam redire sine impedimento, vt in literis excelsissimi, potentissimi, & inuictissimi & semper Augustissimi Cæsaris ad vestram sacram Regiam Maiestatem datis facile patet, tranquillè & pacificè possunt. Ego autem imprimis diligentem operam & fidele studium & nunc eodem confirmando nauaui, & in futurum quoque vsque in vltimum vitæ spiritum in negotijs potentissimi & inuictissimi Cæsaris, & vestræ sacræ Regiæ Maiestatis egregiam nauabo operam. Quod Deus omnipotens ad emolumentum & vtilitatem vtriúsque Reipublicæ secundet. Amen. Sacram Regiam Maiestatem fœlicissimè valere exopto. Datum Constantinopoli anno 1583, die octauo Maij.

A letter of the English Ambassador to M. Haruie Millers, appointing him Consull for the English nation in Alexandria, Cairo, and other places of Egypt.

HAuing to appoint our Consull in Cayro, Alexandria, Egypt, and other parts adiacent, for the safe protection of body and goods of her Maiesties subiects; being well perswaded of your sufficient abilitie; in her Maiesties name I doe elect and make choise of you, good friend Haruie Millers, to execute the same worshipfull office, as shall be required for her Maiesties better seruice, the commodity of her subiects, and my contentation: hauing and enioying for merit of your trauell in the premises the like remuneration incident to the rest of ours in such office in other parts of this Empire. Requiring you (all other affaires set aside) to repaire thither with expedition, and attend vpon this your charge, which the Almighty grant you well to accomplish. For the due execution whereof, we heerewith send you the Grand Signiors Patent of priuilege with ours, and what els is needfull therefore, in so ample maner, as any other Consull whosoeuer doeth or may enioy the same. In ayd whereof, according to my bounden duety to her Maiesty our most gracious Mistresse, I will be ready alwayes to employ my selfe to the generall benefit of her Maiesties subiects, for your maintenance in all iust causes incident to the same. And thus eftsoones requiring and commanding you as aboue sayd, to performe my request, I bid you most heartily well to fare, and desire God to blesse you. From my mansion Rapamat nigh Pera this 25 of April 1583.

Commission giuen by M. William Hareborne the English Ambassador, to Richard Forster, authorising him Consul of the English nation in the parts of Alepo, Damasco, Aman, Tripolis, Ierusalem, &c.

I William Harborne, her Maiesties Ambassador, Ligier with the Grand Signior, for the affaires of the Leuant doe in her Maiesties name confirme and appoint Richard Forster Gentleman, my Deputie and Consull in the parts of Alepo, Damasco, Aman, Tripolis, Ierusalem, and all other ports whatsoeuer in the prouinces of Syria, Palestina, and Iurie, to execute the office of Consull ouer all our Nation her Maiesties subiects, of what estate or quality soeuer: giuing him hereby full power to defend, protect, and maintaine all such her Maiesties subiects as to him shall be obedient, in all honest and iust causes whatsoeuer: and in like case no lesse power to imprison, punish, and correct any and all such as he shall finde disobedient to him in the like causes, euen in such order as I myselfe might doe by vertue of her Maiesties Commission giuen me the 26 of Nouember 1582, the copie whereof I haue annexed to this present vnder her Maiesties Seale deliuered me to that vse. Straightly charging and commanding all her Maiesties subiects in those parts, as they will auoid her Highnesse displeasure and

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their owne harmes, to honour his authoritie, and haue due respect vnto the same, aiding and assisting him there with their persons and goods in any cause requisit to her Maiesties good seruice, and commoditie of her dominions. In witnesse whereof I haue confirmed and sealed these presents at Rapamat my mansion house by Pera ouer against Constantinople, the 20 of Iune 1583.

A letter of directions of the English Ambassadour to M. Richard Forster, appointed the first English Consull at Tripolis in Syria.

COusin Forster, these few words are for your remembrance when it shall please the Almighty to send you safe arriuall in Tripolis of Syria. When it shall please God to send you thither, you are to certifie our Nation at Tripolis of the certaine day of your landing, to the end they both may haue their house in a readinesse, and also meet you personally at your entrance to accompany you, being your selfe apparelled in the best maner. The next, second, or third day, after your comming, giue it out that you be crazed and not well disposed, by meanes of your trauell at Sea, during which time, you and those there are most wisely to determine in what maner you are to present your selfe to the Beglerbi, Cadi, and other officers: who euery of them are to be presented according to the order accustomed of others formerly in like office: which after the note of Iohn Blanke, late Vice-consull of Tripolis for the French, deliuered you heerewith, is very much: and therefore, if thereof you can saue any thing, I pray you doe it, as I doubt not but you will. They are to giue you there also another Ianizarie according as the French hath; whose outward proceedings you are to imitate and follow, in such sort as you be not his inferiour, according as those of our Nation heeretofore with him resident can informe you. Touching your demeanour after your placing, you are wisely to proceede considering both French and Venetian will haue an enuious eye on you: whome if they perceiue wise and well aduised, they will feare to offer you any iniurie. But if they shall perceiue any insufficiencie in you, they will not omitte any occasion to harme you. They are subtile, malicious, and dissembling people, wherefore you must alwayes haue their doings for suspected, and warily walke in all your actions: wherein if you call for Gods diuine assistance, as doth become euery faithfull good Christian, the same shall in such sort direct you as he shall be glorified, your selfe preserued, your doings blessed, and your enemies confounded. Which if contrarywise you omit and forget, your enemies malice shalbe satisfied with your confusion, which God defend, and for his mercies sake keepe you. Touching any outlopers of our nation, which may happen to come thither to traffike, you are not to suffer, but to imprison the chiefe officers, and suffer the rest not to traffike at any time, and together enter in such bonds as you thinke meete, that both they shall not deale in the Grand Signiors dominions, and also not harme, during their voyage, any his subiects shippes, vessels, or whatsoeuer other, but quietly depart out of the same country without any harme doing. And touching those there for the company, you are to defend them according to your priuiledge & such commandements as you haue had hence, in the best order you may. In all and euery your actions, at any hand, beware of rashnesse and anger, after both which repentance followeth. Touching your dealings in their affaires of marchandise, you are not to deale otherwise then in secret and counsell. You are carefully to foresee the charge of the house, that the same may be in all honest measure to the companies profit and your owne health through moderation in diet, and at the best hand, and in due time to prouide things needfull, to saue what may be: for he that buyeth euery thing when he needeth it, harmeth his owne house, and helpeth the retailer. So as it is, in mine opinion, wisdome to foresee the buying of all things in their natiue soile, in due time, and at the first hand euery yeere, as you are to send the company the particular accounts of the same expenses. Touching your selfe, you are to cause to be employed fifty or threescore ducats, videlicet, twenty in Sope, and the rest in Spices, whereof the most part to be Pepper, whereof we spend very much. The Spices are to be prouided by our friend William Barrat, and the Sope buy you at your first arriuall, for that this shippe lading the same commodity will cause it to amount in price. From our mansion Rapamat, the fift of September 1583.

A letter

A letter to the right honourable William Hareborne her Maiesties Ambassadour with the Grand Signior from Alger.

RIght honorable, we haue receiued your honors letters dated in Constantinople the 5. of Nouember, and accordingly deliuered that inclosed to the king of this place, requiring of him, according as you did command vs in her Maiesties name, that he would vouchsafe to giue order to all his Captaines & Raies that none of them should meddle with our English shippes comming or going to or from these parts, for that they haue order not to passe by the Christian coast, but vpon the coast of Barbary, and shewing him of the charter giuen by the Grand Signior, requiring him in like case that for the better fulfilling of the amity, friendship and holy league betweene the Grand Signior and her Maiesty, he would giue vs fiue or six safeconducts for our ships, that meeting with any of his gallies or galliots, they might not meddle with them neither shoot at them: who made me answere he would neither giue me any safeconduct nor commission to his men of war not to meddle with them, for that he trusted to take some of them this yere, and made good account thereof. In like maner I spake to the chiefe of the Ianisers and the Leuents, who made me answere, the best hope they had this yere was to take some of them, and although they haue the Grand Signiors commandement we care not therefore: for we will by policy, or one meanes or other prouoke them to shoot some ordinance, which if they do but one piece, the peace is broken, and they be good prizes. And some of them say further, we care not for their safeconduct, for if they shew it vs, we will conuey it away, we are sure the dogs cannot be beleeued against vs. The premisses considered, your honour is with all speed to procure the Grand Signior his fauorable letters directed to Hazan, the Cady, Captaines, Ianisers, & Leuents, & another like to Romadan Bassa, king of Tripolis, cõmanding them in no maner whatsoeuer to deale with our English ships bound into those parts or returning thence with their commodities, although they should shoot one at another: for when our ships shall meet them, for that, as your honor is aduertised, the gallies of Carthagena, Florence, Sicilia and Malta haue made a league to take all our ships comming in or going out of the Grand Signiors dominions, therefore if they meet with any of these gallies of Alger or Tripolis, thinking they be of them, and not knowing them a far off, they may shoot at them, which if therefore they should make them prizes, were against Gods lawes, the Grand Signior his league, all reason and conscience, considering that all the world doth know that Marchants ships laden with marchandise do not seeke to fight with men of warre, but contrariwise to defend themselues from them, when they would do them harme. Wherefore if your honour do not get out two letters of the Grand Signior as aforesayd, & send them hither with all speed by some one of your gentlemen accompanied with a chaus of the Court, or some other of the Grand Signiors seruants, it is impossible that our English ships can escape freely from these or the Christians: for either they must of force go on the Christian coast, and so fall into their hands, or els on this coast, and fall into the kings of this towne, or Tripolis, their hands, which if they should, will neuer be recouered. And if your honor cannot obtaine this thing, I beseech your honour in the behalfe of all the English marchants (who sent me hither to follow such order as your honour should giue me) to certifie her Maiesty, to the end that they may be commanded to leaue off traffique, and not to lose their goods, and her poore subiects the Mariners. And thus humbly taking my leaue, I desist from troubling your honor. From Algier the tenth of February 1583.

A letter of M. Harborne to Mustapha, challenging him for his dishonest dealing in translating of three of the Grand Signior his commandements.

DOmine Mustapha, nescimus quid sibi velit, cum nobis mandata ad finem vtilem concessa perperàm reddas, quæ male scripta, plus damni, quàm vtilitatis adferant: quemadmodum constat ex tribus receptis mandatis, in quibus summum aut principale deest aut aufertur. In posterum noli ita nobiscum agere. Ita enim ludibrio erimus omnibus in nostrum & tuum dedecus. Cum nos multarum actionum spem Turcicè scriptarum in tua prudentia reponimus, ita prouidere debes, vt non eueniant huiusmodi mala. Quocirca deinceps cum mandatum

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aut scriptum aliquod accipias, verbum ad verbum conuertatur in Latinum sermonem, ne damnum insequatur. Nosti multos habere nos inimicos conatibus nostris inuidentes, quorum malitiæ vestræ est prudentiæ aduersari. Hi nostri, Secretarius & minimus interpres ex nostra parte dicent in tribus illis receptis mandatis errata. Vt deinceps similes errores non eueniant precamur. Ista emendes, & cætera Serenissimæ regiæ Maiestatis negocia, vti decet vestræ conditionis hominem, meliùs cures. Nam vnicuique suo officio strenuè est laborandum vt debito tramite omnia succedant: quod spero te facturum. Bene vale.

The Pasport in Italian granted to Thomas Shingleton Englishman, by the king of Algier. 1583.

NOi Assan Basha Vicere & lochotenente e capitan della iurisditione de Algier doniamo e concediamo libero saluo condutto a Thomas Shingleton mercadante, che possi con suo vassello e marinare de che natione se siano, e mercadantia di qual si voglia natione, andare & venire, e negotiari, e contrattare liberamente in questa citta de Algier & altri lochi de la nostra iurisditione cosi di ponente comi di Leuante: & cosi anchora commandiamo al capitan di maare di Algier & d'altri lochi de nostra iurisditione, Rais de Vasselli & Capitani de Leuante, & altri capitani di vasselli tanto grossi como picholi, si commanda a qual si voglia, che trouando il sopradetto Thomas Shingleton Inglese nelli mari di Genua, Francia, Napoli, Calabria, e Sardigna con suo vassello e mercantia, & homini de che nationi si siano, non gli debba molestare, ne piggliare, ne toccare cosa de nessuna manera tanto di denare, como di qual si voglia altra robba, sotto la pena e disgratia di perdir la vita & la robba: Et per quanto hauete a caro la gratia del Gran Signor nostro patrone Soltan Murates Ottomano, lo lasciarete andare per suo camino senza dargli nessuno impedimento. Dato in Algieri in nostro reggio Palazzo, sigillato del nostro reggio sigillo, e fermato della gran ferma, & scritto del nostro reggio Secretario, il di 23 de lenaro, 1583.

The same in English.

WE Assan Bassha Viceroy and lieutenant, and captaine of the iurisdiction of Algier, giue and grant free safeconduct to Thomas Shingleton marchant, that with his ship and mariners, of what nation soeuer they be, & with his marchandize of what countrey soeuer, he may go and come, and trade & traffique freely in this city of Algier, and other places of our iurisdiction, as well of the West as of the East. And in like sort we further command the captaine of the sea of Algier, and other places of our iurisdiction, the Reiz of vessels & captaines of the Leuant, & other captaines of vessels aswell great as small, whosoeuer they be, we do command them, that finding the foresayd Thomas Shingleton Englishman in the seas of Genua, France, Naples, Calabria, and Sardinia, with his ship and merchandize, and men of what nation soeuer they be, that they molest thē not, neither take nor touch any kind of thing of theirs, neither money nor any other kind of goods, vnder paine and peril of loosing of their liues and goods: and as you make account of the fauour of the Grand Signor our lord Sultan Murates Hottoman, so see you let him passe on his way without any maner of impediment. Dated at Alger in our kingly palace, signed with our princely Signet, and sealed with our great seale, and written by our Secretarie of estate, the 23. of Ianuarie, 1583.

A letter written in Spanish by Sir Edward Osborne, to the king of Alger, the 20. of July, 1584. in the behalfe of certeine English captiues there detained.

MVy àlto y poderoso Rey,

Sea seruida vostra alteza. Como la muy alta y potentissima magestad del Gran Sennor tiene hecho articulos de priuilegios con la Serenissima Magestad de nuestra Reyna d'Inglatierra, para los vassalos della poder libremente yr y boluer, y tratar por mar y tierra en los dominios de su potentissima Magestad, Como a la clara paresce por los dichos articulos, de che embiamos el tractado al Senor Iuan Tipton nuestro commissario, para le muestrar a vostra Alteza. Contra el tenor de los quales articulos por dos galeras de su ciudad de Alger ha sido hechado al fondo

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en la mar vn des nuestros naulos que venia de Patras, que es en la Morea, cargado de corintes y otras mercaderias, que allá se compraron, y las mas de la gente del la matados y ahogados en la mar, y el resto est an detenidos por esclauos: cosa muy contraria a los dichos articu-los y priuilegios. Que es occasion, que por esto supplicamos a vostra Alteza muy humilmente, que, pues que la potentissima magestad del grand Sennor es seruida nos fauorescer por los dichos articulos, tambien sea seruida vostra Alteza assistirnos en ellos, otorgandonos por vostra autoridad su auida y fauor, segun que esperamos, para que puedan estar libres, y boluer para aca aquellos pobres hombres ansi hechos esclauos, como dicho es. Y ansi mismo, que mande vostra Alteza dar orden a los capitanes, maestres y gente de las galeras, que nos dexen de aqui adelante hazer nuestro trafico con seys naos cada anno para Turquia a los dominios del Gran Sennor a paz y a saluo, por no cõtrariar a los dichos nuestros priuilegios, Lleuando cada vna de nuestras dichas naos por se conoscer vn saluo conducto de su alta & potentissima magestad. Y con esta vostra tan senallada merced y fauor que en esso recibiremos, quedaremos nosotros con grandissima obligation a vostra Alteza de seruir la por ello, segun que el dicho Sennor Iuan Tipton, a quien nos reportamos de todo lo demas, mejor informera vostra Alteza: Cuya serenissima persona y estado supplicamos y pidimos a Dios omnipotente prospere y accrescente con toda felicitad y honra. De la ciuidad de Londres a los veynte dias de Iulio del mil y quinientos y ochenta y quatro annos.

Al seruitio de vuestra Alteza por y en nombre de todos los tratantes en Turquia, lo el Mayor de Londres,
Edward Osborne.

The same in English.

Right high and mightie king,

May it please your highnesse to vnderstand, that the most high and most mightie maiestie of the Grand Signor hath confirmed certaine articles of priuileges with the most excellent maiestie of our Queene of England, that her subiects may freely go and come, and traffique by sea and land in the dominions of his most mighty maiesty, as appeareth more at large by ỹ said articles, whereof we haue sent the copy vnto M. Ioh. Tipton our Commissarie, to shew the same vnto your highnes. Against the tenor of which articles, one of our ships which came from Patras which is in Morea, laden with corants and other merchandizes which were bought in those parts, was sunke by 2. gallies of your citie of Alger, and the greatest number of the men thereof were slain and drowned in the sea, the residue being detained as slaues: An acte very contrary to the meaning of the aforesaid articles and priuileges: which is the occasiõ that by these presents we beseech your highnesse very humbly that since it hath pleased the most mightie maiestie of the Grand Signor to fauour vs with the sayd priuileges, it would please your Highnesse in like maner to assist vs in the same, graunting vs by your authoritie, your ayde and fauour, according as our hope is that these poore men so detained in captiuitie, as is aforesaid, may be set at libertie, & returne into their countrey. And likewise that your highnesse would send to giue order to the captaines, masters and people of your gallies, that from henceforth they would suffer vs to vse our traffique with sixe ships yerely into Turkie vnto the dominions of the Grand Signor in peace and safetie, that they do not withstand those our said priuileges, euery one of our foresaid ships carying with them a passeport of his most high and most mightie maiestie to be knowen by. And for that your so singular fauour and curtesie which in so doing we shall receiue, we on our part with all bounden duetie vnto your highnesse, will seeke to honour you in that behalfe, according as the sayd Master Iohn Tipton (to whom wee referre our selues touching all other circumstances) shall more at large enforme your highnesse, whose most excellent person and estate, we pray and beseech Almighty God to prosper and increase with all felicitie and honour. From the Citie of London, the 20. of Iuly, 1584.

An English ship sunke by two gallies of Alger.

At the seruice of your highnesse, for and in the name of our whole company trading into Turkie, the Maior of London, Edward Osburne.

Notes

Notes concerning the trade of Alger.

THe money that is coined in Alger is a piece of gold called Asiano, & Doublaes, and two Doublaes make an Asiano, but the Doubla is most vsed, for all things be sold by Doublaes, which Doubla is fiftie of their Aspers there. The money of Alger.

The Asper there is not so good by halfe & more, as that in Constantinople; for the Chekin of gold of the Turkes made at Constantinople is at Alger worth an 150 Aspers, and at Constantinople it is but 66. Aspers.

The pistolet and roials of plate are most currant there.

The said pistolet goeth for 130. Aspers there: & the piece of 4. roials goeth for 40 Aspers, but oftentimes is sold for more, as men need them to carie vp into Turkie.

Their Asianos and Doublaes are pieces of course gold, worth here but 40. s. the ounce, so the same is currant in no place of Turkie out of the kingdom of Alger, neither the Aspers, for that they be lesse then others be, for they coine them in Alger.

The custome to the king is inward 10. per centum, to the Turke, to be paid of the commoditie it selfe, or as it shall be rated. The custome.

There is another custome to the Ermine, of one & an halfe per centum, which is to the Iustice of the Christians: the goods for this custome are rated as they are for the kings custome.

Hauing paid custome inwards, you pay none outwards for any commoditie that you doe lade, more then a reward to the gate keepers.

The waight there is called a Cantare for fine wares, as mettals refined, and spices &c. which is here 120. li. subtil. The weights.

Mettall not refined, as lead, iron, and such grosse wares, are sold by a great Cantare, which is halfe as big againe: so it is 180. li. subtil of ours here.

The measure of corne is by a measure called a Curtia, which is about 4. bushels of our measure, and corne is plentiful there and good cheape, except when there hapneth a very dry yeere. The measure.

The surest lodging for a Christian there is in a Iewes house: for if he haue any hurt, the Iew and his goods shall make it good, so the Iew taketh great care of the Christian and his goods that lieth in his house, for feare of punishment. The surest lodging for a christen.

An Englishman called Thomas Williams, which is M. Iohn Tiptons man, lieth about trade of merchandize in the streete called The Soca of the Iewes.

Notes concerning the trade in Alexandria.

ALexandria in Egypt is a free port, and when a man commeth within the castles, presently the Ermyn sends aboord to haue one come and speake with him to know what goods are aboord: and then hee will set guards aboord the ship to see all the goods discharged. And then from the Ermin you goe to the *Bye, onely for that he will inquire newes of you, and so from thence to the Consuls house where you lie. The Venetians haue a Consul themselues. But all other nations goe to the French nations Consul, who will giue you a chamber for your selues apart, if you will so haue it. *This is another officer.

The customs inward of all commodities are ten in the hundred, & the custome is paid in wares also that you buy: for the same wares in barter you pay also ten in the hundred, at the lading of the wares. But if you sell for mony, you pay no more custome but the ten aforesaid, and one and a half in the hundred, which is for the custome of the goods you lade for the sayd mony, for more custome you pay not. But for all the money you bring thither you pay nothing for the custome of the same. And if you sell your wares for mony, and with the same money buy wares, you pay but two in the hundred for the custome thereof. And if you steale any custome, if it be taken, you pay double custome for that you steale. Other usual customs you pay besides, which may be at two in the hundred: and for Consulage you pay two in the hundred.

The weight of Alexandria is called Pois Forforeine, which is a hintal in that place, which maketh an Marseils 109. li. of Marseils waight, at 15 ounces the pound, which is 103. li. of 16. ounces to the li. There is another waight called Pois Gerrin, which is 150. li.

of Marseils waight, by which are sold all things to eate: but spice is sold by the former waight.

Cairo three daies iourney from Alexandria by land.

From Alexandria to Cairo is three daies iourney, but you must take a lanissarie with you: & to go vp thither by water it is 8. dayes iourney. Roials of Spaine are currant mony there, and are the best money you can cary. And 4. roials are worth 13. Medins, and 2. Medins, are 3. Aspers. Pistolets and crownes of France and Dollers will goe, but of all Roials are best.

Rice is not permitted to goe out of the land, but is kept for a victuall. But with a present to the Bye and Ermine some may passe.

All sortes of spices be garbled after the bargaine is made, and they be Moores which you deale withall, which be good people and not ill disposed. And after you be searched & haue leaue to passe, you must presently depart out of the port, and if you doe not, they will search you againe. And you must depart in the day, for in the night the castles will not suffer you to depart. The duetie to the Consul is 2. in the hundred, for his aide, and meate, and drinke and all. And the port of Alexandria is good when one is within it with good ankers and cables. Siluer is better currant then gold in Alexandria, but both are good.

Commonly the Carauans come thither in October from Mecca to Cairo, and from thence to Alexandria, where the merchants be that buy the spices, and therefore the spices are brought most to Alexandria, where each Christian nation remaineth at the Consuls houses. Yet oftentimes the christians go vp to Cairo to buy drugs & other commodities there, as they see cause. And the commodities there vendible are all sorts of kersies, but the most part blewes, and of clothes all colours except mingled colours and blacks. Pepper is vsually sold for 24. ducats the quintal, Ginger for 14. ducats. You must take canuas to make bags to put your commoditie in from Alexandria, for there is none. There is also fine flaxe, and good store of Buffe hides.

A letter of the English ambassador to M. Edward Barton.

Master Barton I send you 3. commandements in Turkish, with a copy thereof in English, to the ende our ships might not come in danger of breach of league, if they should shoote at the gallies of those of Algier, Tunis, and Tripolis in the West: which after you haue shewed the Bassas, receiue againe into your hands, and see them registred, and then deliuer one of them to our friend M. Tipton, & the like you are to do with the priuilege which you cary with you, and see them iointly registred in the Cadies booke, deliuering the copy of the said priuilege sealed by the Cadi, also to the sayd our friend M. Tipton, taking a note of his hand for the receipt thereof, and for deliuerie at all times to vs or our assighes. And require them in her maiesties and the grand Signors name, that they will haue our ships passing too and fro vnder licence and safeconduct for recommended in friendly maner. Touching your proceedings in Tripolis with Romadan, as I haue not receiued any aduise thereof, since your departure, so must I leaue you to God and my former directiō. The ship patronised of Hassan Rayes, which you wrote to be ours, procued to be a Catalonian. As for ours, by report of that Hassan and other Iewes in his ship, it was affirmed to be sold to the Malteses, which with the rest you are to receiue there. And hauing ended these affaires and registred our priuilege, and these three commandements, in Tripolis, Tunis, and Alger, I pray you make speedy returne, and for that which may be recouered, make ouer the same either to Richard Rowed for Patrasso in Morea, or otherwise hither to Iohn Baie in the surest maner you may, if the registring of that your priuilege and these commandements will not suffer you in person to returne with the same. From my Mansion Rapamat in Pera this 24. of Iune 1584.

The

The commaundement obtained of the Grand Signior by her Maiesties ambassador M. Will. Hareborne, for the quiet passing of her subiects to and frō his dominions, sent in An. 1584. to the Viceroyes of Algier, Tunis, & Tripolis in Barbary.

To our Beglerbeg of Algier.

WE certifie thee by this our commandement, that the right honorable Will. Hareborne ambassador to the Queenes maiestie of England hath signified vnto vs, that the ships of that countrey in their comming and returning to and from our Empire, on the one part of the Seas haue the Spaniards, Florentines, Sicilians and Malteses, on the other part our countreis committed to your charge: which abouesaid Christians will not quietly suffer their egresse and regresse, into, and out of our dominions, but doe take and make the men captiues, and forfeit the shippes and goods, as the last yeere the Malteses did one, which they tooke at Gerbi, and to that end do continually lie in wait for them to their destruction, whereupon they are constrained to stand to their defence at any such time as they might meet with them. Wherefore considering by this means they must stand vpon their guard, when they shall see any gallie afarre off, whereby if meeting with any of your gallies and not knowing them, in their defence they do shoot at them, and yet after when they doe certainly know them, do not shoote any more, but require to passe peaceably on their voiage, which you would deny, saying, the peace is brokē because you haue shot at vs, and so make prize of them contrary to our priuileges, and against reason: for the preuenting of which inconuenience the said ambassadour hath required this our commaundement. We therefore command thee, that vpon sight hereof thou doe not permit any such matter in any sort whatsoeuer, but suffer the sayd Englishmen to passe in peace according to the tenour of our commandement giuen, without any disturbance or let by any meanes vpon the way, although that meeting with thy gallies, and not knowing them afarre off, they taking them for enemies should shoote at them, yet shall you not suffer them to hurt them therefore, but quietly to passe. Wherefore looke thou that they may haue right, according to our priuilege giuen them, & finding any that absenteth himself, & wil not obey this our commandement, presently certify vs to our porch, that we may giue order for his punishment, and with reuerence giue faithfull credite to this our commandement, which hauing read, thou shalt againe returne it vnto them that present it. From our palace in Constantinople, the 1. of Iune 1584.

A letter of the honorable M. Wil. Hareborne her maiesties ambass. with the grand Signior to M. Tipton, appointing him Consul of the English in Algier, Tunis, & Tripolis of Barbarie.

MAster Tipton, I haue receiued among others, yours of the 10. of Nouember 1584. by Soliman Sorda, certifying the receipt of mine of the 24. of Iune 1584. with the 3. commandements, which not being registred, let it now be done. Where you write the force of the priuilege to be broken by our ships in shooting, & therefore be lawfully taken, you are deceiued, for of those taken in thē, hath the grand Signior now deliuered vs free, Wil. Moore, and Rob. Rawlings, & further promised the rest in like case, wheresoeuer they be, & that hereafter no violence shalbe shewed, considering ours be merchāts ships which go peaceably in their voiage, & were ignorant of the orders of Algier, neither knew afar off, whether they were friends or the Christians gallies in league against vs, of whom they most doubted, who not suffring our ships to come into these parts, wil make prize of the goods & captiue the mē, so as they are not to let them come nigh them: & since ours haue not done contrary to the articles of the same priuilege, wherein is no order for Algier prescribed vs, as both by the originall now sent vs, & also by the copy now sent you frō London you may perceiue, they according to right are as abouesaid to be set free, and their goods restored, which if it be not there accomplished as the grand Signior hath now cōmanded & most faithfully promised, neither yet in case of their denial, those offenders punished here,

and our iniuries redressed, we are to demand our Congie, & command our merchants her maiesties subiects, to end their traffike here, which in our countrey commodities is prouued & found by the grand Signior to be so beneficial to his countries as we are assured so well thereof, as also for the honor which his ancestors neuer had of friēdship ẅ so mighty a prince as is her maiesty, he wil not but maintaine ẏ faith promised her, & the intercourse in due force. And where you say ẏ the grand Signor his letters, in the behalf of the French, were no more accepted there, then of a mean mā, nor tooke no place, that is not material to vs, our letters are after another sort much more effectuall. For our case & theirs be found far different, in ẏ they be not onely now out of fauour with him, but also the commodities which they bring hither, as suger, paper, bracelets, ropes of bast, almonds, &c. all which may be here wel spared, & we contrarily so wel esteemed, as he neuer denied vs any thing since our comming demanded, which neither their ambassador, nor the Venetian could haue here, & therefore we rest perswaded, knowing the wisdom of the Beglerbeg, who is aduised by his frieds from hence, of this our credite ẅ his master, he wil so respect his cōmandements, as to accōplish ẏ tenor thereof according to our desire. And where you say ẏ the Ianizers rule all there, I know right wel ẏ if things be not done as the grand Signior commandeth, his lieutenant must answer it. And therefore I am fully perswaded if he doe what he may they dare not resist him, for if they should, those rebels should not be vnpunished of ẏ grand Signior. And though they speake their pleasures amōg themselues there, yet they be not so brutish, but they wel consider that their master ẏ grand Signior may not be gainsaid or mocked of any. For vpon his word dependeth the life or death euē of the chiefest, as I haue seene since my comming hither. So whatsoeuer these Ianizaries say, they will be better aduised in their deedes then to withstand their Viceroy, if he himselfe wil vse his lawfull power, which if hee doe not, hee cannot purge himselfe here of their euill proceedings against the grand Signiors friends: for the feet may not rule the bodie, but contrarywise, the head, the feete, and all the rest of the members. And for that neither for feare, affection or otherwise you omit as a faithfull true subiect to her maiestie to do your dutie, I do by my warrant going herewith charge you, & in her maiesties name, to the vttermost to vse your good and faithful endeuour, as becommeth a true subiect, & in all things that may concerne her maiesties good seruice, assisting the Chaus with the rest of our messengers in counsel, trauel, & what els shall be thought reqnisite for your good discharge of your duetie. And to ẏ end you may boldly proceed herein as also for the good opinion sir Edward Osborne & the company haue of you, and I no lesse perswaded of youre wisedom, vpright dealing, & good experience in those parts, do send you herewith the grand Signiors & our patents for exercising the office of Consul there, in Tripolis & Tunis: by vertue of which authoritie you may without feare proceed as the office doeth chalenge in defence of our priuiledge, to redresse all iniuries offred our nation. Which if you cannot get reformed there of ẏ Beglerbies vpon your complaint, I thereof aduertised, shal doe it here, and to the vttermost maintaine you in al rightful causes whatsoeuer, doubt you not. And hereafter according to your aduise, I wil and do giue our ships order not to fight with any gallies of Alger, but to hoise out their skiffe and go aboord to shew them their safeconduct, & to present the captain with a garment, & you there in such like case are to take order that they do not forceably take any thing from them. Nothing doubting but the Viceroy (whose friendship in her maiesties behalfe I desire) will not onely performe the same your iust request, & according to right, restore to libertie our mē since the priuilege taken, but also cause those ẏ tooke & sunke our ships to answere the value, which I haue set downe truly, and rather with the least in the Inuentorie translated into Turkish, whereof the inclosed is the copy in English, which I send to the end you may be the better informed of my demand by this our Chaus Mahomet, with whom in all things you are to conferre of matters expedient, for the honor of her maiesties country, & the commoditie, and libertie of poore captiues, which if the Viceroy do wel consider, according to his wisedom, as the grand Signior doeth thereof, he shal wel perceiue it not onely a great honour to his master as aforesaid, to continue this amitie with her maiestie, but chiefly to the whole estate of his kingdom exceeding profitable,

The Inuentorie of our ships and goods sunke and taken by the gallies of Alger.

which

which by this means shall be abundantly serued with the chiefest commodities they want, with many other things of more importance to the grand Signior his contentation, not herein to be mentioned. For I know the Viceroies experienced wisdom can wel consider thereof, in such sort as he wil not deny to accõplish his masters commandement, & our earnest request in so small a matter as this we require, whereof I expect no refusall: for thereby he shall increase his honor with the grand Signior, be in credite with her maiestie, be void of trouble which hereafter by future suite against him may happen, and his gallies free of such doubtful issue as doeth chance, fighting with our ships. Which, as it is well knowen to all the world, haue so great hearts as neuer cowardly to yeeld to their enemies. And that therefore in that respect (after the prouerbe, like esteeme of their like) they are the more of such a valiant prince as is their Viceroy and his couragious souldiers to be in all friendship cherished and better esteemed. If the captaine Bassa had bene returned from Capha, I would in like maner haue procured his letters, which for that he is not, I doubt nothing but that the grand Signiors will suffise. Thus commending your selfe and these proceedings to the almighty his merciful direction, I bid you most heartily wel to fare. From my mansion Bapamat nigh Pera, this 30. of March, 1585.

Series vel registrum valoris nauium, bonorum, & hominum per triremes Argerienses ereptorum, vna cum captiuorum hominum nominibus, Beglerbego Argeriensi Hassano.

1 Salomon de Plimmouth habuit 36. homines, onerata cum sale, onere trecentorum doliorum, valore Florenorum 5600.

2 Elizabetha de Garnesey cum decem hominibus Anglis, reliquis Britonibus, valore Florenorum 2000.

3 Maria Martin de London onere centum & triginta doliorum, rectore Thoma More cum triginta quinque hominibus, reuertens de Patrasso cum mandato Cæsareo, valore Florenorum 1400.

4 Elizabeth Stokes de London, rectore Dauid Fillie de London, Patrassum veniens cum mãdato Cæsareo: huius præcipuus valor erat in talleris numeratis, quos habuit Richardus Gibben, qui adduxit etiam Serenissimæ Reginæ maiestatis literas Cæsari & oratori. Valor reliquus in mercibus vna cum superiori in talleris effecit Florenorum 21500.

5 Nicolaus de London, rectore Thoma Forster, onerata cum vuis siccis, valore Florenorum 4800.

In tempore Romadan Beglerbegi Argiræ spoliatæ & ereptæ naues, merces, & homines.

1 IVdith de London, rectore Iacobo Beare, cum hominibus 24. valore Florenorum 3100.

2 Iesus de London, rectore Andræa Dier, cum 21. hominibus. Valorem huius & 14. homines, reliquis mortuis, reddidit Romadan Bassa Tripolitanus Secretario legati, Edwardo Barten, valore Florenorum 9000.

Nomina hominum mancipatorum & viuentium tunc temporis, quando Cæsar illustrissimus, & dominus Orator Chauseum Mahumetem miserunt Algiram.

1 Ante fœdus initum in naue Peter de Bristow. — Iohn Winter. Robert Barton.

2 In naue Swallow de London. — Rich. Crawford. Anthony Eluers. Wil. Rainolds.

Post fœdus initum in naue Britona. — Iames Yoong. Thomas Lisney.

1 In naue Rabnet de Hampton. — Iohn Tracie.

2 In naue Salomon. — Wil. Griffith. Wil. Cocke.

1 In

1 In naue Elizabeth. John Woodward, Giles Naper, Leonard Iames, Oliuer Dallimore, and Richard Maunsell.

2 In naue Maria Martin. Thomas Moore, Wil. White, Wil. Palmer, Nich. Long, Peter March, Rich. Haslewood, Wil. Dewly, Wil. Cowel, Iohn Franke, Henry Parker, Iohn Cauendish, Moises Robinson, Iames Sotherich, Henry Howel, Nich. Smith, Henry Ragster, Rich. Dauison, Rich. Palmer.

3 In naue Elizabeth Stokes. Dauid Fillie, Walter Street, Laurence Wilkins, Morgan Dauis, Iohn Quinte, Ambrose Harison, Iohn Peterson, Tristram Vois, Roger Ribbe.

4 In naue Nicholas, Thomas Forster rector nauis & eius nautæ.

To Assan Aga, Eunuch & Treasurer to Hassan Bassa king of Alger, which Assan Aga was the sonne of Fran. Rowlie of Bristow merchant, taken in the Swalow.

I Receiued your letters of Will. Hamor gentleman my seruant very thankfully, aswel for the feruent faith that by his report I heare you haue in our lord Iesus Christ, by whose onely merits and bloodshedding, you together with vs and all other good Christians so truly beleeuing, shalbe saued, as also for your faithfull obedience like a true subiect to her Maiestie, naturally louing your countrey & countreymen, declared in your fauourable furtherance of the said Wil. Hamore, procuring their redemption. Of which your good & vertuous actions, as I reioice to vnderstand, so wil I impart the same to your singuler cõmendation, both to our mistresse her Maiestie, & her most honorable counsellers the nobilitie of England, to whom assure your selfe the report shalbe very welcome. And now this second time I am inforced by duetie to God & her maiesty, as also by the smal regard your master had of the Grand Signors former commandements, to complaine vnto him, though not so vehemently as I had occasion by his most vnworthy answer. But I hope, & the rather by your means, he will not contrary this second commandement, threatning him, not obseruing the same, losse of office & life. The due execution whereof by your vertuous & careful industry procured, wil manifest to all the world, especially to her maiesty, & me her ambassador, your true christian mind & English heart, intentiuely bent to Gods honor, & the libertie of the poore men, for which I trust you be ordained another Ioseph, to follow his example in true pietie, in such sort that notwithstãding your body be subiect to Turkish thraldom, yet your vertuous mind free frõ those vices, next vnder God addict to ỹ good seruice of your liege Lady & soueraigne princes, her most excellent maiesty, wil continually seeke by all good means to manifest ỹ same in this & the like faithful seruice to your singuler cõmendation, wherby both my selfe & others in that place hauing found you in all good offices faithfully affectionated, may in like case performe the like towards you, when & where you may haue occasion to vse me: which as I for my part do assuredly promise, & wil no lesse faithfully performe: so accordingly I expect herein, and hereafter the like of you, whom most heartily saluted I commend to the diuine tuition and holy direction. From my house Rapamat, this 28. of Iune 1586.

Your louing and good friend her Maiesties Ambassador with the Grand Signor, Will. Hareborne.

A petition exhibited to the viceroy for reformation of sundry iniuries offered our nation in Morea, as also for sundry demaundes needefull for the establishing of the traffike in those parts.

1 First that our people may be freed of such wonted molestation, as the Ianisers of Patrasso haue alwayes from time to time offered them, not regarding the kings commandements to the contrary. That they be remoued and called away from thence, and none other remaine in their place.

2 That where heretofore the kings commandements haue beene graunted to ours, that no person whatsoeuer shall forceably take from them any of their commodities, otherwise then paying them before the deliuerie thereof, for the same in readie money, at such price as they themselues will, and sell ordinarily to others, as also that no officer whatsoeuer, of the kings

or

or any other, shall force them to buy any commodities of that countrey, otherwise then the needfull, at their owne will and pleasure, that the said commandements not heretofore obeyed may be renued with such straight charge for the execution of the same, as is requisite for their due effect.

3 That whereas sundry exactions and oppressions be offered ours by such Byes, Sanjacbies, iustices and Cadies, Ianizaries, Capagies, and others, officers of the kings comming downe into those parts, who finding there resident no other nation but only ours, will vnder the name of presents forceable take from them what they please: We do require to obuent these harmes, it may be specified by a commandement from the king to which of such his officers, presents may be giuen, and their sundry values, whereby both they and ours may rest contented, seuerely prohibiting in the said commandement, that they take no more then that appointed them, and that no other officers but those onely specified in that commandement, doe forcibly require of them any thing whatsoeuer.

4 That the Nadir and Customer of the port, hauing permitted our ship to lade, doe not after demand of the marchants any other then the outward custome due to the king for the same goods. And being so laden, may by them and the Cadie with other their inferiour officers be visited, requiring for the visiting no more then formerly they were accustomed to pay at their first comming. After which the said ship to depart at the Consuls pleasure, without any molestation of them, or any other officer whatsoeuer.

5 That Mahomet Chaus, sometime Nadir of Lepanto, and Azon Agon his substitute being with him may be seuerely punished to the example of others, for often and vniustly molesting our nation, contrarie to the kings commandement, which they disdainefully contemned, as also that the said Mahomet restore and pay vnto ours thirtie for 300 sackes of currants now taken forcibly out of a barke, comming thither from the hither partes of Morea, to pay the king his custome, and that from hence forth, neither the said Mahomet, Azon Agon, nor any other officer or person whatsoeuer doe hinder or trouble any of ours going thither or to any other place about their affaires.

6 That whereas certaine Iewes of Lepanto owing money to our marchants for commodities solde them, haue not hitherto satisfied them, notwithstanding ours had from the king a commandement for the recouery of the same debts, but fled and absented themselues out of the Towne at the comming of the same, another more forcible commaundement may be graunted ours, that for nonpaiment, whatsoeuer may be foūd of theirs in goods, houses, vineyards, or any other thing, may be sold, and ours satisfied of their said debt, according to equitie and reason.

A commandement to Patrasso in Morea.

WHen this commandement shall come vnto you, know you, that the Consull of the English Nation in our port of Patrasso, hath giuen vs to vnderstand, that formerly we granted him a commandement that hauing paied once custome for the currants bought to lade in their ships, they shall not pay it againe: according to which they bringing it to the port of Patrasso, informing thereof Mahomet the Nadir of Lepanto, he contrary to the tenor thereof and former order, doth againe take another custome of him, and requiring him to know why he so did contrary to our commandement, he answered vs, he tooke it not for custome, but for a present. Moreouer the sayd Consull certified vs how that the said Nadir contrary to ancient custome doth not take for the kings right as he ought currents, but will haue of the poore men money at his pleasure, and therewith buyeth currents at a very low price, which after he doth forcibly sell to vs at a much higher price, saying it is remainder of the goods of the king, and by this meanes doth hurt the poore men and do them wrong. Wherefore I command you by this my commandement, that you looke to this matter betweene this Consull, the Nadir, and this people, and do therein equally according to right. And see that our cōmandement in this matter be obserued in such sort, as they hauing once in the port paied full custome, do not pay it againe, neither that this Nadir do take any more money of them by the way of present, for that therein it is most certaine he doth them iniurie contrary to the

Canon.

Canon. And if with you shall be found to the value of one Asper taken heretofore wrongfully of them, see it presently restored to them, without any default. And from henceforth see that he doe neither him nor his people wrong, but that he deale with them in all things according to our Canon, that the Consull and his hereafter haue no occasion any more to complaine here in our Court, and that the Nadir proceed in gathering corants of the people after the old order and not otherwise. This know you for certaine, and giue credit to this my commaundement, which hauing read deliuer againe into the Consuls handes. From Constantinople the yeere of Mahomet 993.

A commandement for Chio.

VObis, Beg & Cadi & Ermini, qui estis in Chio, significamus: quòd serenissimæ Reginæ Maiestatis Angliæ orator, qui est in excelsa porta per literas significauit nobis, quod ex nauibus Anglicis vna nauis venisset ad portum Chio, & illinc Constantinopolim recto cursu voluisset venire, & contra priuilegium detinuistis, & non siuistis venire. Hæc prædictus orator significauit nobis: & petiuit a nobis in hoc negocio hoc mandatum, vt naues Anglicæ veniant & redeant in nostras ditiones Cæsareas. Priuilegium datum & concessum est ex parte Serenitatis Cæsareæ nostræ: & huius priuilegij copia data est sub insigni nostro: Et contra nostrum priuilegium Cæsareum quod ita agitur, quæ est causa? Quando cum hoc mandato nostro homines illorum ad vos venerint ex prædicta Anglia, si nauis venerit ad portum vestrum, & si res & merces ex naue exemerint, & vendiderint, & tricessimam secundam partem reddiderint, & res quæ manserint Constantinopolim auferre velint, patiantur: Et si aliquis contra priuilegium & articulos eius aliquid ageret, non sinatis, nec vos facite: & impediri non sinatis eos, vt rectà Constantinopolim venientes in suis negotiationibus sine molestia esse possint. Et quicunque contra hoc mandatum & priuilegium nostrum aliquid fecerit, nobis significate. Huic mandato nostro & insigni fidem adhibete. In principio mensis Decembris.

A commandement for Baliabadram.

SErenissimæ Reginæ Angliæ orator literis supplicatorijs in porta nostra fulgida significauit, quod Baliabadram venientes mercatores, naues & homines eorum, contra priuilegium impedirentur & molestarentur. Inter nos enim & Regnum cum fœdus sit, vt mercatores, homines & naues eorum contra priuilegium impediantur aut molestentur, nullo vnquam pacto concedimus. Mandamus igitur, vt literæ nostræ Cæsareæ, quàm primum tibi exhibitæ fuerint, has in persona propria cures, secundum quod conuenit, videasq; ex Anglia Baliabadram cum mercibus venientibus mercatoribus, & alias ob causas venientibus hominibus, in summa Angliensibus & nauibus eorum, & in nauibus existentibus mercibus & rebus contra fœdus & priuilegium, iniuria, vis aut damnum non inferatur: sed, vt conuenit, defendas, vt naues, mercatores, & homines, nostri velut proprij subditi, liberi ab omni vi & iniuria permaneant, & negotijs suis incumbant. Et quod illius loci Ianisseri illos impedirent, significatum est: vt illi illis nocumento sint nullo modo concedimus. Iuxta tenorem mandati huius illos commonefacias, vt nihil quicquam contra fœdus faciant, ita vt nunquam huiusmodi querela huc veniat, quia quicquid acciderit, a te expostulabimus. Negligentiam postponito, & insigni Cæsareo fidem adhibeto.

A commaundement for Egypt.

SCito quod orator Reginæ Angliæ in porta mea existens libellum supplicem ad portam nostram mittens significauit, quod cum ex Ægypto Consul eorum abesset, Consul illic Gallicus existens, Vento nuncupatus, quamuis ante hæc tempora ne manus in Anglos mitteret, mandatum nostrum fuerit datum, Angli sub vexillo & tutela nostra sunt inquiens, mandatum Cæsareum vili existimans, non cessauit perturbare Anglos. Quare scito quod Reginæ Angliæ priuilegium nostrum est datum. Iuxta illud priuilegium Anglis nulla ratione Consul Gallicus Consulatum agat, neue manus immittat, mandatum nostrum postulauit eius legatus. Quare mando, vt contra priuilegium nostrum Consul Gallicus Anglis iniuriam non inferat, neue Consulatum agat. Iudici Ægypti literæ nostræ sunt datæ: hanc ob causam mando tibi quoque,

que, vt iuxta illud mandatum nostrum, contra priuilegium nostrum Anglis Gallum Consulatum agere nunquam patiare. Sic scito, & insigni meo fidem adhibeto.

A commaundement of the Grand Signior to the Cadie or Iudge of Alexandria.

THe Embassadour for the Queenes most excellent Maiestie of England certified vs howe that at the death of one of their marchants in Alexandria called Edward Chamberlaine, the French Consul Vento sealing vp his fondego and chamber, tooke vnder his seale al his goods and marchandise into his power, and required our commandement that all the goods might be restored againe according to iustice vnto the Englishmen: wherefore we commaund you that hauing receiued this our commandement, you assemble those of the one part and of the other together, and if it be not passed fiue yeeres, if you haue not looked to it heretofore, now carefully looke to it, & if it be according to their Arz or certificate presented vnto vs, that the foresaid French Consull Vento hath wrongfully taken into his power the goods of the deceased English marchant vnder his seale, that then you cause him to restore all the said goods and marchandise sealed by him, and make good that which is thereof wanting vnto the English marchants: doe in this matter according to iustice, and credite this our seale.

A commandement to the Bassa of Alexandria.

THe Embassadour for the Queenes most excellent Maiesty of England by supplication certified vs, how that notwithstanding our priuilege granted them to make Consuls in al parts of our dominions to gouerne their nation according to their owne custome & law, to defend them against all wrongs and iniuries whatsoeuer: yet that the French Consull affirming to thee that art Bassá, that they were vnder his banner, and that he should gouerne them, and ouersee their businesse, and hauing got a new priuilege, mentioning therein the English men to be vnder his banner, did by all meanes molest & trouble them, insomuch that their Consull oppressed with many iniuries fled away, and that thou which art Beglerbie didst maintaine the French Consul herein: whereupon the Embassadour required our commandement, that they might haue iustice for these iniuries: wherefore we command thee that hauing receiued this our commandement, you examine diligently that his priuilege, and send the copie thereof hither, and if it be found that the French Consull Vento hath by subtiltie got the aforesaid priuilege written, that you then see him punished, and suffer not hereafter the French & Venetian Consuls to intermeddle with their businesse. Obey this our commaundement, and giue credite to the seale.

A commaundement to the Byes, and Cadies of Metelin and Rhodes, and to all the Cadies and Byes in the way to Constantinople.

TO the Saniakbies of Rhodes and Metelin, to the Saniacbies bordering on the sea-coast, and to the Cadies in Rhodes and Metelin, and to the Ermins in the other ports and coastes. This commaundement comming to you, know that the Embassadour of England required of vs our commaundement that their ships comming to Chio, & from thence to Constantinople, no man should hurt them or offer any violence, either in the way on the sea or on the land, or in the portes. I haue commaunded, that their ships comming to any of the said places or ports with marchandise, if they themselues will, they may sell their commodities, & as much, and as litle as they will, and if it be in a place where custome was not woont to be taken, hauing taken the custome due by the olde Canon you suffer them not to bee iniuried, either in the way, portes, or other places, but that they may come in quietnesse to Constantinople, and certifie vs of those that be disobedient to our commaundement, and giue credite to our seale. And hauing read this our commandement, giue it to them againe.

A commaundement for Aleppo.

WHen my letters shal come vnto you, know that the Queene of England her Embassador by supplication certified how that before this time we had giuen our cōmandement that the

summe of 70 ducats, & other marchandize belonging to one William Barret in Aleppo, now dead, saying he was a Venetian, should be ginen to the Venetians. And if they did find that he was not a Venetian, my will was that they should send all his goods and marchandize to our port into my treasurie. But because that man was an Englishman, the Embassadour required that the sayde goods might not be diminished, but that they might be restored to one of their Englishmen. This businesse was signified vnto vs in the nine hundred ninety & fourth yere of Mahomets and in the moneth of May the 10 day. This businesse pertaineth to the Englishmen, who haue in their handes our priuilege, according to which priuilege being in their hands let this matter be done. Against this priuilege do nothing, aske nothing of them, but restore to euery one his goods. And I command that when my cõmandement shall come vnto you, you doe according to it. And if it be according as the Ambassadour certified, and that they haue the priuilege, peruse the same, looke that nothing be committed against it and our league, and let none trouble them contrarie to it, restore them their goods according to iustice, and take heede diligently in this businesse: if another strange marchant be dead, and his goods and marchandize be taken, if he be neither Venetian, nor Englishman, let not his goods perish among you. Before this time one of our Chauses called Cerkes Mahomet chaus was sent with our commaundement to sende the money and marchandize of a dead marchant to our port, and hitherto no letters or newes is come of this matter, for which you shall be punished. Wherefore beware, and if he that is dead be neither Venetian nor Englishman in veritie, doe not loose the goods of the said dead marchant, vnder the name of a Venetian or Englishman, doe not to the discommoditie of my treasurie, for after it will be hard to recouer it.

The voyage made to Tripolis in Barbarie, in the yeere 1583. with a ship called the Iesus, wherein the aduentures and distresses of some Englishmen are truely reported, and other necessary circumstances obserued. Written by Thomas Sanders.

THis voyage was set foorth by the right worshipfull sir Edward Osborne knight, chiefe merchant of all the Turkish company, and one master Richard Staper, the ship being of the burden of one hundred tunnes, called the Iesus, she was builded at Farmne a riuer by Portsmouth. The owners were master Thomas Thomson, Nicholas Carnaby, and Iohn Gilman. The master was one Aches Hellier of Black-wall, and his Mate was one Richard Morris of that place: their Pilot was one Anthonie Ierado a Frenchman, of the prouince of Marseils: the purser was one William Thomson our owners sonne: the merchants factors were Romane Sonnings a Frenchman, and Richard Skegs seruant vnto the said master Staper. The owners were bound vnto the merchants by charter partie therevpon, in one thousand markes, that the said ship by Gods permission should goe for Tripolis in Barbarie, that is to say, first from Portsmouth to Newhauen in Normandie, from thence to S. Lucar, otherwise called Saint Lucas in Andeluzia, and from thence to Tripolie, which is in the East part of Africa, and so to returne vnto London. But here ought euery man to note and consider the workes of our God, that many times what man doth determine God doth disappoint. The said master hauing some occasion to goe to Farmne, tooke with him the Pilot and the Purser, and returning againe by meanes of a perrie of winde, the boat wherein they were, was drowned, with the said master, the purser, and all the company: onely the said Pilot by experience in swimming saued himselfe: these were the beginnings of our sorrowes. After which the said masters mate would not proceed in that voiage, and the owner hearing of this misfortune, and the vnwillingnesse of the masters mate, did send downe one Richard Deimond, and shipped him for master, who did chuse for his Mate one Andrew Dier, and so the said ship departed on her voiage accordingly: that is to say, about the 16 of October, in An. 1583. she made saile from Portsmouth, and the 18 day then next following she arriued at Newhauen, where our saide last master Deimond by a surfeit died. The factors then appointed the said Andrew Dier, being then masters mate, to be their master for that voiage, who did chuse to be his Mates the two quarter masters of the same ship, to wit, Peter Austine, and Shillabey, and for

Man doth purpose, and God doth dispose.

A new master chosen.

The new master died.

Purser

Purser was shipped one Richard Burges. Afterward about the 8 day of Nouember we made saile forthward, and by force of weather we were driuen backe againe into Portesmouth, where we renued our victuals and other necessaries, and then the winde came faire. About the 29 day then next following we departed thence, and the first day of December by meanes of a contrarie winde, wee were driuen to Plimmouth. The 18 day then next following, we made forthward againe, & by force of weather we were driuen to Falmouth, where we remained vntill the first day of Ianuary: at which time the winde comming faire, we departed thence, and about the 20 day of the said moneth we arriued safely at S. Lucar. And about the 9 day of March next following, we made saile from thence, and about the 18 day of the same moneth we came to Tripolis in Barbarie, where we were verie well intertained by the king of that countrey, and also of the commons. The commodities of that place are sweete oiles: the king there i- a merchant, and the rather (willing to preferre himselfe before his commons) requested our said factors to traffique with him, and promised them that if they would take his oiles at his owne price, they should pay no maner of custome, and they tooke of him certaine tunnes of oile: and afterwarde perceiuing that they might haue farre better cheape notwithstanding the custome free, they desired the king to licence them to take the oiles at the pleasure of his commons, for that his price did exceede theirs: whereunto the king would not agree, but was rather contented to abate his price, insomuch that the factors bought all their oyles of the king custome free, and so laded the same aboord.

The Iewis gouerned in Tripolis.

In the meane time there came to that place one Miles Dickenson in a ship of Bristow, who together with our said Factors tooke a house to themselues there. Our French Factor Romane Sonnings desired to buy a commodity in the market, and wanting money, desired the saide Miles Dickenson to lend him an hundred Chikinoes vntill he came to his lodging, which he did, and afterward the same Sonnings mette with Miles Dickenson in the streete, and deliuered him money bound vp in a napkin: saying, master Dickenson there is the money that I borrowed of you, and so thanked him for the same: hee doubted nothing lesse then falshoode, which is seldome knowne among marchants, and specially being together in one house, and is the more detestable betweene Christians, they being in Turkie among the heathen. The said Dickenson did not tell the money presently, vntill he came to his lodging, and then finding nine Chikinoes lacking of his hundred, which was about three pounds, for that euery Chikino is woorth seuen shillings of English money, he came to the sayde Romane Sonnings and deliuered him his handkerchiefe, and asked him howe many Chikinoes hee had deliuered him? Sonnings answered, an hundred: Dickenson said no: and so they protested and swore on both parts. But in the end the sayd Romane Sonnings did sweare deepely with detestable othes and curses, and prayed God that hee might shewe his workes on him, that other might take ensample thereby, and that he might be hanged like a dogge, and neuer come into England againe, if he did not deliuer vnto the sayde Dickenson an hundred Chikinoes. And here beholde a notable example of all blaspheamers, cursers and swearers, how God rewarded him accordingly: for many times it commeth to passe, that God sheweth his miracles vpon such monstrous blaspheamers, to the ensample of others, as nowe hereafter you shall heare what befell to this Romane Sonnings.

Another ship of Bristow came to Tripolis

There was a man in the said towne a pledge, whose name was Patrone Norado, who the yere before had done this Sonnings some pleasure there. The foresaid Patrone Norado was indebted vnto a Turke of that towne in the summe of foure hundred and fiftie crownes, for certain goods sent by him into Christendome in a ship of his owne, and by his owne brother, and himselfe remained in Tripolis as pledge vntill his said brothers returne: and, as the report went there, after his brothers arriuall into Christendome, he came among lewde companie, and lost his brothers said ship and goods at dice, and neuer returned vnto him againe.

The said Patrone Norado being voyde of all hope, and finding now opportunitie, consulted with the said Sonnings for to swimme a seaboorde the Islands, and the ship being then out of danger, should take him in (as after was confessed) and so to goe to Tolon in the prouince of Marseilis with this Patrone Norado, and there to take in his lading.

A conspiracie practised by the French Factor, to deceiue a Turkish merchant of 450 crowns.

The shippe being readie the first day of May, and hauing her sayles all aboorde, our sayde

Factors did take their leaue of the king, who very courteously bidde them farwell, and when they came aboorde, they commaunded the Master and the companie hastily to get out the ship: the Master answered that it was vnpossible, for that the winde was contrary and ouerblowed. And he required vs vpon forfeiture of our bandes, that we should doe our indeuour to get her foorth. Then went wee to warpe out the shippe, and presently the king sent a boate aboord of vs, with three men in her, commaunding the saide Sonnings to come a shoare: at whose comming, the king demaunded of him custome for the oyles: Sonnings answered him that his highnesse had promised to deliuer them custome free. But notwithstanding the king weighed not his said promise, and as an infidell that hath not the feare of God before his eyes, nor regarde of his worde, albeit hee was a king, hee caused the sayde Sonnings to pay the custome to the vttermost penie. And afterwarde willed him to make haste away, saying, that the Ianizaries would haue the oyle ashoare againe.

The beginning of their troubles, and occasion of all their miserie.

These Ianizaries are souldiers there vnder the great Turke, and their power is aboue the Kings. And so the saide Factor departed from the king, and came to the waterside, and called for a boate to come aboorde, and he brought with him the foresaid Patrone Norado. The companie inquisitiue to know what man that was, Sonnings answered, that he was his countreyman, a passenger: I pray God said the companie, that we come not into trouble by this man. Then said Sonnings angerly, what haue you to do with any matters of mine? if any thing chance otherwise then well, I must answere for all.

Nowe the Turke vnto whom this Patrone Norado was indebted, missing him (supposed him to be aboorde of our shippe) presently went vnto the King, and tolde him that hee thought that his pledge Patrone Norado was aboord of the English ship, whereupon the King presently sent a boat aboord of vs, with three men in her, commanding the said Sonnings to come a shoare, and not speaking any thing as touching the man, he saide that hee would come presently in his owne boate, but assoone as they were gone, he willed vs to warpe foorth the ship, and saide that he would see the knaues hanged before he would goe a shoare. And when the king sawe that he came not a shoare, but still continued warping away the shippe, he straight commaunded the gunner of the bulwarke next vnto vs, to shoote three shootes without ball. Then we came all to the said Sonnings, and asked of him what the matter was that we were shot at, he said that it was the Ianizaries who would haue the oyle a shoare againe, and willed vs to make haste away, and after that he had discharged three shots without ball, he commaunded all the gunners in the towne to doe their indeuour to sinke vs, but the Turkish gunners could not once strike vs, wherefore the king sent presently to the Banio: (this Banio is the prison whereas all the captiues lay at night) and promised if that there were any that could either sinke vs, or else cause vs to come in againe, he should haue a hundred crownes, and his libertie. With that came foorth a Spaniard called Sebastian, which had bene an old seruitour in Flanders, and he said, that vpon the performance of that promise, hee would vndertake either to sinke vs, or to cause vs to come in againe, and therto he would gage his life, and at the first shotte he split our rudders head in pieces, and the second shotte he strake vs vnder the water, and the third shotte he shotte vs through our foremast with a Colouring shot, and thus he hauing rent both our rudder and maste, and shot vs vnder water, we were inforced to goe in againe.

This Sebastian for all his diligence herein, had neither his liberty, nor an hundred crownes, so promised by the said king, but after his seruice done was committed againe to prison, whereby may appeare the regard that the Turke or infidell hath of his worde, although he be able to performe it, yea more, though he be a king.

Then our merchants seeing no remedie, they together with fiue of our companie went a shoare, and then they ceased shooting: they shot vnto vs in the whole, nine and thirtie shootes, without the hurt of any man.

And when our marchants came a shoare, the King commaunded presently that they with the rest of our companie that were with them, should be cheined foure & foure, to a hundred waight of yron, and when we came in with the ship, there came presently aboue an hundred Turks aboord of vs, and they searched vs, and stript our very clothes from our backes, & brake

open

open our chests, and made a spoyle of all that we had: and the Christian caitifes likewise, that came a boord of vs made spoyle of our goods, and vsed vs as ill as the Turkes did. And our masters mate hauing a Geneua Bible in his hand, there came the kings chiefe gunner, and tooke it out from him, who shewed me of it, and I hauing the language, went presently to the kings treasurer, and tolde him of it, saying, that sith it was the will of God that we should fall into their handes, yet that they should grant vs to vse our consciences to our owne discretion, as they suffered the Spaniards and other nations to vse theirs, and he graunted vs: then I told him that the maister gunner had taken away a Bible from one of our men: the Treasurer went presently and commaunded him to deliuer vp the Bible againe, which he did: & within a litle after he tooke it from the man againe, and I shewed the Treasurer of it, and presently he commaunded him to deliuer it againe: saying, thou villaine, wilt thou turne to Christianitie againe? for he was a Renegado, which is one that first was a Christian, and afterwards becommeth a Turke, and so he deliuered me the Bible the second time. And then I hauing it in my hand, the gunner came to me, and spake these wordes, saying, thou dogge, I wil haue the booke in despight of thee, and tooke it from me, saying: If thou tell the kings treasurer of it any more, by Mahomet I will be reuenged of thee. Notwithstanding I went the third time vnto the kings Treasurer, and tolde him of it, and he came with me, saying thus vnto the gunner: by the head of the great Turke, if thou take it from him againe, thou shalt haue an hundred bastonadoes. And foorthwith he deliuered me the booke, saying, he had not the value of a pin of the spoyle of the ship, which was the better for him, as hereafter you shall heare: for there was none, neither Christian nor Turke that tooke the value of a peniworth of our goods from vs, but perished both bodie and goods within seuenteene moneths following, as hereafter shall plainely appeare.

Then came the Guardian Basha, which is the keeper of the kings captiues, to fetch vs all a shoare, and then I remembring the miserable estate of poore distressed captiues, in the time of their bondage to those infidels, went to mine owne chest, and tooke out thereof a iarre of oyle, and filled a basket full of white Ruske to carie a shoare with me, but before I came to the Banio, the Turkish boyes had taken away almost all my bread, and the keeper saide, deliuer me the iarre of oyle, and when thou commest to the Banio thou shalt haue it againe, but I neuer had it of him any more.

But when I came to the Banio, and sawe our Marchants and all the rest of our company in chaines, and we all ready to receiue the same reward, what heart in the world is there so hard, but would haue pitied our cause, hearing or seeing the lamentable greeting there was betwixt vs: all this happened the first of May, 1584.

And the second day of the same moneth, the King with all his counsell sate in iudgement vpon vs. The first that were had forth to be arraigned, were the Factors, and the Masters, and the King asked them wherefore they came not a shoare when he sent for them. And Romaine Sonnings answered, that though he were king on shoare, and might commaunde there, so was hee as touching those that were vnder him: and therefore said, if any offence be, the fault is wholy in my selfe, and in no other. Then foorthwith the king gaue iudgement, that the saide Romaine Sonnings should be hanged ouer the Northeast bulwarke: from whence he conueyed the forenamed Patrone Norado, and then he called for our Master Andrew Dier, and vsed fewe wordes to him, and so condemned him to be hanged ouer the walles of the Westermost bulwarke. The Englishmen araigned.

Then fell our other Factor (named Richard Skegs) vpon his knees before the king, and said, I beseech your highnesse either to pardon our Master, or else suffer me to die for him, for he is ignorant of this cause! And then the people of that countrey fauouring the said Richard Skegs besought the king to pardon them both. So then the king spake these wordes: Beholde for thy sake, I pardon the Master. Then presently the Turkes shouted, and cried, saying: Away with the Master from the presence of the king. And then he came into the Banio whereas we were, and tolde vs what had happened, and we all reioyced at the good hap of master Skegs, that hee was saued, and our Master for his sake.

But afterward our ioy was turned to double sorrow, for in the meane time the kings minde

was

was altered: for that one of his counsell had aduised him, that vnlesse the Master died also, by the lawe they could not confiscate the ship nor goods, neither captiue any of the men: whereupon the king sent for our Master againe, and gaue him another iudgement after his pardon for one cause, which was that hee should be hanged. Here all true Christians may see what trust a Christian man may put in an infidels promise, who being a King, pardoned a man nowe, as you haue heard, and within an houre after hanged him for the same cause before a whole multitude: and also promised our Factors their oyles custome free, and at their going away made them pay the vttermost penie for the custome thereof.

Master Dier condemned to be hanged ouer a bulwarke.

A Frenchman turned Turke, in hope of his life, and afterward was hanged.

And when that Romaine Sonnings saw no remedy but that he should die, he protested to turne Turke, hoping thereby to haue saued his life. Then said the Turke, if thou wilt turne Turke, speake the words that thereunto belong: and he did so. Then saide they vnto him, Now thou shalt die in the faith of a Turke, and so hee did, as the Turkes reported that were at his execution. And the forenamed Patrone Norado, whereas before he had libertie and did nothing he then was condemned slaue perpetuall, except there were paiment made of the foresaid summe of money.

Then the king condemned all vs, who were in number sixe and twentie, of the which, two were hanged (as you haue heard) and one died the first day wee came on shoare, by the visitation of Almightie God: and the other three and twentie he condemned slaues perpetually vnto the great Turke, and the ship and goods were confiscated to the vse of the great Turke: and then we all fell downe vpon our knees, giuing God thankes for this sorrowfull visitation, and giuing our selues wholy to the Almightie power of God, vnto whom all secrets are knowen, that he of his goodnesse would vouchsafe to looke vpon vs.

Here may all true Christian hearts see the wonderfull workes of God shewed vpon such infidels, blasphemers, whoremasters, and renegate Christians, and so you shall reade in the ende of this booke, of the like vpon the vnfaithfull king and all his children, and of as many as tooke any portion of the said goods.

Euery fiue men allowed but two pence of bread a day.

But first to shewe our miserable bondage and slauerie, and vnto what small pittance and allowance wee were tied, for euery fiue men had allowance but fiue aspers of bread in a day, which is but two pence English: and our lodging was to lye on the bare boords, with a very simple cape to couer vs, wee were also forceably and most violently shauen, head and beard, and within three dayes after, I and sixe more of my fellowes, together with fourescore Italians and Spaniards were sent foorth in a Galeot to take a Greekish Carmosell, which came into Africa to steale Negroes, and went out of Tripolis vnto that place, which was two hundred and fourtie leagues thence, but wee were chained three and three to an oare, and wee rowed naked aboue the girdle, and the Boteswaine of the Galley walked abaft the maste, and his Mate afore the maste, and eche of them a bulls pissell dried in their handes, and when their diuelish choller rose, they would strike the Christians for no cause: and they allowed vs but halfe a pound of bread a man in a day without any other kinde of sustenance, water excepted. And when we came to the place whereas wee saw the Carmosell, we were not suffered to haue neither needle, bodkin, knife, or any other weapon about vs, nor at any other time in the night, vpon paine of one hundred bastonadoes: wee were then also cruelly manackled in such sort, that we could not put our handes the length of one foote asunder the one from the other, and euery night they searched our chaines three times, to see if they were fast riueted: Wee continued fight with the Carmosell three houres, and then wee tooke it, and lost but two of our men in that fight, but there were slaine of the Greekes fiue, and foureteene were cruelly hurt, and they that were sound, were presently made slaues, and chained to the oares: and within fifteene dayes after we returned againe into Tripolis, and then wee were put to all maner of slauerie. I was put to hewe stones, and other to cary stones, and some to draw the Cart with earth, and some to make morter, and some to draw stones, (for at that time the Turkes builded a church:) And thus we were put to all kinde of slauerie that was to be done. And in the time of our being there, the Moores that are the husbandmen of the countrey rebelled against the king, because he would haue constrained them to pay greater tribute then heretofore they had done, so that the Souldiours of Tripolis marched foorth of the towne to haue ioyned

The Turkes builded a church.

ioyned battell against the Moores for their rebellion, and the King sent with them foure pieces of Ordinance, which were drawen by the captiues twentie miles into the Countrey after them, and at the sight thereof the Moores fled, and then the Captaines returned backe againe. Then I and certaine Christians more were sent twelue miles into the countrey with a Cart to lode timber, and we returned againe the same day.

Nowe the king had 18. captiues, which three times a weeke went to fetch wood thirtie miles from the towne: and on a time he appointed me for one of the 18. and wee departed at eight of the clocke in the night, and vpon the way as wee rode vpon the camels, I demaunded of one of our company, who did direct vs the way? he sayd, that there was a Moore in our company which was our guide: and I demaunded of them how Tripolis and the wood bare one off the other? and hee said, East Northeast, and West Southwest. And at midnight or neere thereabouts, as I was riding vpon my camel, I fell asleepe, and the guide and all the rest rode away from me, not thinking but I had bene among them. When I awoke, and finding my selfe alone durst not call nor hallow for feare least the wilde Moores should heare me, because they holde this opinion, that in killing a Christian they do God good seruice: and musing with my selfe what were best for me to do, if I should goe foorth, and the wilde Moores should hap to meete with mee, they would kill mee: and on the other side, if I should returne backe to Tripolis without any wood or company, I should be most miserably vsed: therefore of two euils, rather I had to goe foorth to the loosing of my life, then to turne backe and trust to their mercie, fearing to bee vsed as before I had seene others: for vnderstanding by some of my company before, howe Tripolis and the saide wood did lie one off another, by the North starre I went forth at aduenture, and as God would haue it, I came right to the place where they were, euen about an houre before day: there altogether wee rested and gaue our camels prouender, and assoone as the day appeared, we rode all into the wood: and I seeing no wood there, but a sticke here and a sticke there, about the bignesse of a mans arme growing in the sand, it caused mee to marueile how so many camels should be loden in that place. The wood was Iuniper, we needed no axe nor edge toole to cut it, but pluckt it vp by strength of hands rootes and all, which a man might easily do, and so gathered it together, a little at one place and so at another, and laded our camels, and came home about seuen of the clocke that night folowing: because I fell lame, and my camel was tired, I left my wood in the way.

The Christians sent 3. times a weeke 30. miles to fetch wood.

There was in Tripolis that time a Venetian, whose name was Benedetto Venetiano, and seuenteene captiues more of his company, which ranne away from Tripolis in a boate, and came in sight of an Island called Malta, which lieth fourtie leagues from Tripolis right North, and being within a mile of the shoare, & very faire weather, one of their company said, In dispetto de Dio adesso venio a pilliar terra, which is as much to say: In the despite of God I shall now fetch the shoare, and presently there arose a mighty storme, with thunder and raine and the wind at North, their boate being very small, so that they were inforced to beare vp roome, and to sheare right afore the winde ouer against the coast of Barbarie from whence they came, and rowing vp and downe the coast, their victuals being spent, the 21. day after their departure they were inforced through the want of food to come ashoare, thinking to haue stolne some sheepe: but the Moores of the countrey very craftily perceiuing their intent, gathered together a threescore horsemen, and hid themselues behinde a sandie hill, and when the Christians were come all a shoare, and past vp halfe a mile into the countrey, the Moores rode betwixt them and their boate, and some of them pursued the Christians, and so they were all taken and brought to Tripolis, from whence they had before escaped: and presently the king commaunded that the foresaide Benedetto with one more of his company should lose their eares, and the rest should be most cruelly beaten, which was presently done. This king had a sonne which was a ruler in an Island called Gerbi, whereunto arriued an English shippe called the Greene Dragon, of the which was Master one M. Blonket, who hauing a very vnhappy boy in that shippe, and vnderstanding that whosoeuer would turne Turke should be well enterteined of the kings sonne, this boy did runne a shoare, and voluntarily turned Turke. Shortly after the kings sonne came to Tripolis to visite his father, and seeing our company,

Eighteene captiues run away from Tripolis.

The iudgement of God vpon blasphemers.

The Greene Dragon.

company, hee greatly fancied Richard Burges our Purser, and Iames Smith: they were both yong men, therefore he was very desirous to haue them to turne Turkes, but they would not yeeld to his desire, saying: We are your fathers slaues, and as slaues wee will serue him. Then his father the king sent for them, and asked them if they would turne Turkes? And they saide: If it please your highnesse, Christians we were borne, and so we will remaine, and beseeched the king that they might not bee inforced thereunto. The king had there before in his house a sonne of a yeoman of our Queenes guard, whom the kings sonne had inforced to turne Turke, his name was Iohn Nelson: him the king caused to be brought to these yong men, and then said vnto them: Wil not you beare this your countreyman company, and be Turke as hee is? And they saide, that they would not yeeld thereunto during life. But it fell out, that within a moneth after, the kings sonne went home to Gerbi againe, being sixe score miles from Tripolis, and caried our two foresaid yong men with him, which were Richard Burges, and Iames Smith: and after their departure from vs, they sent vs a letter, signifying that there was no violence shewed vnto them as yet, but within three dayes after they were violently vsed, for that the kings sonne demaunded of them againe, if that they would turne Turke? Then answered Richard Burges, a Christian I am, and so I will remaine. Then the kings sonne very angerly said vnto him: By Mahomet thou shalt presently be made Turke. Then called he for his men, and commanded them to make him Turke, and they did so, and circumcised him, and would haue had him speake the wordes that thereunto belonged, but he answered them stoutly that he would not: and although they had put on him the habite of a Turke, yet sayd he, A Christian I was borne, and so I will remaine, though you force me to doe otherwise.

The kings sonne had a captiue that was sonne to one of the Queenes Maiesties guard, that was forced to turne Turke.

And then he called for the other, and commaunded him to be made Turke perforce also: but he was very strong, for it was so much as eight of the kings sonnes men could doe to holde him, so in the ende they circumcised him, and made him Turke. Now to passe ouer a little, and so to shewe the maner of our deliuerance out of that miserable captiuitie.

The first motion for those Englishmens deliuerie.

In May aforesaid, shortly after our apprehension, I wrote a letter into England vnto my father dwelling in Tauistoke in Deuonshire, signifying vnto him the whole estate of our calamities: and I wrote also to Constantinople to the English Embassadour, both which letters were faithfully deliuered. But when my father had receiued my letter, and vnderstood the trueth of our mishap, and the occasion thereof, and what had happened to the offenders, he certified the right honourable the earle of Bedford thereof, who in short space acquainted her highnesse with the whole cause thereof, and her Maiestie like a most merifull princesse tendering her Subiects, presently tooke order for our deliuerance. Whereupon the right worshipful sir Edward Osborne knight directed his letters with all speed to the English Embassadour in Constantinople, to procure our deliuery: and he obteined the great Turkes Commission, and sent it foorthwith to Tripolis, by one Master Edward Barton, together with a Iustice of the great Turkes, and one souldiour, and another Turke, and a Greeke which was his interpretour, which could speake besides Greeke, Turkish, Italian, Spanish and English. And when they came to Tripolis, they were well interteined. And the first night they did lie in a Captaines house in the towne: all our company that were in Tripolis came that night for ioy to Master Barton and the other Commissioners to see them. Then master Barton said vnto vs, welcome my good countreymen, and louingly interteined vs, and at our departure from him, he gaue vs two shillings, and said, Serue God, for to morrow I hope you shall be as free as euer you were; We all gaue him thankes and so departed.

The next day in the morning very early, the King hauing intelligence of their comming, sent word to the keeper, that none of the Englishmen (meaning our company) should goe to worke. Then he sent for Master Barton and the other Commissioners, and demaunded of the saide Master Barton his message: the Iustice answered, that the great Turke his Soueraigne had sent them vnto him, signifying that he was informed that a certaine English shippe, called the Iesus, was by him the saide king confiscated, about twelue moneths since, and nowe my saide Souereigne hath here sent his especiall commission by vs vnto you, for the deliuerance of the saide shippe and goods, and also the free libertie and deliuerance of the

the Englishmen of the same shippe, whom you haue taken and kept in captiuitie. And further the same Iustice saide, I am authorized by my said soueraigne the great Turke to see it done: And therefore I commaund you by vertue of this commission, presently to make restitution of the premisses or the valne thereof: and so did the Iustices deliuer vnto the King the great Turkes commission to the effect aforesaide, which commission the king with all obedience receiued: and after the perusing of the same, he foorthwith commanded all the English captiues to be brought before him, and then willed the keeper to strike off all our yrons, which done, the king said, You Englishmen, for that you did offend the lawes of this place, by the same lawes therefore some of your company were condemned to die as you knowe, and you to bee perpetuall captiues during your liues: notwithstanding, seeing it hath pleased my soueraigne lord the great Turke to pardon your said offences, and to giue you your freedome and libertie, beholde, here I make deliuery of you to this English Gentleman: so hee deliuered vs all that were there, being thirteene in number, to Master Barton, who required also those two yong men which the Kings sonne had taken with him. Then the king answered that it was against their lawe to deliuer them, for that they were turned Turkes: and touching the ship and goods, the king said, that he had solde her, but would make restitution of the value, and as much of the goods as came vnto his hands, and so the king arose and went to dinner, and commaunded a Iew to goe with Master Barton and the other commissioners, to shew them their lodging, which was a house prouided and appointed them by the said king. And because I had the Italian & Spanish tongues, by which their most trafique in that countrey is, Master Barton made me his Cater to buy his victuals for him and his company, and deliuered me money needfull for the same. Thus were wee set at libertie the 28. day of April, 1585.

The Englishmen released.

Nowe to returne to the kings plagues and punishments, which Almighty God at his will and pleasure sendeth vpon men in the sight of the worlde, and likewise of the plagues that befell his children and others aforesaide. First when wee were made bondmen, being the second day of May 1584. the king had 300. captiues, and before the moneth was expired, there died of them of the plague 150. And whereas there were 26. men of our company, of whom two were hanged, and one died the same day that wee were made bondslaues: that present moneth there died nine more of our company of the plague, and other two were forced to turne Turkes as before is rehearsed: and on the fourth day of Iune next following the king lost 150 camels, which were taken from him by the wilde Moores: and on the 28. day of the saide moneth of Iune, one Geffrey Maltese, a renegado of Malta, ranne away to his countrey, and stole a Brigandine which the king had builded for to take the Christians withall, and caried with him twelue Christians more which were the kings captiues. Afterward about the tenth day of July next following, the king road foorth vpon the greatest and fairest mare that might be seene, as white as any swanne: hee had not ridden fourtie paces from his house, but on a sudden the same mare fell downe vnder him starke dead, and I with sixe more were commaunded to burie her, skinne, shoes and all, which we did. And about three moneths after our deliuerie, Master Barton, with all the residue of his company, departed from Tripoli to Zante, in a vessell, called a Settea, of one Marcus Segoorus, who dwelt in Zante, and after our arriual at Zante we remained fifteene dayes there aboorde our vessell, before wee coulde haue Platego (that is, leaue to come a shoare) because the plague was in that pace, from whence wee came: and about three dayes after we came a shoare, thither came another Settea of Marseils bound for Constantinople. Then did Master Barton, and his company, with two more of our company, shippe themselues as passengers in the same Settea, and went to Constantinople. But the other nine of vs that remained in Zante, about three moneths after, shipt our selues in a ship of the said Marcus Segoorus, which came to Zante, and was bound for England. In which three moneths, the souldiers of Tripolie killed the said king. And then the kings sonne, according to the custome there, went to Constantinople, to surrender vp all his fathers treasure, goods, captiues, and concubines, vnto the great Turke, and tooke with him our saide Purser Richard Burges, and Iames Smith, and also the other two Englishmen, which he the said kings sonne had inforced to become Turkes,

The plagues and punishments that happened to the King and his people.

The king lost 150. Camels, taken by the wilde Moores.

Two Englishmen shipped to Constantinople with M. Barton.

The souldiers of Tripolis kil the King.

as is aforesayd. And they the said Englishmen finding now some opportunitie, concluded with the Christian captiues which were going with them vnto Constantinople, being in number about one hundred and fiftie, to kill the kings sonne, and all the Turkes which were aboorde of the Galley, and priuily the saide Englishmen conueyed vnto the saide Christian captiues, weapons for that purpose. And when they came into the maine Sea, towarde Constantinople (vpon the faithfull promise of the sayde Christian captiues) these foure Englishmen lept suddenly into the Crosia, that is, into the middest of the Galley, where the canon lieth, and with their swordes drawne, did fight against all the foresaid Turkes, and for want of helpe of the saide Christian captiues, who falsly brake their promises, the said Master Blonkets boy was killed, and the sayde James Smith, and our Purser Richard Burges, and the other Englishman, were taken and bound into chaines, to be hanged at their arriuall in Constantinople: and as the Lordes will was, about two dayes after, passing through the gulfe of Venice, at an Island called Cephalonia, they met with two of the duke of Venice his Gallies, which tooke that Galley, and killed the kings sonne, and his mother, and all the Turkes that were there, in number 150. and they saued the Christian captiues, and would haue killed the two Englishmen because they were circumcised, and become Turkes, had not the other Christian captiues excused them, saying, that they were inforced to be Turkes, by the kings sonne, and shewed the Venetians also, how they did enterprise at sea to fight against all the Turks, and that their two fellowes were slaine in that fight. Then the Venetians saued them, and they, with all the residue of the said captiues, had their libertie, which were in number 150. or thereabouts, and the saide Gallie, and all the Turkes treasure was confiscated to the vse of the state of Venice. And from thence our two Englishmen traueiled homeward by land, and in this meane time we had one more of our company which died in Zante, and afterward the other eight shipped themselues at Zante, in a shippe of the said Marcus Segorus, which was bound for England: and before we departed thence, there arriued the Assension, and the George Bonauenture of London in Cephalonia, in a harbour there, called Arrogostoria, whose Marchants agreed with the Marchants of our shippe, and so laded al the marchandise of our shippe into the said ships of London, who tooke vs eight in as passengers, and so we came home, and within two moneths after our arriuall at London, our said Purser Richard Burges, and his fellow came home also: for the which we are bound to praise Almightie God, during our liues, and as duetie bindeth vs, to pray for the preseruation of our most gracious Queene, for the great care her Maiestie had ouer vs, her poore Subiects, in seeking and procuring of our deliuerance aforesaide: and also for her honourable priuie Counsell, and I especiall for the prosperitie and good estate of the house of the late deceased, the right honourable the Earle of Bedford, whose honour I must confesse, most diligently at the suite of my father now departed, traueiled herein: for the which I rest continually bounden to him, whose soule I doubt not, but is already in the heauens in ioy, with the Almightie, vnto which place he vouchsafe to bring vs all, that for our sinnes suffered most vile and shameful death vpon the Crosse, there to liue perpetually world without ende, Amen.

Two Gallies of Venice tooke the king of Tripolie his galley, and killed the kings sonne, and all the Turkes in it, and released all the Christians being in number 150.

The Queenes letters to the Turke 1584. for the restitution of the shippe called the Iesus, and the English captiues detained in Tripolie in Barbarie, and for certaine other prisoners in Argier.

ELIZABETHA, Dei ter maximi & vnici cœli terræque conditoris gratia, Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ Regina, fidei Christianæ contra omnes omnium inter Christianos degentium, Christique nomen falsò profitentium idololatrias, inuictissima & potentissima defensatrix: augustissimo, inuictissimóque principi, Zultan Murad Can, Musulmanici regni dominatori potentissimo, imperijque Orientis Monarchæ, supra omnes soli & supremo salutem, & multos cum summa rerum optimarum affluentia fœlices & fortunatos annos.

Augustissime & potentissime Imperator, biennio iam peracto, ad Cæsaream vestram Maiestatem scripsimus, vt dilectus noster famulus Guilielmus Harebornus, vir ornatissimus pro legato nostro Constantinopoli, alijsque Musulmanici imperij ditionibus, sublimi vestra authoritate

ritate reciperetur: simul etiam Angli subditi nostri commercium & mercaturam, in omnibus illis prouincijs exerceant, non minùs liberè quàm Galli, Poloni, Veneti, Germani, cæterique vestri confœderati, qui variæ Orientis partes peragrant, operam nauantes, vt mutuis commercijs coniungatur Oriens cum Occidente.

Quæ priuilegia, cum nostris subditis Anglis inuictissima vestra Maiestas literis & diplomate suo liberalissimè indulserit, facere non potuimus, quin quas maximas animus noster capere potest gratias, eo nomine ageremus: sperantes fore, vt hæc instituta commerciorum ratiò maximas vtilitates, & commoda vtrinque, tam in imperij vestri ditiones, quàm regni nostri prouincias secum adferat.

Id vt planè fiat, cùm nuper subditi nostri nonnulli Tripoli in Barbaria & Argeliæ ab eius loci incolis volùtatem vestram fortè nescientibus malè habiti fuerint, & immaniter diuexati, Cæsaream vestram Maiestatem benevolè rogamus, vt per Legatum nostrum eorum causam cognoscas, & postremò earum prouinciarum proregibus ac præfectis imperes, vt nostri liberè in illis locis, sine vi aut iniuria deliceps versari, & negotia gerere possint.

Et nos omni opera vicissim studebimus ea omnia præstare, quæ Imperatoriæ vestræ Maiestati vllo pacto grata fore intelligemus: quam Deus vnicus mundi conditor optimus maximus diutissimè incolumem & florentem seruet. Datæ in palatio nostro Londini, quinto die Mensis Septembris: anno Iesv Christi Seruatoris nostri, 1584. Regni verò nostri vicesimo sexto.

The same in English.

ELizabeth, by the grace of the most high God, and onely maker of heauen and earth, of England, France and Ireland Queene, and of the Christian faith, against all the Idolaters and false professors of the Name of Christ dwelling among the Christians, most inuincible and puissant defender: to the most valiant and inuincible Prince, Zultan Murad Can, the most noughtie ruler of the kingdome of Musulman, and of the East Empire the onely and highest Monarch aboue all, health, and many happy and fortunate yeres, with great aboundance of the best things.

Most noble and puissant Emperour, about two yeeres nowe passed, wee wrote vnto your Imperiall Maiestie, that our welbeloued seruant, William Hareborne, a man of great reputation and honour, might be receiued vnder your high authoritie, for our Ambassadour in Constantinople, and other places, vnder the obedience of your Empire of Musulman: And also that the Englishmen, being our Subiects, might exercise entercourse and marchandize in all those Prouinces, no lesse freely then the French, Polonians, Venetians, Germanes, and other your confederats, which traueile through diuers of the East parts: endeuouring that by mutuall trafique, the East may be ioyned and knit to the West.

Which priuileges, when as your most puissant Maiestie, by your letters and vnder your dispensation most liberally and fauourably granted to our Subiects of England, wee could no lesse doe, but in that respect giue you as great thankes, as our heart could conceiue, trusting that it wil come to passe, that this order of trafique, so well ordeined, will bring with it selfe most great profits and commodities to both sides, as well to the parties subiect to your Empire, as to the Prouinces of our kingdome. Which thing that it may be done in plaine and effectuall maner, whereas some of our Subiects of late at Tripolis in Barbarie, and at Argier, were by the inhabitants of those places (being perhaps ignorant of your pleasure) euill intreated and grieuously vexed, wee doe friendly and louingly desire your Imperial Maiestie, that you will vnderstand their causes by our Ambassadour, and afterward giue commaundement to the Lieutenants and Presidents of those Prouinces, that our people may henceforth freely, without any violence, or iniurie, traueile, and do their businesse in those places.

And we againe with all endeuour, shall studie to performe all those things, which we shall in any wise vnderstand to be acceptable to your Imperiall Maiestie, which God, the onely maker of the world, most best and most great, long keepe in health, and flourishing. Giuen in our pallaice at London, the fift day of the moneth of September, in the yeere of Iesvs Christ our Sauiour, 1584. And of our raigne, the 26.

The Turkes letter to the King of Tripolis in Barbarie, commanding the restitution of an English ship, called the Iesus, with the men, and goods, sent from Constantinople, by Mahomet Beg, a Iustice of the Great Turkes, and an English Gentleman, called Master Edward Barton. Anno 1584.

HOnourable, and worthy Bassa Romadan Beglerbeg, most wise and prudent Iudge of the West Tripolis, wee wish the ende of all thy enterprises happie, and prosperous. By these our highnesse letters, wee certifie thee, that the right honourable, William Hareborne, Ambassadour in our most famous Porch, for the most excellent Queenes Maiestie of England, in person, and by letters hath certified our highnesse, that a certaine shippe, with all her furniture, and artillerie, worth two thousand duckets, arriuing in the port of Tripolis, and discharged of her lading and marchandize, paide our custome according to order, and againe, the marchants laded their shippe with oyle, which by constraint they were inforced to buy of you, & hauing answered in like maner the custome for the same, determined to depart: a Frenchman assistant to the Marchant, vnknowen to the Englishmen, caried away with him another Frenchman indebted to a certaine Moore in foure hundred duckets, and by force caused the Englishmen, and shippe to depart: who neither suspecting fraude, nor deceite, hoised sailes. In the meane time, this man, whose debter the Frenchman had stollen away, went to the Bassa with the supplication, by whose meanes, and force of the Castle, the Englishmen were constrained to returne into the port, where the Frenchman, author of the euill, with the Master of the ship an Englishman, innocent of the crime were hanged, and sixe and twentie Englishmen cast into prison, of whom through famine, thirst, and stinke of the prison, eleuen died, and the rest like to die. Further, it was signified to our Maiestie also, that the marchandise and other goods, with the shippe, were worth 7600. duckets: which things if they be so, this is our commandement, which was granted and giuen by our Maiestie, that the English shippe, and all the marchandize, and whatsoeuer else taken away bee wholy restored, and that the Englishmen be let goe free, and suffered to returne into their countrey. Wherefore when this our commaundement shall come vnto thee, wee straightly commaund, that the foresaid businesse be diligently looked vnto, and discharged. And if it be so, that a Frenchman, and no Englishman hath done this craft, and wickednesse vnknowen to the Englishmen, and as authour of the wickednesse is punished, and that the Englishmen committed nothing against the peace and league, or their articles: also if they payd custome according to order, it is against law, custome of Countreys, and their priuilege, to hinder or hurt them. Neither is it meete, their shippe, marchandise, and all their goods taken, should be withholden. Wee will therefore, that the English shippe, marchandize, and all other their goods, without exception, be restored to the Englishmen: also that the men bee let goe free, and if they will, let none hinder them, to returne peaceably into their Countrey: do not commit, that they another time complaine of this matter, and how this businesse is dispatched, certifie vs at our most famous porche.

Dated in the Citie of Constantinople, in the 992. yeere of Mahomet, and in the ende of the moneth of October; and in the yeere of Isavs 1584.

A letter of Master William Hareborne, the English Ambassadour, Ligier in Constantinople, to the Bassa Romadan, the Beglerbeg of Tripolis in Barbarie, for the restoring of an English shippe called the Iesus, with the goods, and men, detained as slaues, Anno 1585.

MOlto magnifico Signor,

Noi ha stato significato per diuerse lettere di quanto ha passato circa diuina naue nostra chiamata Iesus, sopra il quale in agiuto di Ricciardo Skegs, vno de gli nostri mercanti di essa gia morto, veniua vn certo Francese per sopra cargo, chiamato Romano Soninga, il quale per non esser ben portato secondo che doueua, volendo importar seco vn altro Francese debitore a certi vostri sensa pagarcene, per giusticia era appiccato col patron Inglese Andre Dier, che come simplice credendo al detto Francese senza auedercene de la sua ria malitia,

non

non retornaua, quando da vostra magnifica Signoria gli era mandato. La morte del detto tristo Francese approuiamo como cosa benfatta. Ma al contrario, doue lei ha confiscato la detta naue e mercantia en essa, & fatto sciaui li marinari, como cosa molto contraria a li priuilegij dal Gran Signor quattro anni passati concessi, & da noi confirmati di parte de la Serenissima Magesta d'Ingilterra nostra patrona, e molto contraria a la liga del detto Gran Signor, il quale essendo dal sopra detto apieno informato, noi ha conceduto il suo regale mandamento di restitutione, la qual mandiamo a vostra magnifica Signoria col presente portator Edoardo Barton, nostro Secretario, & Mahumed Beg, droguemano di sua porta excelsa, con altre lettere del excellentissimo Vizir, & inuictissimo capitan di mar: chiedendo, tanto di parte del Gran Signor, quanto di sua Serenissima Magesta di V. S. M. che gli huomini, oglij, naue col fornimento, danari, & tutti altri beni qualconque, da lei & per vestro ordine da gli nostri tolti siano resi à questo mio Secretario liberamente senza empacho alcuno, como il Gran Signor da sua gratia noi ha conceduto, specialmente per esser detti oglij comprati per ordine di sua Serenissima Magestà, per prouisione della Corte sua. Il qual non facendo, protestiamo per questa nostra al incontra di esso tutti futuri danni che puono succedere per questa cagione, como authore di quelli, contrario à la Santa liga giurata de li duoi Rei, patroni nostri, como per li priuilegij, che lei mostrerà il nostro, consta: per obseruatione de gli quali noi stiamo di fermo en questa excelsa Porta. Et cosi responderete nel altro mondo al solo Iddio, & quà al Gran Signor questo massimo peccato commesso da lei al incontra di tanti poueracchi, che per questa crudeltà sono in parte morti, in parte retenuti da esso en duro cattiuerio. Al contrario, piacendo lei euitar questo incommodo & restarcene en gratia del Signor Iddio, & li nostri patroni, amicheuolmente, (como conuien à par vostro di mostrarsi prudente gouernatore, & fidel seruitor al patrono) ad impirete questa nostra giustissima domanda, per poter resultarui à grand honore & commodo per la tratta di marchantia, che faronno a laduenire li nostri in quella vostra prouincia. Li quali generalmente, tanto quelli, como tutti altri che nel mar riscontrarete, siano, secondo che manda il Grand Signor, de vostra Signoria magnifica amicheuolmente recolti & receuuti: Et noi non mancharemo al debito di ottimo amico en qualconche occurrenza vostra, piacendo lei amicitia nostra, como desideramo. Il Signor Iddio lei conceda (adimpiendo questa nostra giusta rechiesta, per cauar noi di piu futura fatica in questo negocio, & lei di disgratia) ogni vera felicità, & supremo honore. Data in palazzo nostro che fu da Rapamat appresso Pera di 15. di Genero 1585.

Edoardo Barton & Mahumed Beg.

Il Ambassiatore de la Majesta Serenissima d'Ingilterra, amico de vostra Signoria magnifica, piacendo lei.

The same in English.

RIght honourable Lord, it hath bene signified vnto vs by diuers letters, what hath fallen out, concerning a certaine shippe of ours, called the Iesus, into which, for the helpe of Richard Skeggs, one of our Marchants in the same, nowe deceased, there was admitted a certaine Frenchman called Romaine Sonnings, which for his ill behauiour, according to his deserts, seeking to cary away with him another Frenchman, which was indebted to certaine of your people, without paying his creditours, was hanged by sentence of iustice, together with Andrew Dier, the Master of the said ship, who simply and without fraude, giuing credite to the said Frenchman, without any knowledge of his euil fact, did not returne when hee was commaunded, by your honourable Lordship. The death of the saide lewde Frenchman we approue as a thing well done, but contrarywise, whereas your Lordship hath confiscated the said ship with the goods therein, and hath made slaues of the Mariners, as a thing altogether contrary to the priuileges of the Grand Signior, granted foure yeeres since, and confirmed by vs on the behalfe of the most excellent the Queenes Maiestie of England our Mystresse, and altogether contrary to the league of the saide Grand Signior, who being fully informed of the aforesaid cause, hath granted vnto vs his royall commandement of restitution, which we send vnto your honourable Lordship, by the present bearer Edward Barton our Secretarie, and Mahomet Beg, one of the Iustices of his stately Court, with other letters of the most excellent

excellent Admirall, and most valiant Captaine of the Sea, requiring your honourable Lordship, as well on the behalfe of the Grand Signior, as of the Queenes most excellent Maiestie my Mystresse, that the men, oyles, shippe, furniture, money, and all other goods whatsoeuer, by your Lordship, and your order taken from our men, be restored vnto this my Secretary freely, without delay, as the Grand Signior of his goodnesse hath graunted vnto vs, especially in regard that the same oyles were bought by the commaundement of our Queenes most excellent Maiestie, for the prouision of her Court. Which if you performe not, wee protest by these our leters against you, that you are the cause of all the inconueniences which may ensue vpon this occasion, as the authour thereof, contrary to the holy league sworne by both our Princes, as by the priuileges, which this our seruant will shewe you, may appeare. For the seeing of which league performed, wee remaine here as Ligier in this stately Court. And by this meanes you shall answere in another world vnto God alone, and in this world vnto the Grand Signior, for this hainous sinne committed by you against so many poore soules, which by this your cruelty are in part dead, and in part detained by you in most miserable captiuitie. Contrarywise, if it shall please you to auoyd this mischiefe, and to remaine in the fauour of Almighty God, and of our Princes, you shall friendly fulfill this our iust demaund (as it behoueth you to shew your selfe a prudent Gouernour, and faithfull seruant vnto your Lord) and the same may turne to your great honour, and profite, by the trade of marchandize, which our men in time to come, may vse in that gouernment of yours: which generally, as well those poore men, as all others, which you shall meete at the sea, ought to be according to the commandement of the Grand Signior, friendly entertained and receiued of your honourable lordship, and we will not faile in the dueties of a speciall friend, whensoeuer you shall haue occasion to vse vs, as we desire. Almighty God grant vnto your Lordship (in the fulfilling of this our iust request, whereby wee may be deliuered from further trouble in this matter, and your selfe from further displeasure) all true felicitie, and increase of honour.

Giuen in our Pallace from Rapamat in Pera, the 15. of Ianuarie 1585.

The voyage of Master Henry Austell by Venice and thence to Ragusa ouer land, and so to Constantinople: and from thence by Moldauia, Polonia, Silesia and Germanie to Hamburg, &c.

THe 9. of Iune we tooke shipping at Harewich and the next day landed at the Ramekins in the Isle of Walcheren with very stormy weather, and that night went to Middleburch in the same Island.

The twelft we tooke shipping for Holland, and the 13. we landed at Schiedam: and the same day went to Delft by boat, and so that night to the Hage.

The 17. we tooke shipping at Amsterdam, and the 18. we landed at Enckhuysen.

The 19. we tooke shipping and by the Zuydersee we passed that day the Vlie, and so into the maine sea; And the next day we entred into the riuer of Hamburg called the Elbe.

The 21. we came to anker in the same riuer before a towne of the bishop of Bremte called Staden, where they pay a certaine toll, and specially for wine, and so that night wee landed at Hamburg, where we stayde three dayes. Hamburg.

The 24. wee departed from Hamburg in the company of Edward Parish Marchant, and that day wee baited at Wyntson, and so ouer the heathes we left Lunenburg on the left hand, and trauailed all that night.

The 25. we met with Master Sanders vpon the heathes, and passed by a towne of the duke of Lunenborg called Geffherne, and from thence through many waters, wee lay that night within an English mile of Brunswig. Brunswig.

The 27. we lay at Halberstat, which is a great towne subiect to the bishop of that towne. Halberstat.

The 28. we baited at Erinsleiben: and there wee entred into the duke of Saxon his countrey: and the same night we lay at a town called Eisleben, where Martine Luther was borne. Eisleben

The

The 29. we passed by Mansfield, where there are many Copper mines: and so that night went to Neuburg vpon the riuer of Sala; and at that time there was a great faire. Copper Mines.

The 30. we baited at a proper towne called Iena vpon the same riuer, and the same night wee lay at Cone vpon that riuer. Iena.

The first of July we baited at Salfeld: and the same day we entred first into the great woods of firre trees, and that night to Greuandal. Great wood of firre trees.

The second to dinner to Neustat.

The 3. day to dinner at Bamberg: and before wee came to the towne wee passed the riuer of Mayne that runneth towards Arnfurt, and that night to Forchaim. Bamberg.

The 4. we came to Nurenberg, and there stayed two dayes. Nurenberg.

The 6. to bed to Blayfield.

The 7. we passed without Weissenburg to dinner at Monhaim, and that night we passed the riuer of Danubius at Tonewertd, and so to bed to Nurendof.

The 8. we came to Augspurg, otherwise called Augusta, vpon the riuer of Lech. Augspurg.

The 9. we lay at Landsberg vpon the said riuer, in the duke of Bauars countrey.

The 10. to dinner at Suanego, and that night to Hamber against the mountaines, where the small toyes be made.

The 11. to dinner to Parcberk, & that night to Sefelt in the Archduke of Austria his countrey.

The 12. to dinner at Inspruck, & that night to bed at Landeck, where there is a toll, and it is the place where Charles the fift and his brother Ferdinand did meet. And there is a table of brasse with Latine letters in memorie thereof.

The 13. we passed by Stizen, and dined at Prisena, and so that night to Clusen.

The 14. to dinner at Bolsan and to bed at Neumark, and by the way we passed the dangerous place, where so many murthers haue bene committed.

The 15. to dinner at Trent: That day we entred the borders of Italy, that night to Lenigo. The borders of Italy.

The 16. to dinner at Grigno, where the last toll of the Emperour is: and so we came by Churss, which is a streight passage. And the keeper thereof is drawne vp by a cord into his holde. And that night we went to Capana to bed in the countrey of the Venetians.

The 17. to dinner at castle Franco: by the way we stayed at Taruiso, and there tooke coche, and that night came to Mestre to bed.

The 18. in the morning we came to Venice, and there we stayed 15. dayes. In which time the duke of Venice called Nicholas de Ponte died, and we saw his burial. The Senatours were continually shut vp together, as the maner is, to chuse a newe duke, which was not yet chosen when we departed from thence. Venice.

The 2. of August at night wee did embarke our selues vpon the Frigate of Cattaro, an hauen neere Ragusa.

The 3. we came to a towne in Istria called Citta noua.

The 4. we came to Parenzo, and so that night to Forcera of the bishop.

The 5. we passed by Rouigno: and a litle beyond we met with 3. Galies of the Venetians: we passed in the sight of Pola; and the same day passed the gulfe that parteth Istria from Dalmatia.

The 6. of August we came to Zara in Dalmatia, a strong towne of the Venetians: and so that night to Sebenico, which standeth in a marueilous goodly hauen, with a strong castle at the entrie thereof.

The 7. we came to Lezina, and went not on shoore, but traueiled all night.

The 8. we passed by a very wel seated towne called Curzola, which standeth in an island of that name.

The 9. in the morning betimes we landed at Ragusa, and there stayed three daies, where we found many friendly gentlemen. Ragusa.

The 11. being prouided of a lanizarie we departed from Ragusa in the company of halfe a dosen Marchants of that towne: and within 6. miles we entred into the countrey of Seruia. Seruia.

So

So trauailing in barren and craggie mountaines for the space of foure dayes, wee came by a
Chiernisa. small Towne of the Turkes called Chiernisa, being the 14. of the moneth; and there wee parted from the Marchants.

Or, *Yochia. The 16. we dined in a Cauarsara in a Towne called Focea, being then greatly infected with the plague.

The 17. we lay by a Towne called Taslizea.

Nouibazar. The 20. we came to Nouibazar.

The 21. we parted frō thence, trauailing stil in a countrey very ill inhabited, & lying in fields.

Or, Mina. The 22. we passed within sight of Nicea.

The 23. we passed in sight of another towne called Circui: and about those places wee began to leaue the mountaines, and to enter into a very faire and fertile countrey, but as euill inhabited as the other, or worse.

Sophia. The 27. we came to Sophia, where wee stayed three dayes, being our Ianizaries home: and by good chance we lay in a Marchants house of Ragusa, that came in company with vs from Nouibazar; and also wee had in company, euer since wee came from Focea, a Turke which was a very good fellow, and he kept company with vs till we came very neere Constantinople.

Philippopoli. The first of September we came to Philippopoli, which seemeth to be an ancient towne, and standeth vpon the riuer of Stanuch.

Andrinopolis. The 4. we came to Andrinopoli, a very great and ancient towne, which standeth in a very large and champion countrey, and there the great Turks mother doth lye, being a place, where the Emperours of the Turkes were wont to lye very much.

The 5. we lay in one of the great Cauarzaras, that were built by Mahomet Bassha with so many goodly commodities.

The 6. we lay in another of them.

Siliueri. The 8. we came to Siliueri, which by report was the last towne that remained Christian.

Constantinople. The 9. of September wee arriued at the great and most stately Citie of Constantinople, which for the situation and proude seate thereof, for the beautifull and commodious haueus, and for the great and sumptuous buildings of their Temples, which they call Moschea, is to be preferred before all the Cities of Europe. And there the Emperour of the Turkes then liuing, whose name was Amurat, kept his Court and residence, in a maruelous goodly place, with diuers gardens and houses of pleasure, which is at the least two English miles in compasse, and the three parts thereof ioyne vpon the sea: and on the Northeast part of the Citie on the other side of the water ouer against the Citie is the Towne of Pera, where the most part of the Christians do lye. And there also wee did lye. And on the North part of the saide Towne is the Arsenal, where the Galies are built and doe remaine. And on the Southside is all the Ordinance, artilerie, and houses of munition. Note that by the way as wee came from Ragusa to Constantinople, wee left on our right hand the Countreys of Albania, and Macedonia, and on the left hande the countreys of Bosnia, Bulgaria, and the riuer of Danubius.

The 14. of September was the Turkes Beyram, that is, one of their chiefest feastes.

The 15. we went to the blacke Sea called Pontus Euxinus, and there vpon a rocke we
Pompeys piller. sawe a piller of white Marble that was set vp by Pompeius: and from thence we passed to the other side of the water, vpon the shore of Asia and there we dined.

The 25. we departed from Constantinople.

The 29. we came to an ancient Towne called Cherchisea, that is to say, fourtie Churches, which in the olde time was a very great City, now full of scattered buildings.

Prouat. The 4. of October wee came to Prouaz, one dayes iourney distant from Varna vpon the
Varna. Blacke Sea.

The 9. we came to Saxi vpon the riuer of Danubius.

The 10. we passed the said riuer which in that place is about a mile ouer, and then we
Or, Moldauia. entered into the countrey of * Bogdania: they are Christians but subiects to the Turke.

The

The 12. we came to Palsin vpon the riuer Prut. Palsin vpon the riuer of Prut.

The 14. wee came to Yas the principall Towne of Bogdania, where Peter the Vayuoda prince of that Countrey keepeth his residence, of whom wee receiued great courtesie, and of the gentlemen of his Court: And he caused vs to be safe conducted through his said Countrey, and conueyed without coste. Yas.

The 17. we came to Stepanitze.

The 19. we came to Zotschen, which is the last towne of Bogdania vpon the riuer of Neister, that parteth the said countrey from Podolia. Botschen.

The 20. we passed the riuer of Nyester and came to Camyenetz in the countrey of Podolia, subiect to the king of Poland: this is one of the strongest Townes by nature and situation that can be seene. Nyester a riuer. Camyenetz.

The 21. we came to Skala. Skala.

The 22. to Slothone, or Sloczow.

The 24. to Leopolis which is in Russia alba, and so is the most part of the countrey betwixt Camyenetz and it. And it is a towne very well built, well gouerned, full of trafique and plentifull: and there we stayed fiue dayes. Leopolis, or Leunpurg.

The 30. we baited at Grodecz, and that night at Vilna, Grodecz. Vilna.

The 31. we dined at Mostiska, and that night at Rodmena.

The first of Nouember in the morning before day wee passed without the Towne of Iaroslaw, where they say is one of the greatest faires in all Poland, and chiefly of horses, and that night to Rosdnoska. Iaroslaw.

The second to diner at Lanczut, at night to Retsbón. Lanczut.

The thirde to Sendxizow, at night to Tarnow, and that night wee mette with the Palatine Laski.

The fourth to Vonuez, and that night to Brytska.

The fift to Kuhena.

The 6. to Cracouia the principall Citie of all Poland: at which time the King was gone to Lituania: for he doeth make his residence one yeere in Poland, and the other in Lituania. Cracouia standeth on the riuer of Vistula. Cracouia.

The 9. wee departed from Cracouia, and that night wee came to a village hard by a Towne called Ilkusch, where the leade Mines are. Leade Mines.

The 10. wee passed by a Towne called Slawkow: where there are also leade Mines, and baited that day at Bendzin, which is the last towne of Poland towards Silesia; and there is a toll. Bendzin.

Note that all the Countreys of Poland, Russia alba, Podolia, Bogdania, and diuers other Countreys adioyning vnto them, doe consume no other salt but such as is digged in Sorstyn mountaine neere to Cracouia which is as hard as any stone; it is very good, and goeth further then any other salt. That night we lay at Bitom, which is the first Towne of Silesia. Salt digged out of mountaines in Poland. Bitom.

The 12. we passed by a great towne called Strelitz, and that night we lay at Oppelen vpon the riuer of Odera. Oppelen.

The 13. we passed by Schurgasse, and that night wee lay without the towne of Brigk: for wee coulde not bee suffered to come in by reason of the plague which was in those partes in diuers Townes. Schurgasse. Brigk.

The 14. we passed by Olaw, and that night we came to the Citie of Breslaw, which is a faire towne, great, well built and well seated vpon the riuer of Odera. Breslaw.

The 16. we baited at Neumargt.

The 17. wee passed by Lignizt and by Hayn, and that night to Buntzel.

The 18. wee passed by Naumburg through Gorlitz vpon the riuer of Neiss, and that night lay without Reichenbach.

The 19. we passed by Baudzen and Cannitz, and that night to Rensperg.

The 20. we passed by Hayn, by Strelen, where we should haue passed the riuer of Elbe, but the boate was not there, so that night we lay at a towne called Mulberg.

The 21. we passed the said riuer, wee went by Belgern, by Torga, by Dumitch: and at night to Bretch.

The 22. wee passed the Elbe againe at Wittenberg, which is a very strong towne, with a good Vniuersitie: and that day we passed by Coswig.

Magdeburg. The 23. wee passed through Zerbst in the morning, and that night to Magdeburg, a very strong Towne, and well gouerned as wee did heare. The most part of the Countrey, after wee were come one dayes iourney on this side Breslawe to this place, belongeth to the Duke of Saxon.

The 24. wee passed by a castle of the Marques of Brandenburg called Wolmerstat, and that night we lay at Garleben.

The 25. wee lay at Soltwedel.

The 26. at Berg.

Lunenburg. The 27. we baited at Lunenborg, that night we lay at Winson.

Hamborg. The 28. we came to Hamborg, and there stayed one weeke.

The 5. of December wee departed from Hamborg, and passed the Elbe by boate being much frosen, and from the riuer went on foote to Boxtchoede, being a long Dutch mile off, and there we lay; and from thence passed ouer land to Emden.

Thence hauing passed through Friseland and Holland, the 25. being Christmas day in the morning we came to Delft: where wee found the right honourable the Earle of Leicester with a goodly company of Lords, knights, gentlemen, and souldiers.

The 28. at night to Roterodam.

The 29. to the Briel, and there stayed eight dayes for passage.

The fifth of Ianuary we tooke shipping.

The 7. we landed at Grauesend, and so that night at London with the helpe of almightie God.

The Turkes passeport or safeconduct for Captaine Austell, and Iacomo Manuchio.

KNow thou which art Voyuoda of Bogdania, & Valachia, & other our officers abiding and dwelling on the way by which men commonly passe into Bogdania, and Valachia, that the Embassador of England hauing two English gentlemen desirous to depart for England, the one named Henry Austel, and the other Iacomo de Manuchio, requested our highnesse letters of Safeconduct to passe through our dominions with one seruant to attende on them. Wherefore wee straightly charge you and all other our seruants by whom they shall passe, that hauing receiued this our commandement, you haue diligent care and regard that they may haue prouided for them in this their iourney (for their money) all such necessary prouision as shalbe necessary for themselues and their horses, in such sort as they may haue no cause hereafter to complaine of you. And if by chaunce they come vnto any place, where they shal stand in feare either of their persons or goods, that then you carefully cause them to bee guarded with your men, and to be conducted through all suspected places, with sufficient company; But haue great regard that they conuey not out of our countrey any of our seruiceable horses. Obey our commandement, and giue credite to this our Seale.

A Passeport of the Earle of Leicester for Thomas Foster gentleman trauailing to Constantinople.

RObertus Comes Leicestriæ, baro de Denbigh, ordinum Garterij & Sancti Michaelis eques auratus, Serenissimæ Reginæ Angliæ a Secretioribus consilijs, & magister equorum, dux & capitaneus generalis exercitus eiusdem Regiæ maiestatis in Belgio, & gubernator generalis Hollandiæ, Zelandiæ, & prouinciarum vnitarum & associatarum, omnibus ad quos præsentes literæ peruenerint, salutem. Cùm lator præsentium Thomas Foster nobilis Anglus necessarijs de causis hinc Constantinopolim profecturus sit, & inde ad nos quanta potest celeritate reuersurus: petimus ab omnibus & singulis Regibus, principibus, nobilibus, magistratibus, & alijs,

& alijs, mandent & permittant dicto Thomæ cum duobus famulis liberum transitum per eorum ditiones & territoria sine detentione aut impedimento iniusto, & prouideri sibi de necessarijs iustum precium reddenti, ac aliter conuenienter & humaniter tractari, vt occasiones eius eundi & redeundi requirent: Sicut nos Maiestates, Serenitates, Celsitudines, & dominationes vestræ paratos inuenietis, vt vestratibus in similibus casibus gratum similiter faciamus.

Datum in castris nostris Duisburgi, decimo die Septembris, anno 1586. stylo veteri.

A description of the yeerely voyage or pilgrimage of the Mahumitans, Turkes and Moores vnto Mecca in Arabia.

Of the Citie of Alexandria.

ALexandria the most ancient citie in Africa situated by the seaside containeth seuen miles in circuite, and is enuironed with two walles one neere to the other with high towers, but the walles within be farre higher then those without, with a great ditch round about the same: yet is not this Citie very strong by reason of the great antiquitie, being almost halfe destroyed and ruinated. The greatnesse of this Citie is such, that if it were of double habitation, as it is compassed with a double wall, it might be truely said, that there were two Alexandrias one builded vpon another, because vnder the foundations of the saide City are great habitations, and incredible huge pillers. True it is, that this part vnderneath remaineth at this day inhabitable, because of the corrupt aire, as also for that by time, which consumeth all things, it is greately ruinated. It might well be sayd, that the founder hereof, as he was worthy in all his enterprises, so likewise in building hereof he did a worke worthy of himselfe, naming it after his owne name. This Citie hath one defect, for it is subiect to an euill ayre, which onely proceedeth of that hollownesse vnderneath, out of the which issueth infinite moisture: and that this is true the ayre without doth euidently testifie, which is more subtile and holesome then that beneath. The waters hereof be salt, by reason that the soile of it selfe is likewise so. And therefore the inhabitants, at such time as the riuer Nilus floweth, are accustomed to open a great ditch, the head wherof extendeth into the said riuer, and from thence they conueigh the same within halfe a mile of Alexandria, and so consequently by meanes of conduct-pipes the water commeth vnto the cesternes of Alexandria, which being full serue the citie from one inundation to another. Within the citie is a Pyramide mentioned of in Histories, but not of great importance. Without the citie is La colonna di Pompeio, or the pillar of Pompey, being of such height and thicknesse, that it is supposed there is not the like in the whole world besides. Within the citie there is nothing of importance saue a litle castle which is guarded with 60 Ianizaries. Alexandria hath three portes, one towardes Rossetto, another to the land ward, & the third to the sea ward, which is called Babelbar, without which appeareth a broad Iland called Ghesira in the Moores tongue, which is not wholy an Iland, because a litle point or corner thereof toucheth the firme lande, and therefore may be called Peninsula, that is to say, almost an Iland. Hereupon are builded many houses of the Iewes, in respect of the aire. This Peninsula is situate betweene two very good ports, one of them being much more safe then the other, called The old port, into the which only the vessels of Barbarie, and the sixe Gallies of the Grand Signior deputeth for the guard of Alexandria doe enter. And this port hath vpon the right hand at the mouth or enterance thereof a castle of small importance, and guarded but with fifteene men or thereabouts. On the other side of this Iland is the other called The new port, which name is not vnfitly giuen vnto it, for that in all mens iudgement in times past there hath not beene water there, because in the midst of this port, where the water is very deepe, there are discouered and found great sepulchres and other buildings, out of the which are dayly digged with engines Iaspar and Porphyrie stones of great value, of the which great store are sent to Constantinople for the ornament of the Mesquitas or Turkish Temples, and of other buildings of the Grand Signior. Into this port enter all such vessels as traffique to this place. This port hath on ech side a castle, whereof

that vpon the Peninsula is called Faraone, vpon the toppe whereof euery night there is a light set in a great lanterne for direction of the ships, and for the guard thereof are appointed 200 Ianizaries: the other on the other side is but a litle castle kept by 18 men. It is certaine, that this hauen of Alexandria is one of the chiefest hauens in the world: for hither come to traffique people of euery Nation, and all sorts of vessels which goe round about the citie. It is more inhabited by strangers, marchants, and Christians, then by men of the countrey which are but a few in number. Within the citie are fiue Fontechi, that is to say, one of the Frenchmen, where the Consul is resident, & this is the fairest and most commodious of all the rest. Of the other foure, two belong to the Venetians, one to the Raguseans, and the fourth to the Genoueses. And all strangers which come to traffique there, except the Venetians, are vnder the French Consull. It is also to be vnderstodd, that all the Christians dwell within their Fontechi, and euery euening at the going downe of the sunne, they which are appointed for that office goe about and shut all the gates of the saide Fontechi outward, and the Christians shut the same within: and so likewise they doe on the Friday (which is the Moores and the Turkes Sabboth) till their deuotions be expired. And by this meanes all parties are secure and voide of feare: for in so doing the Christians may sleepe quietly and not feare robbing, and the Moores neede not doubt whiles they sleepe or pray, that the Christians should make any tumult, as in times past hath happened.

Fontecho signifieth an house of trafique, at the Sellyard.

Of the coast of Alexandria.

ON the side towardes Barbarie along the sea-coast for a great space there is founde neither hold, nor any thing worthy of mention: but on the other side towards Syria 13 miles from Alexandria standeth a litle castle called Bichier kept by fiftie Turkes, which castle is very olde and weake, and hath a port which in times past was good, but at this present is vtterly decayed and full of sand, so that the vessels which come thither dare not come neere the shoare, but ride far off into the sea. Fortie miles further is Rossetto, which is a litle towne without walles, and is situate vpon the banke of Nilus three miles from the sea, at which place many *times they* build ships and other vessels, for gouernement whereof is appointed a Saniachey, without any other guard: it is a place of traffique, and the inhabitants are very rich, but naughtie varlets and traytours. Further downe along the sea-side and the riuer banke is another litle castle like vnto the abouesayde, and because the Moores beleeue, that Mecca will in short time be conquered by the Christians, they holde opinion, that the same being lost shall be renued in this place of Rossetto, namely, that all their prayers, vowes, and pilgrimages shall be transported to Rossetto, as the religious order of Saint Iohn of the Rhodes is translated thence to Malta. Further forwarde thirtie miles standes another castle of small importance called Brulles, kept continually by fourtie Turkes, which hath a good and secure port, in forme like to a very great lake or ponde, wherein is taken great quantitie of fish, which they salt, and the marchants of Candie and Cyprus come thither to lade the same, and it is greatly esteemed, especially of the Candiots, who hauing great abundance of wine aduenture abroad to seeke meate fitte for the taste of the sayd wine. Distant from Brulles fiue and thirtie miles there is another castle like vnto the abouesayd kept by an Aga with fourtie men or thereabout. More within the lande by the riuers side is Damiata an auncient citie enuironed with walles contayning fiue miles in circuit, and but of small strength. For the gouernement of this place is a Sanjaco with all his housholde and no other companie. This citie is very large, delightfull, and pleasant, abounding with gardens and faire fountaines. Other fortie miles further is Latma, a castle of very small importance, and kept as other with fortie Turkes vnder an Aga. In this place is no port, but a roade very daungerous, and without other habitation. Passing this place we enter Iudea. But because our intent is to reason simply of the voyage to Mecca, we will proceede no further this way, but returning to our first way, let it suffice to say, that from Alexandria to Cairo are two hundred miles, in which way I finde nothing woorthie of memorie.

Bichier.

Rossetto.

Of

Of the mightie Citie of Cairo.

CAiro containeth in circuit eighteene miles, being so inhabited and replenished with people, that almost it cannot receiue more; and therefore they haue beguone to builde newe houses without the citie and about the walles. In Cairo are people of all Nations, as Christians, Armenians, Abexins, Turkes, Moores, Iewes, Indians, Medians, Persians, Arabians, and other sortes of people, which resort thither by reason of the great traffique. This citie is gouerned by a Basha, which ministreth iustice, together with the Cadie throughout the whole kingdome. Also there are two and twentie Saniackes, whose office is onely to ouersee and guarde the kingdome for euery good respect. There are also seuen thousand Turkes in pay, to wit, three thousand Ianizaries, and foure thousand horsemen: The rest of the people in Cairo are for the most part marchants which goe and come, and the remnant are Moores and other base people About two miles from Cairo there is another little Cairo called The olde Cairo, which containeth in circuit litle more then tenne miles, and the better halfe is not inhabited, but destroyed, whereof I neede not make any other mention. The new Cairo answereth euery yeere in tribute to the grand Signior, 600000 ducates of golde, neat and free of all charges growing on the same, which money is sent to Constantinople, about the fine of September, by the way of Aleppo, alwayes by lande, vnder the custodie of three hundred horsemen, and two hundred lanizaries footmen. The citie of Cairo is adorned with many faire Mesquitas rich, great, and of goodly and gorgeous building, among which are fiue principall. The first is called Morastano, that is to say, The hospitall, which hath of rent fiue hundred ducats of golde euery day left vnto it by a king of Damasco from auncient times; which king hauing conquered Cairo, for the space of fiue dayes continually put the people thereof to the sword, and in the end repenting him of so great manslaughter, caused this cruelty to cease, and to obtaine remission for his sinne committed, caused this hospitall to be built, enriching it as is aboue said. The second famous monument of Cairo is called Neffisa, of one Neffisa buried there, who was a Dame of honour, and mooued by lust, yeelded her body voluntarily without rewarde, to any that required the same, and sayde she bestowed this almes for the loue of her Prophet Mahomet, and therefore at this day they adore her, reuerence her, and finally haue canonized her for a Saint, affirming that shee did many miracles. The third is called Zauia della Innachari, who was one of the foure Doctors in the law. The fourth is called Imamsciafij, where is buried Sciafij the second Doctor of this law. Of the other two Doctors one is buried in Damasco, the other in Aleppo. The fift & last famous monument is Giamalazar, that is, the house of Lazarus: and this is the generall Vniuersity of the whole kingdome of Egypt. In this place Anno 1566 in the moneth of Ianuary 1566. by misfortune of fire were burned nine thousand bookes of great value, as well for that they were written by hand, as also wrought so richly with golde, that they were worth 300 and 400 ducats a piece, one with another. And because it could neuer be knowen yet how this fire beganne, they haue and doe holde the same for a most sinister augurie, and an euident and manifest signe of their vtter ruine. The houses of Cairo without are very faire, & within the greater number richly adorned with hangings wrought with golde. Euery person which resorteth to this place for traffiques sake, is bound to pay halfe a duckat, except the gentlemen Venetians, Siotes, and Rhaguseans, because they are tributarie to the Grand Signor. Cairo is distant from the riuer Nilus a mile and more, being situate on a plaine, saue that on the one side it hath a faire little hill, on the toppe whereof stands a faire castle, but not strong, for that it may be battered on euery side, but very rich & large, compassed about with faire gardens into the which they conueigh water for their necessitie out of Nilus, with certaine wheeles & other like engines. This magnificent citie is adorned with very fruitfull gardens both pleasant and commodious, with great plenty of pondes to water the same. Notwithstanding the great pleasures of Cairo are in the moneth of August, when by meanes of the great raine in Ethiopia the riuer Nilus ouerfloweth and watereth all the countrey, and then they open the mouth of a great ditch, which extendeth into the riuer, and passeth through the midst of the citie, and entring there are innumerable barkes rowing too and fro laden with

The description of Cairo.

with gallant girles and beautifull dames, which with singing, eating, drinking and feasting, take their solace. The women of this countrey are most beautifull, and goe in rich attire bedecked with gold, pretious stones, and iewels of great value, but chiefely perfumed with odours, and are very libidinous, and the men likewise, but foule and hard fauoured. The soile is very fertile and abundant, the flesh fat which they sell without bones, their candles they make of the marowe of cattell, because the Moores eate the tallow. They vse also certaine litle furnaces made of purpose, vnder the which they make fire, putting into the furnace foure or fiue hundred egges, and the said fire they nourish by litle and litle, vntill the chickens be hatched, which after they be hatched, and become somewhat bigger, they sell them by measure in such sort, as we sell and measure nuts and chestnuts and such like.

Of certaine notable monuments without the citie of Cairo.

WIthout the Citie, sixe miles higher into the land, are to be seene neere vnto the riuer diuerse Piramides, among which are three marueilous great, and very artificially wrought. Out of one of these are dayly digged the bodies of auncient men, not rotten, but all whole, the cause whereof is the qualitie of the Egyptian soile, which will not consume the flesh of man, but rather dry and harden the same, and so alwayes conserueth it. And these dead bodies are the Mummie which the Phisitians and Apothecaries doe against our willes make vs to swallow. Also by digging in these Pyramides oftentimes are found certaine Idoles or Images of golde, siluer, and other mettall, but vnder the other piramides the bodies are not taken vp so whole as in this, but there are found legges and armes comparable to the limmes of giants. Neare to these piramides appeareth out of the sand a great head of stone somewhat like marble, which is discouered so farre as the necke ioyneth with the shoulders, being all whole, sauing that it wanteth a litle tippe of the nose. The necke of this head containeth in circuit about sixe and thirty foot, so that it may be according to the necke considered, what greatnesse the head is of. The riuer Nilus is a mile broad, wherein are very many great Crocodiles from Cairo vpward, but lower than Cairo passeth no such creature: and this, they say, is by reason of an inchantment made long since which hindereth their passage for comming any lower then Cairo. Moreouer of these creatures there are sometimes found some of an incredible bignesse, that is to say, of fourtie foot about. The males haue their members like to a man, and the females like to a woman. These monsters oftentimes issue out of the water to feede, and finding any small beasts, as sheepe, lambes, goates, or other like, doe great harme. And whiles they are foorth of the water, if they happen at vnwares vpon any man, woman or childe, whom they can ouercome, they spare not their liues. In the yeere of our Lord one thousand fiue hundred and sixtie it happened, that certaine poore Christians trauelling by Cairo towardes the countrey of Prete Ianni to rescue certaine slaues, were guided by a Chaus, and iourneyed alongst the banke of the said riuer. The Chaus remained lingering alone behinde to make his prayers (as their custome is) at a place called Tana, whom being busie in his double deuotion one of these Crocodiles ceazed by the shoulders, and drew him vnder water, so that he was neuer after seene. And for this cause they haue made in sundry places certaine hedges as bankes within the water, so that betwixt the hedge and banke of the riuer there remaineth so much water, that the women washing may take water without danger at their pleasure. This countrey is so fruitfull, that it causeth the women as also other creatures to bring foorth one, two, and oft-times three at a birth. Fiue miles southwarde of Cairo is a place called Matarea, where the balme is refined: and therefore some will say, that the trees which beare the balme growe in the said place, wherein they are deceiued: for the sayde trees growe two dayes iourney from Mecca, in a place called Bedrihone, which yeeldeth balme in great plenty, but sauage, wilde, and without vertue, and therefore the Moores carying the same within litle chests from Bedrihone to Matarea, where the trees being replanted (be it by vertue of the soyle, or the water, aire, or any other thing whatsoeuer) it sufficeth that here they beare the true balme and liccur so much in these dayes esteemed of. In this place of Matarea there are certaine little houses, with most goodly gardens, and a chappell of antiquity, where the very Moores themselues affirme,

affirme, that the mother of the blessed Christ fleeing from the fury of wicked Herode there saued her selfe with the childe, wherein that saying of the Prophet was fulfilled, Ex Ægypto vocaui filium meum. The which Chappell in the yeare of our Lorde one thousand fiue hundred and foure, the Magnifico Daniel Barbaro first Consull of that place went to visite, and caused it to be renued and reedified, so that in these dayes there resort thither many Christians, who oftentimes bring with them a Priest, to say masse there. Also about an Harquebuz-shotte from Matarea is a spire of great height like to that at Rome, and more beautifull to behoulde. Neere vnto the olde Cairo are yet twelue storehouses of great antiquitie, but now very much decayed, and these till late dayes serued to keepe corne for behoofe of the kingdome, concerning which many are of opinion, that the founder hereof was Ioseph the sonne of Iacob, for consideration of the seuen deare yeares. Also passing higher vp by the banke of Nilus, there is to bee seene a fayre Citie ouerflowed with water, the which at such time as Nilus floweth lyeth vnder water, but when the water returneth to the marke, there plainely appeare princely palaces, and stately pillars, being of some called Thebes, where they say that Pharao was resident. Moreouer three dayes iourney higher vp are two great images of speckled marble, all whole, and somewhat sunke into the earth, being things wonderfull to consider of, for the nose of either is two spannes and an halfe long, and the space from one eare to the other conteineth tenne spannes, the bodies being correspondent to their heads, and grauen in excellent proportion, so that they are shapes of maruellous hugenesse, and these they call The wife, and The daughter of Pharao. Olde Thebes.

Of the patriarke of Greece.

IN Cairo are two Patriarkes, one of the Greekes, and another of the Iacobites. The Greeke Patriarke called Gioechni, being about the age of one hundred and thirteene yeeres, was a very good and holy man. They say, that when Soldan Gauri of Egypt reigned, there was done this miracle following: this good patriarke being enuied at by the Iewes of the countrey, for none other cause, but for his good workes, and holy life, it happened (I say) that being in disputation with certaine of the Hebrewes in presence of the Sultan, and reasoning of their lawe and faith, it was sayd vnto him by one of these Miscreants: sith thou beleeuest in the faith of Christ, take and drinke this potion which I will giue thee; and if thy Christ be true Messias and true God, he will (sayd he) deliuer thee from daunger. To whom the auncient patriarke answered, that he was content: whereupon that cursed Iewe brought him a cuppe of the most venemous and deadly poyson that could be found, which the holy Patriarke hauing perceiued, said: In the name of the father, of the sonne, and of the holy Ghost: and hauing so sayde he dranke it quite vp; which done, he tooke a droppe of pure water, putting it into that very cup, and gaue it vnto the Iewe, saying vnto him, I in the name of my Christe haue drunke thy poyson, and therefore in the name of thy expected Messias drinke this water of mine within thine owne cuppe. Whereupon the Iewe tooke the cup out of the hand of the Patriarke, and hauing drunke the water, within halfe an houre burst a sunder. And the Patriarke had none other hurt, saue that he became somewhat pale in sight, and so remained euer after. And this miracle (which meriteth to be called no lesse) was done to the great commendation of the holy Patriarke in the presence of a thousand persons, and namely of the Soldan of Egypt: who seeing the despight of the Iewes, vnto their owne cost and confusion compelled them to make the conduct, which with so many engines commeth into the castle from Nilus aboue mentioned. And this triumphant Patriarke not long since was aliue, and in perfect health, which God continue long time.

Of the preparation of the Carouan to goe to Mecca.

AS touching the Carouan which goeth to Mecca, it is to be vnderstoode, that the Mahumetans obserue a kinde of lent continuing one whole moone, and being a moueable ceremonie, which sometimes falleth high, sometimes lowe in the yeere called in their tongue Ramazan, and their feast is called Bairam. During this time of lent all they which intende to goe vnto Mecca resort vnto Cairo, because that twentie dayes after the feast the Carouan is readie

readie to depart on the voyage: and thither resort a great multitude of people from Asia, Grecia, and Barbaria to goe on this voyage, some mooued by deuotion, and some for traffiques sake, and some to passe away the time. Nowe within fewe dayes after the feast they which goe on the voyage depart out of the citie two leagues vnto a place called Birca, where they expect the Captaine of the Carouan. This place hath a great pond caused by the inundation of Nilus, and so made, that the camels and other beastes may drinke therein: whereof, namely, of Mules, Camels, and Dromedaries there are at least fortie thousand, and the persons which followe the Carouan euerie yeere are about fiftie thousand, fewe more or lesse according to the times. Moreouer euery three yeeres they renue the Captaine of the Carouan, called in the Arabian tongue Amarilla Haggi, that is, the Captaine of the Pilgrimes, to whom the Grand Signior giueth euery voyage eightéene purses, conteyning each of them sixe hundred twentie and fiue ducates of golde, and these be for the behoofe of the Carouan, and also to doe almes vnto the needfull pilgrimes. This Captaine, besides other seruingmen which follow him, hath also foure Chausi to serue him. Likewise he hath with him for the securitie of the Carouan foure hundred souldiers, to wit, two hundred Spachi or horsemen mounted on Dromedaries, and two hundred Ianizaries riding vpon Camels. The Chausi and the Spachi are at the charge of the Captaine, but the Ianizaries not so, for their prouision is made them from Cairo. The Spachi weare caps or bonnets like to the caps of Sergeants, but the Ianizaries after another sort, with a lappe falling downe behinde like a French-hoode, and hauing before a great piece of wrought siluer on their heads. The charge of these is to cause the Carouan to march in good array when neede requireth; these are not at the commaundement of any but of the Captaine of the Carouan. Moreouer the Captaine hath for his guide eight pilots, the office of whom is alwayes stable and firme from heire to heire, and these goe before guiding the Carouan, and shewing the way, as being well experienced in the place, and in the night they gouerne them as the mariners, by the starre. These also vse to sende before foure or fiue men carying pieces of dry wood which giue light, because they should not goe out of the way, and if at any time through their ill hap they wander astray out of the way, they are cast downe and beaten with so many bastonadoes vpon the soles of their feete, as serue them for a perpetuall remembrance. The Captaine of the Carouan hath his Lieutenant accompanied continually with fifteene Spachi, and he hath the charge to set the Carouan in order, and to cause them to depart on their iourney when neede requireth: and during the voyage their office is some whiles to goe before with the forewarde, sometimes to come behinde with the rereward, sometimes to march on the one side, and sometimes on the other, to spy, that the coast be cleare. The Carouan carrieth with it sixe pieces of ordinance drawen by 12 camels, which serue to terrifie the Arabians, as also to make triumph at Mecca, and other places. The marchants which followe the Carouan, some carry for marchandise cloth of silke, some Corall, some tinne, others wheat, rise, and all sorts of graine. Some sell by the way, some at Mecca, so that euery one bringeth something to gaine by, because all marchandise that goeth by land payeth no custome, but that which goeth by sea is bound to pay tenne in the hundred.

Pieces of dry wood in stead of torches.

The beginning of the voyage.

THe feast before the Carouan setteth forth, the Captaine with all his retinue and officers resort vnto the castle of Cairo before the Basha, which giueth vnto euery man a garment, and that of the Captaine is wrought with golde, and the others are serued according to their degree. Moreouer he deliuereth vnto him ℣ Chisua Talnabi, which signifieth in the Arabian tongue, The garment of the Prophet: this vesture is of silke, wrought in the midst with letters of gold, which signifie: La illa ill' alla Mahumet Resullala: that is to say, There are no gods but God, and his ambassadour Mahumet. This garment is made of purpose to couer from top to botome a litle house in Mecca standing in the midst of the Mesquita, the which house (they say) was builded by Abraham or by his sonne Ismael. After this he deliuereth to him a gate made of purpose for the foresaid house of Abraham wrought all with fine golde, and being of excellent workmanship, and it is a thing of great value. Besides, he deliuereth

vnto

vnto him a couering of greene velnet made in maner of a pyramis, about nine palmes high, and artificially wrought with most fine golde, and this is to couer the tombe of their prophet within Medina, which tombe is built in manner of a pyramis: and besides that couering there are brought many others of golde and silke, for the ornament of the sayde tombe. Which things being consigned, the Basha departeth not from his place; but the Captaine of the Carouan taketh his leaue with all his officers and souldiers, and departeth accompanied with all the people of Cairo orderly in manner of a procession, with singing, shouting and a thousand other ceremonies too long to recite. From the castle they goe to a gate of the citie called Bab-Nassera, without the which standes a Mosquita, and therein they lay vp the sayd vestures very well kept and guarded. And of this ceremony they make so great account, that the world commeth to see this sight, yea the women great with childe, and others with children in their armes, neither is it lawfull for any man to forbid his wife the going to this feast, for that in so doing the wife may separate her selfe from her husband, and may lie with any other man, in regard of so great a trespasse. Now this procession proceeding from the castle towardes the Mosquita, the Camels which bring the vestures are all adorned with cloth of golde, with many little belles, and passing along the streete you may see the multitude casting vpon the said vestures thousands of beautifull flowers of diuers colours, & sweete water, others bringing towels & fine cloth touch the same, which euer after they keepe as reliques with great reuerence. Afterward hauing left the vesture in the Mosquita, as is aforesaid, they returne againe into the citie, where they remaine the space of 20 dayes; and then the captaine departeth with his company, and taking the vestures out of the Mosquita, carieth the same to the foresaid place of Birca, where the Captaine hauing pitched his tent with the standard of the grand Signior ouer the gate, & the other principall tents standing about his, stayeth there some tenne dayes and no more: in which time all those resort thither that meane to follow the Carouan in this voyage to Mecca. Where you shall see certaine women which intend to goe on this voiage accompanied with their parents and friends mounted vpon Camels, adorned with so many tryfles, tassels, and knots, that in beholding the same a man cannot refraine from laughter. The last night before their departure they make great feasting and triumph within the Carouan, with castles and other infinite deuises of fireworke, the Ianizaries alwayes standing round about the tent of the Captaine with such shouting and ioy, that on euery side the earth resoundeth, and this night they discharge all their ordinance, foure or sixe times, and after at the breake of the day vpon the sound of a trumpet they march forward on their way.

What times the Carouan trauelleth, and when it resteth.

IT is to be noted, that from Cairo to Mecca they make 40 dayes iourney or thereabout, & the same great dayes iourneies. For the custome of the Carouan is to trauell much and rest little, and ordinarily they iourney in this maner: They trauell from two a clocke in the morning vntill the sunne rising, then hauing rested till noone, they set forward, and so continue till night, & then also rest againe, as is abouesaid, till two of the clocke: and this order they obserue vntill the end of the voiage, neuer changing the same, except in some places, whereof we will hereafter speake, where for respect of water they rest sometimes a day and an halfe, and this they obserue to refresh themselues, otherwise both man and beast would die.

In what order the Carouan trauelleth.

THe maner and order which the Carouan obserueth in marching is this. It goeth diuided into three parts, to wit, the foreward, the maine battell, and the rereward. In the foreward go the 8 Pilots before with a Chaus, which hath foure knaues, & ech knaue carrieth a sinew of a bul, to the end that if occasion requireth, ℥ bastonado may be giuen to such as deserue the same. These knaues cast offendours downe, turning vp the soles of their feete made fast to a staffe, giuing them a perpetuall remembrance for them & the beholders. This Chaus is as the Captaine of the foreward, which commandeth lights to be carried before when they trauell in the night. Also there go in this foreward 6 Santones with red turbants vpon their

heads, & these eat and ride at the cost of the Captaine of the Carouan. These Santones when the Carouan arriueth at any good lodging, suddenly after they haue escried the place, cry with an horrible voyce saying, good cheare, good cheare, we are neere to the wished lodging. For which good newes the chiefe of the company bestow their beneuolence vpon them. In this foreward goeth very neere the third part of the people of the Carouan, behind whom go alwayes 25 Spachi armed with swords, bowes & arrowes to defend them from thieues. Next vnto the foreward, within a quarter of a mile, followeth the maine battell, and before the same are drawen the sayd sixe pieces of ordinance, with their gunners, and fifteene Spachi Archers. And next vnto these commeth the chiefe physicion, who is an olde man of authoritie, hauing with him many medicines, oyntments, salues, and other like refreshings for the sicke, hauing also camels with him for the sicke to ride on, which haue no horse nor beast. Next vnto him goeth one Camell alone, the fairest that can be found: for with great industrie is sought the greatest and fairest which may be found within the dominions of the Grand Signior. This camell also is decked with cloth of golde and silke, and carieth a litle chest made of pure Legmame made in likenesse of the arke of the olde Testament: but, as is abouesayd, made of pure Legmame, without golde or any other thing of cost. Within this chest is the Alcoran all written with great letters of golde, bound betweene two tables of massie golde, and the chest during their voyage is couered with Silke, but at their entring into Mecca it is all couered with cloth of golde, adorned with iewels, and the like at the enterance into Medina. The Camell aforesayd which carrieth the chest, is compassed about with many Arabian singers and musicians, alwayes singing and playing vpon instruments. After this folow fifteene other most faire Camels, euery one carying one of the abouesayd vestures, being couered from toppe to toe with silke. Behind these goe twentie other Camels which carrie the money, apparell, and prouision of the Amir el Cheggi captaine of the Carouan. After foloweth the royall Standard of the grand Signior, accompanied continually with the musicians of the captaine, and fiue and twentie Spachi archers, with a Chaus before them, and about these marueilous things goe all the people and Camels which follow the Carouan. Behind these, lesse then a mile, foloweth the rereward, whereof the greater part are pilgrimes: the occasion whereof is, for that the merchants seeke alwayes to be in the foreward for the securitie of their goods, but the pilgrimes which haue litle to loose care not though they come behind. Behind these alwayes goe fiue and twentie other Spachi well armed with another Chaus their captaine, and fortie Arabians all Archers for guard of the rereward. And because the Carouan goeth alwayes along the red sea banke, which in going forth they haue on their right hand, therfore the two hundred Ianissaries parted into three companies goe vpon their left hand well armed and mounted vpon Camels bound one to another, for vpon that side is all the danger of thieues, and on the other no danger at all, the captaine of the Carouan alwayes going about his people, sometimes on the one side, and sometimes on the other, neuer keeping any firme place, being continually accompanied with a Chaus and 25. Spachi, armed and mounted vpon Dromedaries, and 8. musicians with violes in their handes, which cease not sounding till the captaine take his rest, vpon whom they attend, till such time as he entreth his pauillion, and then licencing all his attendants and folowers to depart, they goe each man to their lodging.

Of things notable which are seene in this voyage by the way.

BEcause in the way there are not many things found woorthy memorie, for that the Carouan seldome resteth in places of habitation, of which in the way there are but fewe, yea rather the Carouan resteth altogether in the field: therefore in this our voyage wee will onely make mention of certaine Castles found in the way, which bee these, namely, Agerut, Nachel, Acba, Biritem, Muel, and Ezlem. Of which fiue, the two first are kept of Moores, and the other three of Turkes, and for guard they haue eight men or tenne at the most in euery Castle, with foure or fiue Smerigli, which serue to keepe the water from the Arabians, so that the Carouan comming thither, may haue wherewithall to refresh it selfe. Agerut is distant from Suez a port of the red Sea eight miles, where are alwayes resident fiue and twentie gallies of the

the Grand Signior for the keeping of that Sea. Nachel is distant from the Sea a dayes iourney. The walles of Acba are founded vpon the red Sea banke. Biritem and Muel likewise are dashed by the wanes of the Sea. Ezlem is distant from thence aboue a dayes iourney. These fiue Castles abouesayd are not of force altogether to defend themselues agaynst an hundred men. The Carouan departing from Birca vntill Agerut findeth no water by the way to drinke, neither from Agerut till Nachel, nor from Nachel till Acba, but betweene Acba and Biritem are found two waters, one called Agiam el Cassap, and the other Magarraxiaibi, that is to say, the riuer of Iethro the father in lawe of Moses, for this is the place mentioned in the second chapter of Exodus, whither it is sayd that Moses fledde from the anger of Pharao, who would haue killed him, because hee had slaine the Ægyptian, which fought with the Hebrew, in which place stoode the cite of Midian; and there are yet the pondes, neere vnto the which Moses sate downe. And from that place forward they finde more store of water by the way, and in more places, though not so good. It is also to bee noted, that in this voiage it is needfull and an vsuall thing, that the captaine put his hand to his purse, in these places, and bestow presents, garments, and turbants vpon certaine of the chiefe of the Arabians, to the ende they may giue him and his Carouan, free passage: who also promise, that their followers likewise shall doe no damage to the Carouan, and bind themselues to accomplish the same, promising also by worde of mouth, that if the Carouan bee robbed, they will make restitution of such things as are stollen: but notwithstanding the Carouan is by them oftentimes damnified, and those which are robbed haue no other restitution at the Arabians handes then the shewing of them a paire of heeles, flying into such places as it is impossible to finde them. Nowe the Carouan continuing her accustomed iourneys, and hauing passed the aboue sayd castles, and others not woorthie mention, at length commeth to a place called Iehbir, which is the beginning and confine of the state and realme of Serifo the king of Mecca: where, at their approching issueth out to meete them the gouernour of the land, with all his people to receiue the Carouan, with such shouting and triumph, as is impossible to expresse, where they staie one whole day. This place aboundeth with fresh and cleare waters, which with streames fall downe from the high mountaines. Moreouer, in this place are great store of dates, and flesh great store and good cheape, and especially laced muttons which willingly fall downe, and here the weary pilgrimes haue commoditie to refresh themselues, saying, that this wicked fact purgeth them from a multitude of sinnes, and besides increaseth deuotion to prosecute the voiage. Touching the building in these places, it is to bee iudged by the houses halfe ruinated, that it hath bene a magnificent citie: but because it was in times past inhabited more with thieues then true men, it was therefore altogether destroyed by Soldan Gauri king of Ægypt, who going on pilgrimage vnto Mecca, and passing by this place, there was by the inhabitants hereof some iniurie done vnto his Carouan, which hee vnderstanding of, dissembled till his returne from Mecca, and then caused it to bee burned and destroyed in pitifull sort for reuenge of the iniurie done vnto the Carouan. The Carouan hauing rested and being refreshed as is aboue sayd, the next day departeth on the way, and the first place they arriue at woorthy mention is called Bedrihonem, in which place (as is aforesayd) grow those little shrubbes whereout Balme issueth. And before the Carouan arriueth at this place a mile from the citie is a large and great field enuironed about with most high and huge mountaines. And in this field, according to the Alcoran, their prophet Mahomet had a most fierce and cruel battell giuen by the Christians of the countrey and other people which set themselues agaynst them, and withstood his opinion, so that hee was ouercome and vanquished of the Christians, and almost halfe of his people slaine in the battell. Whereupon, the prophet seeing himselfe in such extremitie, fell to his prayers, and they say, that God hauing compassion vpon his deare friend and prophet, heard him, and sent him infinite thousands of angels, wherewith returning to the battell, they conquered and ouercame the conquerour. And therefore in memorie of this victorie, the Carouan lodgeth euery yeere one night in this place, making great bonefires with great mirth. And they say that as yet there is heard vpon the mountaines a litle drumme, which while the Carouan passeth, neuer ceaseth sounding. And they say further, that the sayd drumme is sounded by the angels in signe of that great victory graunted of God to their prophet. Also the Mahumetan writings affirme, that after the ende of the sayd battell,

tell, the prophet commaunded certaine of his people to goe and burie all the Mahumetans which were dead in the fields, who going, knew not the one from the other, because as yet they vsed not circumcision, so they returned vnto him, answering, that they had bene to doe his commaundement, but they knew not the Musulmans from the Christians. To whom the prophet answered, saying: Turne againe, and all those which you shall finde with their faces downeward, leaue them, because all they are misbeleeuers: and the other which you shall finde with their faces turned vpward, them burie, for they are the true Musulmani, and so his commaundement was done.

The next morning by Sunne rising, the Carouan arriueth at Bedrihonem, in which place euery man washeth himselfe from toppe to toe, as well men as women, and leauing off their apparell, hauing each one a cloth about their priuities, called in their tongue Photah, and another white one vpon their shoulders, all which can goe to Mecca in this habite, doe so, and are thought to merite more then the other, but they which cannot doe so make a vowe to sacrifice a Ramme at the mountaine of pardons; and after they bee washed, it is not lawfull for any man or woman to kill either flea or lowse with their handes, neither yet to take them with their nailes, vntill they haue accomplished their vowed orations in the mountaine of pardons abouesayd: and therefore they cary with them certaine stickes made of purpose in maner of a File, called in their language Arca, Cassah Guch, with which they grate their shoulders. And so the Carouan marching, commeth within two miles of Mecca where they rest that night. In the morning at the breake of day, with all pompe possible they set forward toward Mecca, and drawing neere thereunto, the Seripho issueth foorth of the citie with his guard, accompanied with an infinite number of people, shouting, and making great triumph. And being come out of the citie a boweshoote into a faire field, where a great multitude of tents are pitched, and in the middest the pauillion of the captaine, who meeting with the Serifo, after salutations on each side, they light from their horses and enter into the pauillion, where the king of Mecca deprineth himselfe of all authoritie and power, and committeth the same to the aboue named captaine, giuing him full licence and authoritie to commaund, gouerne, and minister iustice during his aboad in Mecca with his company, and on the other side the captaine to requite this liberalitie vsed toward him by the Serifo giueth him a garment of cloth of gold of great value, with certaine iewels and other like things. After this, sitting downe together vpon carpets and hides they eate together, and rising from thence with certaine of the chiefest, and taking with them the garment and gate abouesayd, they goe directly to the Mosquita, attended on but with a fewe, and being entered, they cause the olde to be pulled downe, and put the newe couerture vpon the house of Abraham, and the olde vesture is the eunuchs which serue in the sayde Mosquita, who after sell it vnto the pilgrimes at foure or fiue serafines the pike: and happy doth that man thinke himselfe, which can get neuer so litle a piece thereof, to conserue euer after as a most holy relique: and they say, that putting the same vnder the head of a man at the houre of his death, through vertue thereof all his sinnes are forgiuen. Also they take away the old doore, setting in the place the new doore, and the old by custome they giue vnto the Serifo. After hauing made their praiers with certaine ordinarie and woonted ceremonies, the Serifo remaineth in the citie, and the captaine of the pilgrimage returneth vnto his pauillion.

Of the Serifo the king of Mecca.

THe Serifo is descended of the prophet Mahomet by Fatma daughter of that good prophet, and Alli husband to her, and sonne in lawe to Mahumet, who had no issue male, saue this stocke of the Serifo, to the eldest sonne whereof the realme commeth by succession. This realme hath of reuenues royall, euery yeere halfe a million of golde, or litle more: and all such as are of the prophets kinred, or descended of that blood (which are almost innumerable) are called Emyri, that is to say, lordes. These all goe clothed in greene, or at the least haue their turbant greene, to bee knowen from the other. Neither is it permitted that any of those Christians which dwell or traffique in their Countrey goe clothed in greene, neither may they haue any thing of greene about them: for they say it is not lawfull for misbeleeuers

beleeuers to weare that colour, wherein that great friend and prophet of God Mahomet was woont to be apparelled.

Of the citie of Mecca.

THe Citie of Mecca in the Arabian tongue is called Macca, that is to say, an habitation. This citie is inuironed about with exceeding high and barren mountaines, and in the plaine betweene the sayde mountaines and the citie are many pleasant gardens, where groweth great abundaunce of figges, grapes, apples, and melons. There is also great abundance of good water and fleshe, but not of bread. This citie hath no walles about it, and containeth in circuite fiue miles. The houses are very handsome and commodious, and are built like to the houses in Italie. The palace of the Serifo is sumptuous and gorgeously adorned. The women of the place are courteous, iocund, and louely, faire, with alluring eyes, being hote and libidinous, and the most of them naughtie packes. The men of this place are giuen to that abhominable, cursed, and opprobrious vice, whereof both men and women make but small account by reason of the pond Zun Zun, wherein hauing washed themselues, their opinion is, that although like the dog they returne to their vomite, yet they are clensed from all sinne whatsoeuer, of which sin we will hereafter more largely discourse. In the midst of the city is ỹ great Mosquita, with the house of Abraham standing in the very middest thereof, which Mosquita was built in the time when their prophet liued. It is foure square, and so great, that it containeth two miles in circuit, that is to say, halfe a mile each side. Also it is made in maner of a cloister, for that in the midst thereof separate from the rest, is the abouesayd house of Abraham, also the galleries round about are in maner of 4. streetes, and the partitions which diuide the one street from the other are pillars, whereof some are of marble, and others of lime and stone. This famous and sumptuous Mosquita hath 99. gates, and 5. steeples, from whence the Talismani call the people to the Mosquita. And the pilgrimes which are not prouided of tents, resort hither, and for more deuotion the men and women lie together aloft and beneath, one vpõ another, so that their house of praier becommeth worse sometimes then a den of thieues.

Of the house of Abraham.

THe house of Abraham is also foure square, and made of speckled stone, 20. paces high, and 40 in circuit. And vpon one side of this house within the wall, there is a stone of a span long, and halfe a span broad, which stone (as they say) before this house was builded, fell downe from heauen, at the fall whereof was heard a voyce, that wheresoeuer this stone fell, there should be built the house of God, wherein God will heare sinners. Moreouer, they say that when this stone fell from heauen, it was not blacke as now, but as white as the whitest snow, and by reason it hath bene so oft kissed by sinners, it is therewith become blacke: for all the pilgrimes are bound to kisse this stone, otherwise they cary their sinnes home with them again. The entrance into this house is very small, made in maner of a window, and as high from the ground as a man can reach, so that it is painful to enter. This house hath without 31. pillars of brasse, set vpon cubike or square stones being red and greene, the which pillars sustaine not ought els saue a threed of copper, which reacheth from one to another, whereunto are fastened many burning lampes. These pillars of brasse were caused to be made by Sultan Soliman grandfather to Sultan Amurath now Emperor. After this, hauing entred with the difficultie abouesayd, there stand at the entrance two pillars of marble, to wit, on each side one. In the midst there are three of Aloes-wood not very thicke, and couered with tiles of India of 1000. colours which serue to vnderproppe the Terratza. It is so darke, that they can hardly see within for want of light, not without an euill smell. Without the gate fiue pases is the abouesayd pond Zun Zun, which is that blessed pond that the angell of the Lord shewed vnto Agar whiles she went seeking water for her sonne Ismael to drinke.

Of

Of the ceremonies of the pilgrimes.

IN the beginning we haue sayd how the Mahumetans haue two feasts in the yeere. The one they call Pascha di Ramazaco, that is to say, The feast of fasting, and this feast of fasting is holden thirtie dayes after the feast, wherein the Carouan trauelleth to Mecca. The other is called the feast of the Ramme, wherein all they which are of abilitie are bound to sacrifice a Ramme, and this they call Bine Bairam, that is to say, The great feast. And as the Carouan departeth from Cairo thirtie dayes after the little feast, so likewise they come hither fiue or sixe dayes before the great feast, to the ende the pilgrimes may haue time before the feast to finish their rites and ceremonies, which are these. Departing from the Carouan, and being guided by such as are experienced in the way, they goe vnto the citie twentie or thirtie in a company as they thinke good, walking through a streete which ascendeth by litle and litle till they come vnto a certaine gate, whereupon is written on each side in marble stone, Babel Salema, which in the Arabian tongue signifieth, the gate of health. And from this place is descried the great Mosquita, which enuironeth the house of Abraham, which being descried, they reuerently salute twise, saying, Salem Alech Iara sul Alla, that is to say, Peace to thee, ambassadour of God. This salutation being ended, proceeding on the way, they finde an arche vpon their right hand, whereon they ascend fiue steps, vpon the which is a great voyd place made of stone: after, descending other fiue steps, and proceeding the space of a flight-shoot, they finde another arche like vnto the first, and this way from the one arche to the other they go and come 7. times, saying alwaies some of their prayers, which (they say) the afflicted Agar sayd, whiles she sought and found not water for her sonne Ismael to drinke. This ceremonie being ended, the pilgrimes enter into the Mosquita, and drawing neere vnto the house of Abraham, they goe round about it other seuen times, alwayes saying: This is the house of God, and of his seruant Abraham; This done, they goe to kisse that blacke stone abouesayd. After they go vnto the pond Zun Zun, and in their apparell as they be, they wash themselues from head to foote, saying, Tobah Allah, Tobah Allah, that is to say, Pardon Lord, Pardon Lord, drinking also of that water, which is both muddie, filthie, and of an ill sauour, and in this wise washed and watered, euery one returneth to his place of abode, and these ceremonies euery one is bound to doe once at the least. But those which haue a mind to ouergoe their fellowes, and to goe into paradise before the rest, doe the same once a day while the Carouan remaineth there.

What the Carouan doeth after hauing rested at Mecca.

The mountaine of pardons.

The Carouan hauing abode within the citie of Mecca fiue dayes, the night before the euening of their feast, the captaine with all his company setteth forward towards the mountaine of pardons, which they call in the Arabian tongue, Iabel Arafata. This mountaine is distant from Mecca 15. miles, and in the mid way thereto is a place called Mina, that is to say, The hauen, and a litle from thence are 4. great pillars, of which hereafter we will speake. Now first touching the mountaine of Pardons, which is rather to be called a litle hill, then a mountain, for that it is low, litle, delightful and pleasant, containing in circuit two miles, and enuironed round about with the goodliest plaine that euer with mans eie could be seen, and the plaine likewise compassed with exceeding high mountains, in such sort that this is one of the goodliest situations in the world: and it seemeth verily, that nature hath therein shewed all her cunning, in making this place vnder the mountaine of pardons so broad and pleasant. Vpon the side towards Mecca there are many pipes of water cleare, faire, and fresh, and aboue all most wholesome, falling down into certaine vessels made of purpose, where the people refresh and wash themselues, and water their cattel. And when Adam and Euah were cast out of paradise by the angel of the Lord, the Mahumetans say, they came to inhabite this litle mountaine of pardons. Also they say, that they had lost one another, and were separated for the space of 40. yeeres, and in the end met at this place with great ioy & gladnesse, and builded a litle house vpon the top of this mountaine, the which at this day they call Beyt Adam, that is to say, the house of Adam.

Of

Of the three Carouans.

THe same day that the Carouan of Cairo commeth to this place, hither come 2. Carouans also, one of Damasco, the other of Arabia, and in like maner all the inhabitants for ten dayes iourney round about, so that at one time there is to be seen aboue 200000. persons, and more the 300000. cattell. Now all this company meeting together in this place the night before the feast, the three hostes cast themselues into a triangle, setting the mountaine in the midst of them: and all that night there is nothing to be heard nor seene, but gunshot and fireworkes of sundry sortes, with such singing, sounding, shouting, halowing, rumors, feasting, and triumphing, as is wonderfull. After this, the day of the feast being come, they are all at rest and silence, and that day they attend on no other thing, then to sacrifice oblations and prayers vnto God, and in the euening all they which haue horses mount thereon, and approch as nigh vnto the mountaine as they can, and those which haue no horses make the best shift they can on foote, giuing euer vnto the captaine of Cairo the chiefe place, the second to the captaine of Damasco, and the third to the captaine of Arabia, & being all approched as is aboue sayd, there commeth a square squire, one of the Santones, mounted on a camell well furnished, who at the other side of the mountain ascendeth fiue steps into a pulpit made for that purpose, and all being silent, turning his face towards the people he maketh a short sermon of the tenour folowing.

The summe of the Santones sermon.

THe summe of this double doctors sermon is thus much in briefe. He sheweth them how many and how great benefits God hath giuen to the Mahumetan people by the hand of his beloued friend and prophet Mahomet, hauing deliuered them from the seruitude of sinne & from idolatry, in which before time they were drowned, and how he gaue vnto them the house of Abraham wherein they should be heard, and likewise the mountaine of pardons, by meanes whereof they might obtaine grace and remission of their sinnes: adding, that the mercifull God, who is a liberall giuer of all good things, commaunded his secretarie Abraham to build him an house in Mecca, where his successours might make their prayers vnto him and bee heard, at which time all the mountains in the world came together thither with sufficiencie of stones for building hereof, except that litle and low hill, which for pouertie could not go to discharge this debt, for the which it became sorrowfull, weeping beyond all measure for the space of thirtie yeeres, at the ende whereof the eternall God hauing pitie and compassion vpon this poore Mountaine, saide vnto it: Weepe no more (my daughter) for thy bitter plaints haue ascended vp into mine eares, therefore comfort thy selfe: for I will cause all those that shall goe to visite the house of my friend Abraham, that they shall not be absolued from their sinnes, vnlesse they first come to doe thee reuerence, and to keepe in this place their holiest feast. And this I haue commanded vnto my people by the mouth of my friend and prophet Mahumet. This said, he exhorteth them vnto the loue of God, and to prayer and almes. The sermon being done at the Sunne-setting they make 3. prayers, namely the first for the Serifo, the second for the Grand Signior with his hoste, and the third for all the people: to which prayers all with one voice cry saying; Amni Ia Alla, Amni Ia Alla, that is to say, Be it so Lord, be it so Lord. Thus hauing had the Santones blessing and saluted the Mountaine of pardons, they returne the way they came vnto Mina, whereof wee haue made mention. In returning at the end of the plaine are the aboue said 4. pillers, to wit, two on ech side of the way, through the midst whereof they say it is needfull that euery one passe, saying, that who so passeth without looseth all that merit which in his pilgrimage he had gotten. Also from the mountaine of pardons vntil they be passed the said pillers none dare looke backward; for feare least the sinnes which he hath left in the mountains returne to him againe. Being past these pillers euery one lighteth downe, seeking in this sandy field 50. or 60. litle stones, which being gathered and bound in an handkerchiffe they carry to the aboue said place of Mina, where they stay 5. dayes, because at that time there is a faire free and franke of al custome. And in this place are other 3. pillers, not together, but set

in

in diuers places, where (as their prophet saith) were the three apparitions which the diuel made vnto Abraham, and to Ismael his sonne; for amongst them they make no mention of Isaac, as if he had neuer bene borne. So they say, that the blessed God hauing commanded Abraham his faithfull seruant to sacrifice his first begotten Ismael, the old Abraham went to do according to God's wil, and met with the infernal enemie in the shape of a man, and being of him demanded whither he went, he answered, that he went to sacrifice his sonne Ismael, as God had commanded him. Against whom the diuel exclaiming said: Oh doting old man, sith God in thine old age hath marueilously giuen thee this son (in whom all nations shalbe blessed) wherefore giuing credite vnto vaine dreames, wilt thou kill him whom so much thou hast desired, and so intirely loued. But Abraham shaking him off proceeded on his way, whereupon the diuel seeing his words could not preuaile with the father attempted the sonne, saying; Ismael, haue regard vnto thyselfe betimes in this thing which is so dangerous. Wherefore? answered ỹ childe. Because (saith the diuel) thy doting father seeketh to take away thy life. For what occasion, said Ismael? Because (saith the enemie) he saith, that God hath commanded him. Which Ismael hearing hee tooke vp stones and threw at him, saying, Auzu billahi minal scia itanil ragini, which is to say, I defend me with God from the diuel the offender, as who would say, wee ought to obey the commandement of God and resist the diuel with al our force. But to returne to our purpose, the pilgrimes during their aboad there goe to visite these three pillers, throwing away the little stones which before they gathered, whiles they repeat the same words which they say, that Ismael said to the diuell, when hee withstoode him. From hence halfe a mile is a mountaine, whither Abraham went to sacrifice his sonne, as is abouesaid. In this mountaine is a great den whither the pilgrims resort to make their prayers, and there is a great stone naturally separated in the midst; and they say, that Ismael, while his father Abraham was busie about the sacrifice, tooke the knife in hand to prooue how it would cut, and making triall diuided the stone into two parts. The fiue dayes being expired, the captaine ariseth with all the Carouan, and returneth againe to Mecca, where they remaine other fiue dayes. And while these rest, we will treat of the city and port of Grida vpon the Red Sea.

Of Grida.

Grida a port neere Mecca.

THerefore wee say that from Mecca to Grida they make two small dayes iourney: and because in those places it is ill traueiling in the day-time by reason of the great heat of the Sunne, therefore they depart in the euening from Mecca, and in the morning before Sunne-rising they are arriued halfe way, where there certaine habitations well furnished, and good Innes to lodge in, but especially women ynough which voluntarily bestowe their almes vpon the poore pilgrims: likewise departing the next euening, the morning after, they come vnto Grida. This citie is founded vpon the Red Sea banke, enuironed with wals & towers to the land-ward, but through continuance of time almost cõsumed and wasted: on the side to sea-ward it stands vnwalled. Grida hath three gates, one on eche side, and the thirde in the midst towarde the land, which is called the port of Mecca, neere vnto which are 6. or 7. Turks vpon the old towers for guard thereof with foure faulcons vpon one of the corners of the city to the land-ward. Also to sea-ward where the wall ioyneth with the water, there is lately made a fort like vnto a bulwarke, where they haue planted 25 pieces of the best ordinance that might be had, which are very well kept and guarded. More outward towards the sea vpon the farthest olde tower are other fiue good pieces with 30 men to guard them. On the other side of the city at the end of the wall there is lately builded a bulwarke strong and well guarded by a Saniaccho with 150 Turks wel prouided with ordinance and all other necessaries and munition, and all these fortifyings are for none other cause then for feare and suspition of the Portugals. And if the port were good all this were in vaine: but the port cannot be worse nor more dangerous; being all full of rocks and sands, in such wise, that the ships cannot come neere, but perforce ride at the least two miles off. At this port arriue euery yeere forty or fifty great shippes laden with spices and other rich marchandize which yeeld in custome 150000 ducats, the halfe whereof goeth vnto the Grand Signior, and the other

The Portugals greatly feared in the Red sea.

Forty or fifty rich ships arriue yeerely at Grida.

other halfe to the Serifo. And because there is none other thing worthy mention in Grida we wil returne to our Carouan which hath almost rested enough.

Of their going to Medina.

THe Carouan departeth for Medina returning the same way they came vnto Bedrihonem abouesayd, where they leaue their ordinance and other cariages, whereof they haue no need, with the pilgrims which haue seene Medina aforetime, and desire not to see it againe, but stay in that place, expecting the carouan, and resting vntill the carouan go from Bedrihonem to Medina, where they alwayes finde goodly habitations, with abundance of sweet waters, and dates enough, and being within foureteene miles of Medina they come vnto a great plaine called by them Iabel el salema, that is to say, the mountaine of health, from which they begin to descry the city and tombe of Mahomet, at which sight they light from their horses in token of reuerence. And being ascended vp the sayd mountaine with shouting which pierceth the skies they say, Sala tuua salema Alaccha larah sul Allah. Sala tuua Salema Alaccha Ianabi Allah, Sala tuua Salema Allaccha Iababit Allah: which words in the Arabian tongue signifie: Prayer and health be vnto thee, oh prophet of God: prayer and health be vpon thee, oh beloued of God. And hauing pronounced this salutacion, they proceed on their iourney, so that they lodge that night within three miles of Medina: and the next morning the captaine of the pilgrimage ariseth, & proceeding towards the city, and drawing neere, there commeth the gouernour vnder the Serifo, accompanied with his people to receiue the Carouan, hauing pitched their tents in the midst of a goodly field where they lodge.

Of Medina.

MEdina is a little city of great antiquity, containing in circuit not aboue two miles, hauing therein but one castle, which is olde and weake, guarded by an Aga with fifty pieces of artillery, but not very good. The houses thereof are faire and well situated, built of lime and stone, and in the midst of the city stands a fourcsquare Mosquita, not so great as that of Mecca, but more goodly, rich, and sumptuous in building. Within the same in a corner thereof is a tombe built vpon foure pillers with a vault, as if it were vnder a pauement, which bindeth all the foure pillers together. The tombe is so high, that it farre exceedeth in heighth the Mosquita, being couered with lead, and the top all inamelled with golde, with an halfe moone vpon the top: and within the pauement it is all very artificially wrought with golde. Below there are round about very great staires of yron ascending vp vntill the midst of the pillers, and in the very midst thereof is buried the body of Mahomet, and not in a chest of yron cleauing to the adamant, as many affirme that know not the trueth thereof. Moreouer, ouer the body they haue built a tombe of speckled stone all brace and an halfe high, and ouer the same another of Legmame fouresquare in maner of a pyramis. After this, round about the sepulture there hangeth a curtaine of silke, which letteth the sight of those without that they cannot see the sepulture. Beyond this in the same Mosquita are other two sepulchres couered with greene cloth, and in the one of them is buried Fatma the daughter of Mahomet, and Alli is buried in the other, who was the husband of the sayd Fatma. The attendants vpon these sepulchres are fifty eunuches white and tawny, neither is it granted to any of them to enter within the tombe, sauing to three white eunuches the oldest and best of credit; vnto whom it is lawfull to enter but twise in the day, to light the lamps, and to doe other seruices. All the other eunuchs attend without to the seruice of the Mosquita, and the other two sepulchres of Fatma, and Alli, where euery one may go and touch at his pleasure, and take of the earth for deuotion, as many do.

[a] Or, a fathom.

Of things without the City.

WIthout the city and on euery side are most faire gardens, with many fountaines of most sweet water, infinite pondes, abundance of fruit, with much honest liuing, so that this place is very pleasant and delightfull. This city hath three gates, one of which is an hospitall caused to be built by Cassachi, called the Rose, who was wife to Sultan Soliman grandfather to this emperour. The sayd Hospitall hath nought els woorthy mention, saue that it is fairely

built, and hath large reuenues belonging thereunto, and nourisheth many poore people. A mile from the city are certaine houses whereof they affirme one to be the same, where Mahumet in his lifetime dwelt. This house hath on euery side very many faire date trees, amongst which there are two which grow out of one stocke exceeding high, and these, they say, their Prophet grafted with his owne hand: the fruit thereof is alwayes sent to Constantinople, to be presented vnto the Grand Signior, and is sayd to be that blessed fruit of the Prophet. Nere vnto the date trees is a faire fountaine of cleere and sweet water, the which by a conduct pipe is brought into the city of Medina. Also there is a little Mosquita, wherein three places are counted holy, and greatly reuerenced: the first they affirme, that their Prophet made his first prayer in, after he knew God: the second is that whither he went when he would see the holy house of Abraham, where when he sate downe to that intent, they say the mountaines opened from the toppe to the bottome to shew him the house, and after closed againe as before: the third holy place is in the midst of the sayd Mosquita, where is a tombe made of lime and stone foure square, and full of sand, wherein, they say, was buried that blessed camell which Mahumet was alwayes woont to ride vpon. On the other side of the city are other tombes of holy Mahumetans, and euery one of them hath a tombe built vpon foure pillers, amongst which three were the companions of Mahumet, to wit, Abubacar, Ottoman, and Omar; all which are visited of the pilgrims as holy places.

The offering of the vestures vnto the sepulchres.

The Carouan being come to Medina two houres before day, and resting there till the euening, the captaine then with his company and other pilgrims setteth forward, with the greatest pompe possible: and taking with him the vesture which is made in maner of a pyramis, with many other of golde and silke, departeth, going thorow the midst of the city, vntill he come to the Mosquita, where hauing praied, he presenteth vnto the tombe of his prophet (where the eunuchs receiuing hands are ready) the vesture for the sayd tombe: and certaine eunuchs entring in take away the old vesture, and lay on the new, burning the olde one, and diuiding the golde thereof into equall portions. After this are presented other vestures for the ornament of the Mosquita. Also the people without deliuer vnto the eunuchs ech man somewhat to touch the tombe therewith, which they keepe as a relique with great deuotion. This ceremony being ended, the captaine resteth in Medina two dayes, to the end the pilgrims may finish their deuotion and ceremonies: and after they depart to Iambor. A good dayes iourney thence is a steepe mountaine, ouer which is no passage, sauing by one narrow path called Demir Capi, which was in times past called the yron gate. Of this gate the Mahumetans say, that Ally the companion and sonne in law of Mahumet, being here pursued by many Christians, and comming vnto this mountaine, not seeing any way whereby to flee, drew out his sword, and striking the said mountaine, diuided it in sunder, and passing thorow saued his life on the other side. Moreouer, this Alli among the Persians is had in greater reuerence than Mahumet, who affirme, that the sayd Alli hath done greater things and more miraculous than Mahumet, and therefore they esteeme him for God almighty his fellow. But to returne to our matter, the captaine with the carouan within two dayes after returneth for Cairo, and comming to Ezlem, findeth there a captaine with threescore horses come thither to bring refreshments to the said captaine of the pilgrimage, as also to sell vnto the pilgrims some victuals. From thence they set forward, and comming to Birca within two leagues of Cairo, there is the master of the house of the Bassha of Cairo with all his horsemen come thither to receiue him with a sumptuous and costly banket made at the cost of the Basha for the captaine and his retinue, who after he is well refreshed departeth toward the castle of Cairo to salute the Basha, who receiuing him with great ioy and gladnesse in token of good wil presenteth him with a garment of cloth of golde very rich: and the captaine taking the Alcaron out of the chest presenteth it to the Basha, who hauing kissed it, commandeth to lay it vp againe. Some there are which affirme, that being arriued at Cairo, they kill that goodly camell which caried the Alcaron, and eate him; which is nothing so: for they are so superstitious

stitious to the contrary, that to gaine all the world they would not kill him. But if by casualty he should die, in this case happy and blessed they thinke themselues, which can get a morsell to eat. And thus much concerning the voyage of the captaine of the carouan of Cairo.

The voyage and trauell of M. Cæsar Fredericke, Marchant of Venice, into the East India, and beyond the Indies. Wherein are conteined the customes and rites of those countries, the merchandises and commodities, as well of golde and siluer, as spices, drugges, pearles, and other iewels: translated out of Italian by M. Thomas Hickocke.

Cæsar Fredericke to the Reader.

I Hauing (gentle Reader) for the space of eighteene yeeres continually coasted and trauelled, as it were, all the East Indies, and many other countreys beyond the Indies, wherein I haue had both good and ill successe in my voyages: and hauing seene and vnderstood many things worthy the noting, and to be knowen to the world, the which were neuer as yet written of any: I thought it good (seeing the Almighty had giuen me grace, after so long perils in passing such a long voyage to returne into mine owne countrey, the noble city of Venice) I say, I thought it good, as briefly as I could, to write and set forth this voyage made by me, with the maruellous things I haue seene in my trauell in the Indies: The mighty Princes that gouerne those countreys, their religion and liuing, that they haue, the rites and customes which they vse, and liue by, of the diuers successes that happened vnto me, and how many of these countreys are abounding with spices, drugs, and precious stones, giuing also profitable aduertisement to all those that haue a desire to make such a voyage, because that the whole world may more commodiously reioyce at this my trauell, I haue determined it to be printed in this order: and now I present it vnto you (gentle & louing Readers) whom for the varieties of things heerein conteined, I hope that it shall be with great delight receiued. And thus God of his goodnesse keepe you.

Cæsar Fredericke trauelled eighteene yeeres in the East Indies.

A voyage to the East Indies, and beyond the Indies, &c.

IN the yere of our Lord God 1563, I Cæsar Fredericke being in Venice, and very desirous to see the East parts of the world, shipped my selfe in a shippe called the Gradaige of Venice, with certaine marchandise, gouerned by M. Iacomo Vatica, which was bound to Cyprus with his ship, with whom I went: and when we were arriued in Cyprus, I left that ship, and went in a lesser to Tripoly in Soria, where I stayed a while. Afterward I tooke my iourney to Alepo, and there I acquainted my selfe with marchants of Armenia, and Moores, that were marchants, and consorted to go with them to Ormus, and wee departed from Alepo, and in two dayes iourney and a halfe, wee came to a city called Bir.

The authours going for Venice to Cyprus and Tripoly.

Of the city called Bir.

Bir is a small city very scarse of all maner of victuals, and nere vnto the walles of the city runneth the riuer of Euphrates. In this city the marchants diuide themselues into companies, according to their merchandise that they haue, and there either they buy or make a boat to carry them and their goods to Babylon downe the riuer Euphrates, with charge of a master and mariners to conduct the boat in the voyage: these boats are in a maner flat bottomed, yet they be very strong: and for all that they are so strong, they will serue but for one voyage. They are made according to the sholdnesse of the riuer, because that the riuer is in many places full of great stones, which greatly hinder and trouble those that goe downe the riuer. These boats serue but for one voyage downe the riuer vnto a village called Feluchia, because it is impossible to bring them vp the riuer backe againe. At Feluchia the marchants plucke their boats in pieces, or else sell them for a small price, for that at Bir they cost the marchants forty or fifty chickens a piece, and they sel them at Feluchia for seuen or eight chickens a piece, because that when the marchants returne from Babylon backe againe, if they haue marchandise or goods that oweth custome, then they make their

The riuer Euphrates.

Feluchia a small city on Euphrates.

returne in forty dayes thorow the wildernesse, passing that way with a great deale lesser charges then the other way. And if they haue not marchandise that oweth custome, then they goe by the way of Mosul, where it costeth them great charges both the Carouan and company. From Bir where the marchants imbarke themselves to Feluchia ouer against Babylon, if the riuer haue good store of water, they shall make their voyage in fifteene or eighteene dayes downe the riuer, and if the water be lowe, and it hath not rained, then it is much trouble, and it will be forty or fifty dayes iourney downe because that when the barks strike on the stones that be in the riuer, then they must vnlade them, which is great trouble, and then lade them againe when they haue mended them: therefore it is not necessary, neither doe the marchants go with one boat alone, but with two or three, that if one boat split and be lost with striking on the sholdes, they may haue another ready to take in their goods, vntil such time as they haue mended the broke boat, and if they draw the broken boat on land to mend her, it is hard to defend her in the night from the great multitude of Arabians that will come downe them to robbe you: and in the riuers euery night, when you make fast your boat to the buckeside, you must keepe good watch against the Arabians which are theeues in number like to ants, yet when they come to robbe, they will not kill, but steale & run away. Harquebuzes are very good weapons against them, for that they stand greatly in feare of the shot. And as you passe the riuer Euphrates from Bir to Feluchia, there are certein places which you must passe by, where you pay custome certaine medines vpon vbale, which custome is belonging to the sonne of Aborise king of the Arabians and of the desert, who hath certaine cities and villages on the riuer Euphrates.

Mosul.

The Arabian theeues are in number like to Ants.

Feluchia and Babylon.

Feluchia is a village where they that come from Bir doe vnbarke themselues and vnlade their goods, and it is distant from Babylon a dayes iourney and an halfe by land: Babylon is no great city, but it is very populous, and of great trade of strangers because it is a great thorowfare for Persia, Turkia, and Arabia: and very often times there goe out from thence Carouans into diuers countreys: and the city is very copious of victuals, which comme out of Armenia downe the riuer of Tygris, on certaine Zattares or Raffes made of blowen hides or skinnes called Vtrij. This riuer Tygris doeth wash the walles of the city. These Raffes are bound fast together, and then they lay boards on the aforesayd blowen skinnes, and on the boards they lade the commodities, and so come they to Babylon, where they vnlade them, and being vnladen, they let out the winde out of the skinnes, and lade them on cammels to make another voyage. This city of Babylon is situate in the kingdome of Persia, but now gouerned by the Turks. On the other side of the riuer towards Arabia, ouer against the city, there is a faire place or towne, and in it a faire Bazarro for marchāts, with very many lodgings, where the greatest part of the marchants strangers which come to Babylon do lie with their marchandize. The passing ouer Tygris from Babylon to this Borough is by a long bridge made of boates chained together with great chaines: prouided, that when the riuer waxeth great with the abundance of raine that falleth, then they open the bridge in the middle, where the one halfe of the bridge falleth to the walles of Babylon, and the other to the brinks of this Borough, on the other side of the riuer: and as long as the bridge is open, they passe the riuer in small boats with great danger, because of the smalnesse of the boats, and the ouerlading of them, that with the fiercenesse of the streame they be ouerthrowen, or els the streame doth cary them away, so that by this meanes, many people are lost and drowned: this thing by proofe I haue many times seene.

Ione olde Babylon trade with marchants still.

A bridge made of boats.

Of the tower of Babylon.

THe Tower of Nimrod or Babel is situate on that side of Tygris that Arabia is, and in a very great plaine distant from Babylon seuen or eight miles: which tower is ruinated on euery side, and with the falling of it there is made a great mountaine: so that it hath no forme at all, yet there is a great part of it standing, which is compassed and almost couered with the aforesayd fallings: this Tower was builded and made of foure square Brickes, which

Brickes

Brickes were made of earth, and dried in the Sunne in maner and forme following: first they layed a lay of Brickes, then a Mat made of Canes, square as the Brickes, and in stead of lime, they daubed it with earth: these Mats of Canes are at this time so strong, that it is a thing woonderfull to beholde, being of such great antiquity: I haue gone round about it, and haue not found any place where there hath bene any doore or entrance: it may be in my iudgement in circuit about a mile, and rather lesse then more.

These bricks be in thickues 4 or seuen inches, and a foot & a halfe square.

This Tower in effect is contrary to all other things which are seene afar off, for they seeme small, & the more nere a man commeth to them the bigger they be: but this tower afar off seemeth a very great thing, and the nerer you come to it the lesser. My iudgement & reason of this is, that because the Tower is set in a very great plaine, and hath nothing more about to make any shew sauing the ruines of it which it hath made round about, and for this respect descrying it a farre off, that piece of the Tower which yet standeth with the mountaine that is made of the substance that hath fallen from it, maketh a greater shew then you shall finde comming neere to it.

Babylon and Basora.

FRom Babylon I departed for Basora, shipping my selfe in one of the barks that vse to go in the riuer Tigris from Babylon to Basora, and from Basora to Babylon: which barks are made after the maner of Fusts or Galliots with a Speron and a couered poope: they haue no pumpe in them because of the great abundance of pitch which they haue to pitch them with all: which pitch they haue in abundance two dayes iourney from Babylon. Nere vnto the riuer Euphrates, there is a city called Heit, nere vnto which city there is a great plaine full of pitch, very maruellous to beholde, and a thing almost incredible, that out of a hole in the earth, which continually throweth out pitch into the aire with continuall smoake, this pitch is throwen with such force, that being hot it falleth like as it were sprinckled ouer all the plaine, in such abundance that the plaine is alwayes full of pitch: the Mores and the Arabians of that place say, that that hole is the mouth of hell: and in trueth, it is a thing very notable to be marked: and by this pitch the whole people haue great benefit to pitch their [illegible] which barks they call Daneck and Saffin. When the riuer of Tygris is well replenished [illegible] you may passe from Babylon to Basora in eight or nine dayes, and sometimes more and sometimes lesse: we were halfe so much more which is 14 or 15 daies because the waters were low: [illegible] and there are some places in this way where you pay so many medins [illegible] by lowe, it is 18 dayes iourney.

This hole where out cōmeth this pitch is most true, and the water & pitch runneth into the valley or Iland where the pitch reneth, & the water runneth into the riuer Euphrates, and it maketh all the riuer to be as it were brackish with the smell of pitch and brimstone.

Basora.

BAsora is a city of the Arabians, which of olde time was gouerned by those Arabians called Zizarij, but now it is gouerned by the great Turke where he keepeth an army to his great charges.

Zizarij, an ancient people.

The Arabians called Zizarij haue the possession of a great countrey, and cannot be ouercome of the Turke, because that the sea hath diuided their countrey into an Iland by channels with the ebbing and flowing of the sea, and for that cause the Turke cannot bring an army against them, neither by sea nor by land, and another reason is, the inhabitants of that Iland are very strong and warlike men. A dayes iourney before you come to Basora, you shall haue a little castle or fort, which is set on that point of the land where the riuers of Euphrates and Tygris meet together, and the castle is called Corna: at this point, the two riuers make a monstrous great riuer, that runneth into the sea, which is called the gulfe of Persia, which is towards the South: Basora is distant from the sea fifteene miles, and it is a city of great trade of spices and drugges which come from Ormus. Also there is great store of corne, Rice, and Dates, which the countrey doth yeeld. I shipped my selfe in Basora to go for Ormus, and so we sailed thorow the Persian sea six hundred miles, which is the distance from Basora to Ormus, and we sailed in small ships made of boards, bound together with small cords or ropes, and in stead of calking they lay betweene euery board certaine straw which they

At the castle of Corna the riuer Euphrates and Tygris do meet.

Ormus is the barrenest Iland in all the world.

they haue, and so they sowe board and board together, with the straw betweene, wherethorow there commeth much water, and they are very dangerous. Departing from Basora we passed 200 miles with the sea on our right hand, along the gulfe, vntil at length we arriued at an Iland called Carichij, fro whēce we sailed to Ormus in sight of the Persian shore on the left side, and on the right side towards Arabia we discouered infinite Ilands.

Carichij an Iland in ye gulfe of Persia.

Ormus.

Ormus is alwayes replenished with abundance of victuall, and yet there is none that groweth in the Iland.

ORmus is an Iland in circuit fiue and twenty or thirty miles, and it is the barrenest and most drie Iland in all the world, because that in it there is nothing to be had, but salt water, and wood, all other things necessary for mans life are brought out of Persia twelue miles off, and out of other Ilands neere thereunto adioyning, in such abundance and quantity, that the city is alwayes replenished with all maner of store: there is standing neere vnto the waters side a very faire castell, in the which the captaine of the king of Portugall is alwayes resident with a good band of Portugalles, and before this castell is a very faire prospect: in the city dwell the maried men, souldiers and marchants of euery nation, amongst whom there are Moores and Gentiles. In this city there is very great trade for all sorts of spices, drugges, silke, cloth of silke, brocardo, and diuers other sorts of marchandise come out of Persia: and amongst all other trades of merchandise, the trade of Horses is very great there, which they carry from thence into the Indies. This Iland hath a Moore king of the race of the Persians, who is created and made king by the Captaine of the castle, in the name of the king of Portugall. At the creation of this king I was there, and saw the ceremonies that they vse in it, which are as followeth. The olde King being dead, the Captaine of the Portugals chuseth another of the blood royall, and maketh this election in the castle with great ceremonies, and when hee is elected, the Captaine sweareth him to be true and faithfull to the King of Portugall, as his Lord and Gouernour, and then he gineth him the Scepter regall. After this with great feasting & pompe, and with great company, he is brought into the royall palace in the city. This King keepeth a good traine, and hath sufficient reuenues to maintaine himselfe without troubling of any, because the Captaine of the castle doeth mainteine and defend his right, and when that the Captaine and he ride together he [illegible]onoured as a king, yet he cannot ride abroad with his traine, without the con[illegible] the Captaine first had: it behooueth them to doe this, and it is necessary, because of the great trade that is in the city: their proper language [illegible] here I shipped my selfe to goe for Goa, a city in the [illegible] hippe that had fourescore horses in her. This is to aduertise those Marchants that go from Ormus to Goa to shippe themselues in those shippes that carry horses, because euery shippe that carrieth twenty horses or vpwards is priuileged, that all the marchandise whatsoeuer they carry shall pay no custome, whereas the shippes that carry no horses are bound to pay eight per cento of all the goods they bring.

Great trade of merchandise in Ormus.

The election of the king of Ormus.

A priuilege for Marchants.

Goa, Diu, and Cambaia.

GOa is the principall city that the Portugals haue in the Indies, where is resident the Viceroy with his Court and ministers of the King of Portugall. From Ormus to Goa is nine hundred foure score and ten miles distance, in which passage the first city that you come to in the Indies, is called Diu, and is situate in a little Iland in the kingdome of Cambaia, which is the greatest strength that the Portugals haue in all the Indies, yet a small city, but of great trade, because there they lade very many great ships for the straights of Mecca and Ormus with marchandise, and these shippes belong to the Moores and Christians, but the Moores can not trade neither saile into those seas without the licence of the Viceroy of the King of Portugall, otherwise they are taken and made good prises. The marchandise that they lade these ships withall commeth frō Cambaietta a port in the kingdome of Cambaia, which they bring from thence in small barks, because there can no great shippes come thither, by reason of the sholdnesse of the water thereabouts, and these sholds are an hundred or fourescore miles about in a straight or gulfe, which they call Macareo, which is as much to say, as a race of a tide, because the waters there run out of that place without measure, so that there is no place like

Cambaietta.

like to it, vnlesse it be in the kingdome of Pegu, where there is another Macareo, where the waters run out with more force than these doe. The principall city in Cambaia is called Amadauar, it is a dayes iourney and an halfe from Cambaietta, it is a very great city and very populous, and for a city of the Gentiles it is very well made and builded with faire houses and large streets, with a faire place in it with many shippes, and in shew like to Cairo, but not so great: also Cambaietta is situate on the seas side, and is a very faire city. The time that I was there, the city was in great calamity & scarsenesse, so that I haue seene the men of the countrey that were Gentiles take their children, their sonnes and their daughters, and haue desired the Portugals to buy them, and I haue seene them sold for eight or ten larines a piece, which may be of our money x.s. or xiii.s. iiii.d. For all this if I had not seene it, I could not haue beleeued that there should be such a trade at Cambaietta as there is: for in the time of euery new Moone and euery full Moone, the small barks (innumerable) come in and out, for at those times of the Moone the tides and waters are higher then at other times they be. These barkes be laden with all sorts of spices, with silke of China, with Sandols, with Elephants teeth, Veluets of Vercini, great quantity of Pannina, which commeth from Mecca, Chickinos which be pieces of golde woorth seuen shillings a piece sterling, with money, and with diuers sorts of other marchandize. Also these barks lade out, as it were, an infinite quantity of cloth made of Bumbast of all sorts, as white stamped and painted, with great quantity of Indico, dried ginger & conserued, Myrabolans drie and condite, Borax in paste, great store of sugar, great quantity of Cotton, abundance of Opium, Assa Fetida, Puchio, with many other sorts of drugges, turbants made in Dui, great stones like to Corneolaes, Granats, Agats, Diaspry, Calcidonij, Hematists, and some kinde of naturall diamonds. There is in the city of Cambaietta an order, but no man is bound to keepe it, but they that will; but all the Portugall marchants keepe it, the which is this. There are in this city certain Brokers which are Gentiles and of great authority, and haue euery one of them fifteene or twenty seruants, and the Marchants that vse that countrey haue their Brokers, with which they be serued: and they that haue not bene there are informed by their friends of the order, and of what Broker they shall be serued. Now euery fifteene dayes (as aboue-sayd) that the fleet of small shippes entreth into the port, the Brokers come to the water side, and these Marchants assoone as they are come on land, do giue the cargason of all their goods to that Broker that they will haue to do their businesse for them, with the marks of all the fardles and packs they haue: and the marchant hauing taken on land all his furniture for his house, because it is needfull that the Marchants that trade to the Indies carry prouision of houshold with them, because that in euery place where they come they must haue a new house, the Broker that hath receiued his cargason, commandeth his seruants to carry the Marchants furniture for his house home, and load it on some cart, and carry it into the city, where the Brokers haue diuers empty houses meet for the lodging of Marchants, furnished onely with bed-steads, tables, chaires, and empty iarres for water: then the Broker sayth to the Marchant, Goe and repose your selfe, and take your rest in the city. The Broker tarrieth at the water side with the cargason, and causeth all his goods to be discharged out of the ship, and payeth the custome, and causeth it to be brought into the house where the marchant lieth, the Marchant not knowing any thing thereof, neither custome, nor charges. These goods being brought to this passe into the house of the Marchant, the Broker demandeth of the Marchant if he haue any desire to sell his goods or marchandise, at the prises that such wares are worth at that present time? And if he hath a desire to sell his goods presently, then at that instant the Broker selleth them away. After this the Broker sayth to the Marchant, you haue so much of euery sort of marchandise neat and cleare of euery charge, and so much ready money. And if the Marchant will employ his money in other commodities, then the Broker telleth him that such and such commodities will cost so much, put aboord without any maner of charges. The Marchant vnderstanding the effect, maketh his account; and if he thinke to buy or sell at the prices currant, he giueth order to make his marchandise away: and if he hath commodity for 20000 dukets, all s albe bartred or solde away in fifteene dayes without any care or trouble: and when as the Marchant thinketh that he cannot sell his goods at the

Marchants that trauell to the Indies, must carry their prouision of houshold with them.

the prise currant, he may tary as long as he will, but they cannot be solde by any man but by that Broker that hath taken them on land and payed the custome: and purchance tarying sometimes for sale of their commodity, they make good profit, and sometimes losse: but those marchandise that come not ordinarily euery fifteene dayes, in tarying for the sale of them, there is great profit. The barks that lade in Cambaietta go for Diu to lade the ships that go from thence for the streights of Mecca and Ormus, and some go to Chaul and Goa: and these ships be very well appointed, or els are guarded by the Armada of the Portugals, for that there are many Corsaries or Pyrats which goe coursing alongst that coast, robbing and spoiling: and for feare of these theeues there is no safe sailing in those seas, but with ships very well appointed and armed, or els with the fleet of the Portugals, as is aforesayd. In fine the kingdome of Cambaia is a place of great trade, and hath much doings and traffique with all men, although hitherto it hath bene in the hands of tyrants, because that at 75 yeeres of age the the true king being at the assault of Diu, was there slaine; whose name Sultan Badu. At that time foure or fiue captaines of the army diuided the kingdome amongst themselues, and euery one of them shewed in his countrey what tyranny he could: but twelue yeeres ago the great Mogol a Moore king of Agra and Delly, forty dayes iourny within the land of Amadauar, became the gouernour of all the kingdome of Cambaia without any resistance, because he being of great power and force, deuising which way to enter the land with his people, there was not any man that would make him any resistance, although they were tyrants and a beastly people, they were soone brought vnder obedience. During the time I dwelt in Cambaietta I saw very maruellous things: there were an infinite number of artificers that made bracelets called Mannij, or bracelets of elephants teeth, of diuers colours, for the women of the Gentiles, which haue their armes full decked with them. And in this occupation there are spent euery yeere many thousands of crownes: the reason whereof is this, that when there dieth any whatsoeuer of their kindred, then in signe and token of mourning and sorrow, they breake all their bracelets from their armes, and presently they go and buy new againe, because that they had rather be without their meat then without their bracelets.

Great store of men of warre and rouers on the coast of Cambaia.

A maruellous fond delight in women.

Daman. Basan. Tana.

HAuing passed Diu, I came to the second city that the Portugals haue, called Daman, situate in the territory of Cambaia, distant from Diu an hundred and twenty miles: it is no towne of merchandise, saue Rice and corne, and hath many villages vnder it, where in time of peace the Portugals take their pleasure, but in time of warre the enemies haue the spoile of them; in such wise that the Portugals haue little benefit by them. Next vnto Daman you shall haue Basan, which is a filthy place in respect of Daman: in this place is Rice, Corne, and Timber to make shippes and gallies. And a small distance beyond Basan is a little Iland called Tana, a place very populous with Portugals, Moores, and Gentiles: these haue nothing but Rice, there are many makers of Armesie, and weauers of girdles of wooll and bumbast blacke and redde like to Moocharies.

Tana an Iland whereof Odoricus writeth, pag. 41.

Of the cities of Chaul, and of the Palmer tree.

BEyond this Iland you shall finde Chaul in the firme land; and they are two cities, one of the Portugals, and the other of the Moores: that city which the Portugals haue is situate lower then the other, and gouerneth the mouth of the harbour, and is very strongly walled: and as it were a mile and an halfe distant from this is the city of Moores, gouerned by their king Zamalluco. In the time of warres there cannot any great ships come to the city of the Moores, because the Portugals with their ordinance will sincke them, for that they must perforce passe by the castles of the Portugals: both the cities are ports of the sea, and are great cities, and haue vnto them great traffique and trade of merchandise, of all sorts of spices, drugges, silke, cloth of silke, Sandols, Marsine, Versine, Porcelane of China, Veluets and Scarlets that come from Portugall and from Meca: with many other sortes of merchandise. There come euery yeere from Cochin, and from Cananor tenne or fifteene great shippes laden with great Nuts cured, and with Sugar made of the selfe same Nuts called Giagra: the tree whereon these

these Nuts doe grow is called the Palmer tree: and thorowout all the Indies, and especially from this place to Goa there is great abundance of them, and it is like to the Date tree. In the whole world there is not a tree more profitable and of more goodnesse then this tree is, neither doe men reape so much benefit of any other tree as they doe of this, there is not any part of it but serueth for some vse, and none of it is worthy to be burnt. With the timber of this tree they make shippes without the mixture of any other tree, and with the leaues thereof they make sailes, and with the fruit thereof, which be a kinde of Nuts, they make wine, and of the wine they make Sugar and Placetto, which wine they gather in the spring of the yeere: out of the middle of the tree where continually there goeth or runneth out white liquour like vnto water, in that time of the yeere they put a vessel vnder euery tree, and euery euening and morning they take it away full, and then distilling it with fire it maketh a very strong liquour: and then they put it into buts, with a quantity of Zibibbo, white or blacke and in short time it is made a perfect wine. After this they make of the Nuts great store of oile: of the tree they make great quantity of boordes and quarters for buildings. Of the barke of this tree they make cables, ropes, and other furniture for shippes, and, as they say, these ropes be better then they that are made of Hempe. They make of the bowes, bedsteds, after the Indies fashion, and Scauasches for merchandise. The leaues they cut very small, and weaue them, and so make sailes of them, for all maner of shipping, or els very fine mats. And then the first rinde of the Nut they stampe, and make thereof perfect Ockam to calke shippes, great and small: and of the hard barke thereof they make spoones and other vessels for meat, in such wise that there is no part thereof throwen away or cast to the fire. When these Mats be greene they are full of an excellent sweet water to drinke: and if a man be thirsty, with the liquor of one of the Mats he may satisfie himselfe: and as this Nut ripeneth, the liquour thereof turneth all to kernell. There goeth out of Chaul for Mallaca, for the Indies, for Macao, for Portugall, for the coasts of Melinde, for Ormus, as it were an infinite number and quantity of goods and merchandise that come out of the kingdome of Cambaia, as cloth of bumbast white, painted, printed, great quantity of Indico, Opium, Cotton, Silke of euery sort, great store of Borasso in Paste, great store of Fetida, great store of yron, corne, and other merchandise. The Moore king Zamalluco is of great power, as one that at need may command, & hath in his camp, two hundred thousand men of warre, and hath great store of artillery, some of them made in pieces, which for their greatnesse can not bee carried to and fro: yet although they bee made in pieces, they are so commodious that they worke with them maruellous well, whose shotte is of stone, and there hath bene of that shot sent vnto the king of Portugall for the rarenes of the thing. The city where the king Zamalluco hath his being, is within the land of Chaul seuen or eight dayes iourney, which city is called Abneger. Three score and tenne miles from Chaul, towards the Indies, is the port of Dabul, an hauen of the king Zamallaco: from thence to Goa is an hundred and fifty miles.

Great ordinance made in pieces, and yet seruiceable.

Goa.

GOa is the principall city that the Portugals haue in the Indies, wherein the Viceroy with his royall Court is resident, and is in an Iland which may be in circuit fiue and twenty or thirty miles: and the city with the boroughs is reasonable bigge, and for a citie of the Indies it is reasonable faire, but the Iland is farre more faire: for it is as it were full of goodly gardens, replenished with diuers trees and with the Palmer trees as is aforesayd. This city is of great trafique for all sorts of marchandise which they trade withall in those parts: and the fleet which commeth euery yeere from Portugall, which are fiue or sixe great shippes that come directly for Goa, arriue there ordinarily the sixth or tenth of September, and there they remaine forty or fifty dayes, and from thence they goe to Cochin, where they lade for Portugall, and often times they lade one shippe at Goa and the other at Cochin for Portugall. Cochin is distant from Goa three hundred miles. The city of Goa is situate in the kingdome of Dialcan a king of the Moores, whose chiefe city is vp in the countrey eight dayes iourney, and is called Bisapor: this king is of great power, for when I was in Goa in the yeere of our Lord 1570, this king came to giue assault to Goa, being encamped neere vnto it by a riuer

The chiefe place the Portugals haue in the Indies.

side with an army of two hundred thousand men of warre, and he lay at this siege foureteene moneths: in which time there was peace concluded, and as report went amongst his people, there was great calamity and mortality which bred amongst them in the time of Winter, and also killed very many elephants. Then in the yeere of our Lord 1567, I went from Goa to Bezeneger the chiefe city of the kingdome of Narsinga eight dayes iourney from Goa, within the land, in the company of two other merchants which carried with them three hundred Arabian horses to that king: because the horses of that countrey are of a small stature, and they pay well for the Arabian horses: and it is requisite that the merchants sell them well, for that they stand them in great charges to bring them out of Persia to Ormus, and from Ormus to Goa, where the ship that bringeth twenty horses and vpwards payeth no custome, neither ship nor goods whatsoeuer; whereas if they bring no horses, they pay 8 per cento of all their goods: and at the going out of Goa the horses pay custome, two and forty pagodies for euery horse, which pagody may be of sterling money sixe shillings eight pence, they be pieces of golde of that value. So that the Arabian horses are of great value in those countreys, as 300, 400, 500 duckets a horse, and to 1000 duckets a horse.

A very good sale for horses.

Bezeneger.

THe city of Bezeneger was sacked in the yeere 1565, by foure kings of the Moores, which were of great power and might: the names of these foure kings were these following, the first was called Dialean, the second Zamaluc, the third Cotamaluc, and the fourth Viridy: and yet these foure kings were not able to ouercome this city and the king of Bezeneger, but by treason. This king of Bezeneger was a Gentile, and had, amongst all other of his captaines, two which were notable, and they were Moores: and these two captaines had either of them in charge threescore and ten or fourescore thousand men. These two captaines being of one religion with the foure kings which were Moores, wrought meanes with them to betray their owne king into their hands. The king of Bezeneger esteemed not the force of the foure kings his enemies, but went out of his city to wage battell with them in the fieldes; and when the armies were ioyned, the battell lasted but a while not the space of foure houres, because the two traitourous captaines, in the chiefest of the fight, with their companies turned their faces against their king, and made such disorder in his army, that as astonied they set themselues to flight. Thirty yeeres was this kingdome gouerned by three brethren which were tyrants, the which keeping the rightful king in prison, it was their vse euery yeere once to shew him to the people, and they at their pleasures ruled as they listed. These brethren were three captaines belonging to the father of the king they kept in prison, which when he died, left his sonne very yong, and then they tooke the gouernment to themselues. The chiefest of these three was called Ramaragio, and sate in the royall throne, and was called the king: the second was called Temiragio, and he tooke the gouernment on him: the third was called Bengatre, and he was captaine generall of the army. These three brethren were in this battell, in the which the chiefest and the last were neuer heard of quicke nor dead. Onely Temeragio fled in the battel, hauing lost one of his eyes: when the newes came to the city of the ouerthrow in the battell, the wiues and children of these three tyrants, with their lawfull king (kept prisoner) fled away, spoiled as they were, & the foure kings of the Moores entred the city Bezeneger with great triumph, & there they remained sixe moneths, searching vnder houses & in all places for money & other things that were hidden, and then they departed to their owne kingdomes, because they were not able to maintaine such a kingdome as that was, so farre distant from their owne countrey.

A most vnkind & wicked treasō against their prince: this they haue for giuing credit to strangers, rather then to their owne native people.

The sacking of the city.

When the kings were departed from Bezeneger, this Temiragio returned to the city, and then beganne for to repopulate it, and sent word to Goa to the Merchants, if they had any horses, to bring them to him, and he would pay well for them, and for this cause the aforesayd two Merchants that I went in company withall, carried those horses that they had to Bezeneger. Also this Tyrant made an order or lawe, that if any Merchant had any of the horses that were taken in the aforesayd battell or warres, although they were of his owne marke, that he would giue as much for them as they would: and besides he gaue generall safe conduct

An excellent good policy to intrap men.

conduct to all that should bring them. When by this meanes he saw that there were great store of horses brought thither vnto him, hee gaue the Merchants faire wordes, vntill such time as he saw they could bring no more. Then he licenced the Merchants to depart, without giuing them any thing for their horses, which when the poore men saw, they were desperate, and as it were mad with sorrow and griefe.

I rested in Bezenegar seuen moneths, although in one moneth I might haue discharged all my businesse, for it was necessary to rest there vntill the wayes were cleere of theeues, which at that time ranged vp and downe. And in the time I rested there, I saw many strange and beastly deeds done by the Gentiles. First, when there is any Noble man or woman dead, they burne their bodies: and if a married man die, his wife must burne herselfe aliue, for the loue of her husband, and with the body of her husband: so that when any man dieth, his wife will take a moneths leaue, two or three, or as shee will, to burne her selfe in, and that day being come, wherein shee ought to be burnt, that morning shee goeth out of her house very earely, either on horsebacke or on an eliphant, or else is borne by eight men on a smal stage: in one of these orders she goeth, being apparelled like to a Bride, carried round about the City, with her haire downe about her shoulders, garnished with iewels and flowers, according to the estate of the party, and they goe with as great ioy as Brides doe in Venice to their nuptials: shee carrieth in her left hand a looking glasse, and in her right hand an arrow, and singeth thorow the City as she passeth, and sayth, that she goeth to sleepe with her deere spowse and husband. She is accompanied with her kindred and friends vntill it be one or two of the clocke in the afternoone, then they goe out of the City, and going along the riuers side called Nigondin, which runneth vnder the walles of the City, vntill they come vnto a place where they vse to make this burning of women, being wid- A discripion of the burning place.
dowes, there is prepared in this place a great square caue, with a little pinnacle hard by it, foure or fiue steppes vp: the foresayd caue is full of dried wood. The woman being come thither, accompanied with a great number of people which come to see the thing, then they make ready a great banquet, and she that shall be burned eateth with as great ioy and glad- Feasting and dancing when they should mourne.
nesse, as though it were her wedding day: and the feast being ended, then they goe to dancing and singing a certeine time, according as she will. After this, the woman of her owne accord, commandeth them to make the fire in the square caue where the drie wood is, and when it is kindled, they come and certifie her thereof, then presently she leaueth the feast, and taketh the neerest kinseman of her husband by the hand, and they both goe together to the banke of the foresayd riuer, where shee putteth off all her iewels and all her clothes, and giueth them to her parents or kinsefolke, and couering herselfe with a cloth, because she will not be seene of the people being naked, she throweth herselfe into the riuer, saying, O wretches, wash away your sinnes. Comming out of the water, she rowleth herselfe into a yellow cloth of foureteene braces long: and againe she taketh her husbands kinseman by the hand, and they go both together vp to the pinnacle of the square caue wherein the fire is made. When she is on the pinnacle, shee talketh and reasoneth with the people, recommending vnto them her children and kindred. Before the pinnacle they vse to set a mat, because they shall not see the fiercenesse of the fire, yet there are many that will haue them plucked away, shewing therein an heart not fearefull, and that they are not affrayd of that sight. When this silly woman hath reasoned with the people a good while to her content, there is another woman that taketh a pot with oile, and sprinckleth it ouer her head, and with the same she anoynteth all her body, and afterwards throweth the pot into the fornace, and both the woman and the pot goe together into the fire, and presently the people that are round about the fornace throw after her into the caue great pieces of wood, so by this meanes, with the fire and with the blowes that she hath with the wood throwen after her, she is quickly dead, and after this there groweth such sorrow and such lamentation among the people, that all their mirth is turned into howling and weeping, in such wise, that a man could scarse Mourning when they should reioyce.
beare the hearing of it. I haue seene many burnt in this maner, because my house was neere to the gate where they goe out to the place of burning: and when there dieth any great man, his wife with all his slaues with whom hee hath had carnall copulation, burne themselues to-

gether with him. Also in this kingdome I haue seene amongst the base sort of people this vse and order, that the man being dead, hee is carried to the place where they will make his sepulchre, and setting him as it were vpright, then commeth his wife before him on her knees, casting her armes about his necke, with imbracing and clasping him, vntill such time as the Masons haue made a wall round about them, and when the wall is as high as their neckes, there commeth a man behinde the woman and strangleth her: then when she is dead, the workemen finish the wall ouer their heads, and so they lie buried both together. Besides these, there are an infinite number of beastly qualities amongst them, of which I haue no desire to write. I was desirous to know the cause why these women would so wilfully burne themselues against nature and law, and it was told mee that this law was of an antient time, to make prouision against the slaughters which women made of their husbands. For in those dayes before this law was made, the women for euery little displeasure that their husbands had done vnto them, would presently poison their husbands, and take other men, and now by reason of this law they are more faithfull vnto their husbands, and count their liues as deare as their owne, because that after his death her owne followeth presently.

The cause why the women do so burne themselues.

In the yeere of our Lord God 1567, for the ill successe that the people of Bezeneger had, in that their City was sacked by the foure kings, the king with his Court went to dwell in a castle eight dayes iourney vp in the land from Bezeneger, called Penegonde. Also sixe dayes iourney from Bezeneger, is the place where they get Diamants: I was not there, but it was tolde me that it is a great place, compassed with a wall, and that they sell the earth within the wall, for so much a squadron, and the limits are set how deepe or how low they shall digge. Those Diamants that are of a certaine sise and bigger then that sise, are all for the king, it is many yeeres agone, since they got any there, for the troubles that haue bene in that kingdome. The first cause of this trouble was, because the sonne of this Temeragio had put to death the lawfull king which he had in prison, for which cause the Barons and Noblemen in that kingdome would not acknowledge him to be their king, and by this meanes there are many kings, and great diuision in that kingdome, and the city of Bezeneger is not altogether destroyed, yet the houses stand still, but empty, and there is dwelling in them nothing, as is reported, but Tygers and other wilde beasts. The circuit of this city is foure & twentie miles about, and within the walles are certeine mountaines. The houses stand walled with earth, and plaine, all sauing the three palaces of the three tyrant brethren, and the Pagodes which are idole houses: these are made with lime and fine marble. I haue seene many kings Courts, and yet haue I seene none in greatnesse like to this of Bezeneger, I say, for the order of his palace, for it hath nine gates or ports. First when you goe into the place where the king did lodge, there are fiue great ports or gates: these are kept with Captaines and souldiers: then within these there are foure lesser gates: which are kept with Porters. Without the first gate there is a little porch, where there is a Captaine with fiue and twentie souldiers, that keepeth watch and ward night and day: and within that another with the like guard, wherethorow they come to a very faire Court, and at the end of that Court there is another porch as the first, with the like guard, and within that another Court. And in this wise are the first fiue gates guarded and kept with those Captaines: and then the lesser gates within are kept with a guard of Porters: which gates stand open the greatest part of the night, because the custome of the Gentiles is to doe their businesse, and make their feasts in the night, rather then by day. The city is very safe from theeues, for the Portugall merchants sleepe in the streets, or vnder porches, for the great heat which is there, and yet they neuer had any harme in the night. At the end of two moneths, I determined to go for Goa in the company of two other Portugall Marchants, which were making ready to depart, with two palanchines or little litters, which are very commodious for the way, with eight Falchines which are men hired to cary the palanchines, eight for a palanchine, foure at a time: they carry them as we vse to carry barrowes. And I bought me two bullocks, one of them to ride on, and the other to carry my victuals and prouision, for in that countrey they ride on bullocks with pannels, as we terme them, girts and bridles, and they haue a very good commodious pace. From Bezeneger to Goa in Summer it is eight dayes iourney, but we went in the midst of Winter, in the moneth of Iuly, and were fifteene dayes comming to Ancola on the

Penegonde.

Men ride on bullocks, and trauell with them on the way.

sea

sea coast, so in eight dayes I had lost my two bullocks: for he that carried my victuals, was weake and could not goe, the other when I came vnto a riuer where was a little bridge to passe ouer, I put my bullocke to swimming, and in the middest of the riuer there was a little Iland, vnto the which my bullocke went, and finding pasture, there he remained still, and in no wise we could come to him: and so perforce, I was forced to leaue him, and at that time there was much raine, and I was forced to go seuen dayes a foot with great paines: and by great chance I met with Falchines by the way, whom I hired to carry my clothes and victuals.

We had great trouble in our iourney, for that euery day wee were taken prisoners, by reason of the great dissension in that kingdome: and euery morning at our departure we must pay rescat foure or fiue pagies a man. And another trouble wee had as bad as this, that when as wee came into a new gouernours countrey, as euery day we did, although they were al tributary to the king of Bezeneger, yet euery one of them stamped a seueral coine of Copper, so that the money that we tooke this day would not serue the next: at length, by the helpe of God, we came safe to Ancola, which is a country of the Queene of Gargopam, tributary to the king of Bezeneger. The marchandise that went euery yere from Goa to Bezeneger were Arabian Horses, Velluets, Damasks, and Sattens, Armesine of Portugall, and pieces of China, Saffron, and Skarlets: and from Bezeneger they had in Turky for their commodities, iewels, and Pagodies which be ducats of golde: the apparell that they vse in Bezeneger is Veluet, Satten, Damaske, Scarlet, or white Bumbast cloth, according to the estate of the person with long hats on their heads, called Colae, made of Veluet, Satten, Damaske, or Scarlet, girding themselues in stead of girdles with some fine white bombast cloth: they haue breeches after the order of the Turks: they weare on their feet plaine high things called of them Aspergh, and at their eares they haue hanging great plenty of golde.

The marchandise that come in and out to Bezeneger euery yere.

The apparell of those people.

Returning to my voyage, when we were together in Ancola, one of my companions that had nothing to lose, tooke a guide, and went to Goa, whither they goe in foure dayes, the other Portugall not being disposed to go, taried in Ancola for that Winter. The Winter in those parts of the Indies beginneth the fifteenth of May, and lasteth vnto the end of October: and as we were in Ancola, there came another Marchant of horses in a palanchine, and two Portugall souldiers which came from Zeilan, and two caricns of letters, which were Christians borne in the Indies; all these consorted to goe to Goa together, and I determined to goe with them, and caused a pallanchine to be made for me very poorely of Canes; and in one of them Canes I hid priuily all the iewels I had, and according to the order, I tooke eight Falchines to cary me: and one day about eleuen of the clocke wee set forwards on our iourney, and about two of the clocke in the afternoone, as we passed a mountaine which diuideth the territory of Ancola and Dialcan, I being a little behinde my company was assaulted by eight theeues, foure of them had swordes and targets, and the other foure had bowes and arrowes. When the Falchines that carried me vnderstood the noise of the assault, they let the pallanchine and me fall to the ground, and ranne away and left me alone, with my clothes wrapped about me: presently the theeues were on my necke and rifeling me, they stripped me starke naked, and I fained my selfe sicke, because I would not leaue the pallanchine, and I had made me a little bedde of my clothes; the theeues sought it very narrowly and subtilly, and found two purses that I had, well bound vp together, wherein I had put my Copper money which I had changed for foure pagodies in Ancola. The theeues thinking it had beene so many duckats of golde, searched no further: then they threw all my clothes in a bush, and hied them away, and as God would haue it, at their departure there fell from them an handkerchēr, and when I saw it, I rose from my Pallanchine or couch, and tooke it vp, and wrapped it together within my Pallanchine. Then these my Falchines were of so good condition, that they returned to seeke mee, whereas I thought I should not haue found so much goodnesse in them: because they were payed their mony aforehand, as is the vse, I had thought to haue seene them no more. Before their comming I was determined to plucke the Cane wherein my iewels were hidden, out of my couch, and to haue made me a walking staffe to carry in my hand to Goa, thinking that I should haue gone thither on foot, but by the faithfullness of m Falchines, I was rid of that trouble, and so in foure dayes they carried me to Goa, in which

Their Winter is our Summer.

which time I made hard fare, for the theeues left me neither money, golde, nor siluer, and that which I did eat was giuen me of my men for Gods sake: and after at my comming to Goa I payed them for euery thing royally that I had of them. From Goa I departed for Cochin, which is a voyage of three hundred miles, and betweene these two cities are many holdes of the Portugals, as Onor, Mangalor, Barzelor, and Cananor. The Holde or Fort that you shall haue from Goa to Cochin that belongeth to the Portugals, is called Onor, which is in the kingdome of the queene of Battacella, which is tributary to the king of Bezeneger: there is no trade there, but onely a charge with the Captsine and company he keepeth there. And passing this place, you shall come to another small castle of the Portugals called Mangalor, and there is very small trade but onely for a little Rice: and from thence you goe to a little fort called Bazelor, there they haue good store of Rice which is carried to Goa: and from thence you shall goe to a city called Cananor, which is a harquebush shot distant from the chiefest city that ỹ king of Cananor hath in his kingdome being a king of the Gentiles: and he & his are very naughty & malicious people, alwayes hauing delight to be in warres with the Portugales, and when they are in peace, it is for their interest to let their merchandize passe: there goeth out of this kingdom of Cananor, all the Cardamomũ, great store of Pepper, Ginger, Honie, ships laden with great Nuts, great quantitie of Archa, which is a fruit of the bignesse of Nutmegs, which fruite they eate in all those partes of the Indies and beyond the Indies, with the leafe of an Herbe which they call Bettell, the which is like vnto our Iuie leafe, but a litle lesser and thinner: they eate it made in plaisters with the lime made of Oistershels, and thorow the Indies they spend great quantitie of money in this composition, and it is vsed daily, which thing I would not haue beleeued, if I had not seene it. The customers get great profite by these Herbes, for that they haue custome for them. When this people eate and chawe this in their mouthes, it maketh their spittle to bee red like vnto blood, and they say, that it maketh a man to haue a very good stomacke and a sweete breath, but sure in my iudgement they eate it rather to fulfill their filthie lustes, and of a knauerie, for this Herbe is moyst and hote, & maketh a very strong expulsion. Frõ Cananor you go to Cranganor, which is another smal Fort of the Portugales in the land of the king of Cranganor, which is another king of the Gentiles, and a countrey of small importance, and of an hundreth and twentie miles, full of thieues, being vnder the king of Calicut, a king also of the Gentiles, and a great enemie to the Portugales, which when hee is alwayes in warres, hee and his countrey is the nest and resting for stranger theeues, and those bee called Moores of Carposa, because they weare on their heads long red hats, and these thieues part the spoyles that they take on the Sea with the king of Calicut, for hee giueth leaue vnto all that will goe a rouing, liberally to goe, in such wise, that all along that coast there is such a number of thieues, that there is no sailing in those Seas but with great ships and very well armed, or els they must go in company with the army of the Portugals. From Cranganor to Cochin is 15. miles.

Fewre small fortes of the Portugals.

Bettell is a very profitable herbe in that countrey.

Enimies to the king of Portugall.

Cochin.

COchin is, next vnto Goa, the chiefest place that the Portugales haue in the Indies, and there is great trade of Spices, drugges, and all other sortes of merchandize for the kingdome of Portugale, and there within the land is the kingdome of Pepper, which Pepper the Portugales lade in their shippes by bulke, and not in sackes: the Pepper that goeth for Portugale is not so good as that which goeth for Mecca, because that in times past the officers of the king of Portugale made a contract with the king of Cochin, in the name of the king of Portugale, for the prizes of Pepper, and by reason of that agreement betweene them at that time made, the price can neither rise nor fall, which is a very lowe and base price, and for this cause the villaines bring it to the Portugales, greene and full of filthe. The Moores of Mecca that giue a better price, haue it cleane and drie, and better conditioned. All the Spices and drugs that are brought to Mecca, are stollen from thence as Contrabanda. Cochin is two cities, one of the Portugales, and another of the king of Cochin: that of the Portugales is situate neerest vnto the Sea, and that of the king of Cochin is a mile and a halfe vp higher in the land, but they are both set on the bankes of one riuer which is very great and

Within Cochin is the kingdom of Pepper.

The Pepper that the Portugals bring, is not so good as that which goeth for Mecca, which is brought hither by ye streights.

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of a good depth of water, which riuer commeth out of the mountaines of the king of the Pepper, which is a king of the Gentiles, in whose kingdom are many Christians of saint Thomas order: the king of Cochin is also a king of the Gentiles and a great faithfull friend to the king of Portugale, and to those Portugales which are married, and are Citizens in the Citie Cochin of the Portugales. And by this name of Portugales throughout all the Indies, they call all the Christians that come out of the West, whether they bee Italians, Frenchmen, or Almaines, and all they that marrie in Cochin do get an office according to the trade he is of: this they haue by the great priuileges which the Citizens haue of that city, because there are two principal commodities that they deale withal in that place, which are these. The great store of Silke that commeth from China, and the great store of Sugar which commeth from Bengala: the married Citizens pay not any custome for these two commodities: for all other commodities they pay 4. per cento custome to the king of Cochin, rating their goods at their owne pleasure. Those which are not married and strangers, pay in Cochin to the king of Portugale eight per cento of all maner of merchandise. I was in Cochin when the Viceroy of the king of Portugale wrought what hee coulde to breake the priuilege of the Citizens, and to make them to pay custome as other did: at which time the Citizens were glad to waigh their Pepper in the night that they laded the ships withall that went to Portugale and stole the custome in the night. The king of Cochin hauing vnderstanding of this, would not suffer any more Pepper to bee weighed. Then presently after this, the marchants were licensed to doe as they did before, and there was no more speach of this matter, nor any wrong done. This king of Cochin is of a small power in respect of the other kings of the Indies, for hee can make but seuentie thousand men of armes in his campe: hee hath a great number of Gentlemen which hee calleth Amochi, and some are called Nairi: these two sorts of men esteeme not their liues any thing, so that it may be for the honour of their king, they will thrust themselues forward in euery danger, although they know they shall die. These men goe naked from the girdle vpwardes, with a clothe rolled about their thighs, going barefooted, and hauing their haire very long and rolled vp together on the toppe of their heads, and alwayes they carrie their Bucklers or Targets with them and their swordes naked, these Nairi haue their wiues common amongst themselues, and when any of them goe into the house of any of these women, hee leaueth his sworde and target at the doore, and the time that hee is there, there dare not any bee so hardie as to come into that house. The kings children shall not inherite the kingdome after their father, because they hold this opinion, that perchance they were not begotten of the king their father, but of some other man, therefore they accept for their king, one of the sonnes of the kings sisters, or of some other woman of the blood roial, for that they be sure they are of the blood roiall.

Great priuileges that the citizens of Cochin haue.

The Nairi and their wiues vse for a brauerie to make great holes in their eares, and so bigge and wide, that it is incredible, holding this opinion, that the greater the holes bee, the more noble they esteeme themselues. I had leaue of one of them to measure the circumference of one of them with a threed, and within that circumference I put my arme vp to the shoulder, clothed as it was, so that in effect they are monstrous great. Thus they doe make them when they be litle, for then they open the eare, & hang a piece of gold or lead thereat, & within the opening, in the hole they put ascertaine leafe that they haue for that purpose, which maketh the hole so great. They lade ships in Cochin for Portugale and for Ormus, but they that goe for Ormus carrie no Pepper but by Contrabanda, as for Sinamome they easilie get leaue to carrie that away, for all other Spices and drugs they may liberally carie them to Ormus or Cambaia, and so all other merchandize which come from other places, but out of the kingdom of Cochin properly they cary away with them into Portugale great abundance of Pepper, great quantitie of Ginger dried and conserued, wild Sinamom, good quantitie of Arecca, great store of Cordage of Cairo, made of the barke of the tree of the great Nut, and better then that of Hempe, of which they carrie great store into Portugale.

A very strange thing hardly to be beleeued.

The shippes euery yeere depart from Cochin to goe for Portugall, on the fift day of December, or the fift day of January. Nowe to follow my voyage for the Indies: from Cochin I went to Coulam, distant from Cochin seuentie and two miles, which Coulam is a small

Note the departing of the ships from Cochin.

Fort

Fort of the king of Portugales, situate in the kingdom of Coulam, which is a king of the Gentiles, and of small trade: at that place they lade onely halfe a ship of Pepper, and then she goeth to Cochin to take in the rest, and from thence to Cao Comori is seuentie and two miles, and there endeth the coast of the Indies: and alongst this coast, neere to the water side, and also to Cao Comori, downe to the lowe land of Chialon, which is about two hundred miles, the people there are as it were all turned to the Christian faith: there are also Churches of the Friers of S. Pauls order, which Friers doe very much good in those places in turning the people, and in conuerting them, and take great paines in instructing them in the law of Christ.

The fishing for Pearles.

The order how they fish for pearles.

THe Sea that lieth betweene the coast which descendeth from Cao Comori, to the lowe land of Chiaoal, and the Iland Zeilan, they call the fishing of Pearles, which fishing they make euery yeere, beginning in March or Aprill, and it lasteth fiftie dayes, but they doe not fishe euery yeere in one place, but one yeere in one place, and another yeere in another place of the same sea. When the time of this fishing draweth neere, then they send very good Diuers, that goe to discouer where the greatest heapes of Oisters bee vnder water, and right agaynst that place where greatest store of Oisters bee, there they make or plant a village with houses and a Bazaro, all of stone, which standeth as long as the fishing time lasteth, and it is furnished with all things necessarie, and nowe and then it is neere vnto places that are inhabited, and other times farre off, according to the place where they fishe. The Fishermen are all Christians of the countrey, and who so will may goe to fishing, paying a certaine dutie to the king of Portugall, and to the Churches of the Friers of Saint Paule, which are in that coast. All the while that they are fishing, there are three or foure Fustes armed to defend the Fishermen from Rouers. It was my chance to bee there one time in my passage, and I saw the order that they vsed in fishing, which is this. There are three or foure Barkes that make consort together, which are like to our litle Pilot boates, and a litle lesse, there goe seuen or eight men in a boate: and I haue seene in a morning a great number of them goe out, and anker in fifteene or eighteene fadome of water, which is the Ordinarie depth of all that coast. When they are at anker, they cast a rope into the Sea, and at the ende of the rope, they make fast a great stone, and then there is readie a man that hath his nose and his eares well stopped, and annointed with oyle, and a basket about his necke, or vnder his left arme, then hee goeth downe by the rope to the bottome of the Sea, and as fast as he can hee filleth the basket, and when it is full, he shaketh the rope, and his fellowes that are in the Barke hale him vp with the basket: and in such wise they goe one by one vntill they haue laden their barke with oysters, and at euening they come to the village, and then euery company maketh their mountaine or heape of oysters one distant from another, in such wise that you shall see a great long rowe of mountaines or heapes of oysters, and they are not touched vntill such time as the fishing bee ended, and at the ende of the fishing euery companie sitteth round about their mountaine or heape of oysters, and fall to opening of them, which they may easilie doe because they bee dead, drie and brittle: and if euery oyster had pearles in them, it would bee a very good purchase, but there are very many that haue no pearles in them: when the fishing is ended, then they see whether it bee a good gathering or a badde: there are certaine expert in the pearles whom they call Chitini, which set and make the price of pearles according to their carracts, beautie, and goodnesse, making foure sortes of them. The first sort bee the round pearles, and they be called Aia of Portugale, because the Portugales doe buy them. The second sorte which are not round, are called Aia of Bengala. The third sort which are not so good as the second, they call Aia of Canara, that is to say, the kingdome of Bezeneger. The fourth and last sort, which are the least and worst sort, are called Aia of Cambaia. Thus the price being set, there are merchants of euery countrey which are readie with their money in their handes, so that in a fewe dayes all is bought vp at the prises set according to the goodnesse and caracts of the pearles.

These pearles are prised according to the caract, which they weigh, euery caract is 4. graines, and these men that prise the haue an instrument of copper with holes in it, which be made by degrees for to sort yᵉ perles withall.

In this Sea of the fishing of pearles is an Iland called Manar, which is inhabited by Christians

tians of the countrey which first were Gentiles, and haue a small hold of the Portugales being situate ouer agaynst Zeilan: and betweene these two Ilands there is a chanell, but not very big, and hath but a small depth therein: by reason whereof there cannot any great shippe passe that way, but small ships, and with the increase of the water which is at the change or the full of the Moone, and yet for all this they must vnlade them and put their goods into small vessels to lighten them before they can passe that way for feare of Sholdes that lie in the chanell, and after lade them into their shippes to goe for the Indies, and this doe all small shippes that passe that way, but those shippes that goe for the Indies Eastwardes, passe by the coast of Coromandel, on the other side by the land of Chilao which is betweene the firme land and the Iland Manor: and going from the Indies to the coast of Coromandel, they loose some shippes, but they bee emptie, because that the shippes that passe that way discharge their goods at an Iland called Peripatune, and there land their goods into small flat bottomed boates which drawe litle water, and are called Tane, and can run ouer euery Shold without either danger or losse of any thing, for that they tarrie in Peripatane vntill such time as it bee faire weather. Before they depart to passe the Sholdes, the small shippes and flat bottomed boates goe together in companie, and when they haue sailed sixe and thirtie miles, they arriue at the place where the Sholdes are, and at that place the windes blowe so forciblie, that they are forced to goe thorowe, not hauing any other refuge to saue themselues. The flat bottomed boates goe safe thorow, where as the small shippes if they misse the aforesayd chanell, sticke fast on the Sholdes, and by this meanes many are lost: and comming backe from the Indies, they goe not that way, but passe by the chanell of Manar as is abouesayd, whose chanell is Oazie, and if the shippes sticke fast, it is great chance if there be any danger at all. The reason why this chanell is not more sure to goe thither, is, because the windes that raigne or blowe betweene Zeilan and Manar, make the chanell so shalow with water, that almost there is not any passage. From Cao Comori to the Iland of Zeilan is 120. miles ouerthwart.

Zeilan.

ZEilan is an Iland, in my iudgement, a great deale bigger then Cyprus: on that side towards the Indies lying Westward is the citie called Columba, which is a hold of the Portugales, but without walles or enimies. It hath towards the Sea a free port, the lawfull king of that Iland is in Columbo, and is turned Christian and maintained by the king of Portugall, being depriued of his kingdome. The king of the Gentiles, to whom this kingdome did belong, was called Madoni, which had two sonnes, the first named Barbinas the prince; and the second Ragine. This king by the pollicie of his yoonger sonne, was depriued of his kingdome, who because hee had entised and done that which pleased the armie and souldiours, in despight of his father and brother being prince, vsurped the kingdome, and became a great warriour. First, this Iland had three kings; the king of Cotta with his conquered prisoners: the king of Candia, which is a part of that Iland, and is so called by the name of Candia, which had a reasonable power, and was a great friend to the Portugals, which sayd that hee liued secretly a Christian; the third was the king of Gianifampatan. In thirteene yeeres that this Ragine gouerned this Iland, he became a great tyrant.

In this Iland there groweth fine Sinamom, great store of Pepper, great store of Nuttes and Arochoe: there they make great store of Cairo to make Cordage: it bringeth foorth great store of Christall Cats eyes, or Ochi de Gati, and they say that they finde there some Rubies, but I haue sold Rubies well there that I brought with me from Pegu. I was desirous to see how they gather the Sinamom, or take it from the tree that it groweth on, and so much the rather, because the time that I was there, was the season which they gather it in, which was in the moneth of Aprill, at which time the Portugals were in armes, and in the field, with the king of the countrey; yet I to satisfie my desire, although in great danger, tooke a guide with mee and went into a wood three miles from the Citie, in which wood was great store of Sinamome trees growing together among other wilde trees; and this Sinamome tree is a small tree, and not very high, and hath leaues like to our Baie tree. In the moneth of March or Aprill, when the sappe goeth vp to the toppe of the tree, then they take the Sinamom from

Cairo is a stuffe that they make ropes with, the which is the barke of a tree.

The cutting & gathering of Sinamom.

from that tree in this wise. They cut the barke of the tree round about in length from knot to knot, or from ioint to ioint, aboue and belowe, and then casilie with their handes they take it away, laying it in the Sunne to drie, and in this wise it is gathered, and yet for all this the tree dieth not, but againyst the next yeere it will haue a new barke, and that which is gathered euery yeere is the best Sinamome: for that which groweth two or three yeares is great, and not so good as the other is; and in these woods groweth much Pepper.

A rare thinge.

Negapatan.

FRom the Iland of Zeilan men vse to goe with small shippes to Negapatan, within the firme land, and seuentie two miles off is a very great Citie, and very populous of Portugals and Christians of the countrey, and part Gentiles: it is a countrey of small trade, neither haue they any trade there, saue a good quantitie of Rice, and cloth of Bumbast which they carie into diuers partes: it was a very plentifull countrey of victuals, but now it hath a great deale lesse; and that abundance of victuals caused many Portugales to goe thither and build houses, and dwell there with small charge.

This Citie belongeth to a noble man of the kingdome of Bezeneger being a Gentile, neuerthelesse the Portugales and other Christians are well intreated there, and haue their Churches there with a monasterie of Saint Francis order, with great deuotion and very well accommodated, with houses round about: yet for all this, they are amongst tyrants, which alwayes at their pleasure may doe them some harme, as it happened in the yeere of our Lord God one thousand fiue hundred, sixtie and fiue: for I remember very well, how that the Nayer, that is to say, the lord of the citie, sent to the citizens to demaund of them certaine Arabian horses, and they hauing denied them vnto him, and gainesayd his demaund, it came to passe that this lord had a desire to see the Sea, which when the poore citizens vnderstood, they doubted some euill, to heare a thing which was not woont to bee, they thought that this man would come to sacke the Citie, and presently they embarked themselues the best they could with their mooueables, marchandize, iewels, money, and all that they had, and caused the shippes to put from the shore. When this was done, as their euill chance would haue it, the next night following, there came such a great storme that it put all the shippes on land perforce, and brake them to pieces, and all the goods that came on land and were saued, were taken from them by the souldiours and armie of this lord which came downe with him to see the Sea, and were attendant at the Sea side, not thinking that any such thing would haue happened.

A foolish feare of Portugals.

Saint Thomas or San Tome.

FRom Negapatan following my voyage towards the East an hundred and fiftie miles, I found the house of blessed Saint Thomas, which is a Church of great deuotion, and greatly regarded of the Gentiles for the great miracles they haue heard to haue bene done by that blessed Apostle: neere vnto this Church the Portugals haue builded them a Citie in the countrey subiect to the king of Bezeneger, which citie although it bee not very great, yet in my iudgement it is the fairest in all that part of the Indies: and it hath very faire houses and faire gardens in vacant places very well accommodated: it hath streetes large and streight, with many Churches of great deuotion, their houses be set close one vnto another, with little doores, euery house hath his defence, so that by that meanes it is of force sufficient to defend ỹ Portugals against the people of that countrey. The Portugals there haue no other possession but their gardens and houses that are within the citie: the customes belong to the king of Bezeneger, which are very small and easie, for that it is a countrey of great riches and great trade: there come euery yeere two or three great ships very rich, besides many other small ships: one of the two great ships goeth for Pegu, and the other for Malacca, laden with fine Bumbast cloth of euery sort, painted, which is a rare thing, because those kinde of clothes shew as they were gilded with diuers colours, and the more they be washed, the liuelier the colours will shew. Also there is other cloth of Bumbast which is wouen with diuers colours, and is of great value: also they make in Sant Tome great

S. Thomas his sepulchre.

A painted kind of cloth & died of diuers colours which those people delight much in, and esteeme them of great price.

great store of red Yarne, which they die with a roote called Saia, and this colour will neuer waste, but the more it is washed, the more redder it will shew: they lade this yarne the greatest part of it for Pegu, because that there they worke and weaue it to make cloth according to their owne fashion, and with lesser charges. It is a marueious thing to them which haue not seene the lading and vnlading of men and merchandize in S. Tome as they do: it is a place so dangerous, that a man cannot bee serued with small barkes, neither can they doe their businesse with the boates of the shippes, because they would be beaten in a thousand pieces, but they make certaine barkes (of purpose) high, which they call Masadie, they be made of litle boards; one board being sowed to another with small cordes, and in this order are they made. And when they are thus made, and the owners will embarke any thing in them, either men or goods, they lade them on land, and when they are laden, the Barke-men thrust the boate with her lading into the streame, and with great speed they make haste all that they are able to rowe out against the huge waues of the sea that are on that shore, vntill that they carie them to the ships: and in like maner they lade these Masadies at the shippes with merchandise and men. When they come neere the shore, the Barke-men leap out of the Barke into the Sea to keepe the Barke right that she cast not thwart the shore, and being kept right, the Surfe of the Sea setteth her lading dry on land without any hurt or denger, and sometimes there are some of them that are ouerthrowen, but there can be no great losse, because they lade but a litle at a time. All the marchandize they lade outwards, they emball it well with Oxe hides, so that if it take wet, it can haue no great harme.

In my voyage, returning in the yeere of our Lord God one thousand, fiue hundred, sixtie and sixe, I went from Goa vnto Malacca, in a shippe or Gallion of the king of Portugal, which went vnto Banda for to lade Nutmegs & Maces: from Goa to Malacca are one thousand eight hundred miles, we passed without the Iland Zeilan, and went through the chanell of Nicubar, or els through the chanell of Sombero, which is by the middle of the Iland of Sumatra, called in olde time Taprobana: and from Nicubar to Pegu is as it were a rowe or chaine of an infinite number of Ilands, of which many are inhabited with wilde people, and they call those Ilands the Ilands of Andemaon, and they call their people sauage or wilde, because they eate one another: also these Ilands haue warre one with another, for they haue small Barkes, and with them they take one another, and so eate one another: and if by euil chance any ship be lost on those Ilands, as many haue bene, there is not one man of those ships lost there that escapeth vneaten or vnslaine. These people haue not any acquaintance with any other people, neither haue they trade with any, but liue onely of such fruites as those Ilands yeeld: and if any ship come neere vnto that place or coast as they passe that way, as in my voyage it happened as I came from Malacca through the chanell of Sombrero, there came two of their Barkes neere vnto our ship laden with fruite, as with Mouces which wee call Adams apples, with fresh Nuts, and with a fruite called Inani, which fruite is like to our Turneps, but is very sweete and good to eate: they would not come into the shippe for any thing that wee could doe: neither would they take any money for their fruite, but they would trucke for olde shirtes or pieces of olde linnen breeches, these ragges they let downe with a rope into their Barke vnto them, and looke what they thought those things to bee woorth, so much fruite they would make fast to the rope and let vs hale it in: and it was told me that at sometimes a man shall haue for an old shirt a good piece of Amber.

In the Iland of Banda they lade Nutmegs for there they grow

In the Ilands of Andemaon, they eate one another.

Sumatra.

THis Iland of Sumatra is a great Iland and deuided and gouerned by many kings, and deuided into many chanels, where through there is passage: vpon the headland towardes the West is the kingdom of Assi gouerned by a Moore king: this king is of great force and strength, as he that beside his great kingdom, hath many Foists and Gallies. In his kingdom groweth great store of Pepper, Ginger, Beniamin: he is an vtter enemy to the Portugals, and hath diuers times bene at Malacca to fight against it, and hath done great harme to the

The commodities that grow in the kingdom of Assi.

boroughes thereof, but the citie alway withstood him valiantly, and with their ordinance did great spoile to his campe. At length I came to the citie of Malacca.

The Citie Malacca.

The great trade that is at Malacca.

MAlacca is a Citie of marueilous great trade of all kind of marchandize, which come from diuers partes, because that all the shippes that saile in these seas, both great and small, are bound to touch at Malacca to paie their custome there, although they vnlade nothing at all, as we doe at Elsinor: and if by night they escape away, and pay not their custome, then they fall into a greater danger after: for if they come into the Indies and haue not the seale of Malacca, they pay double custome. I haue not passed further then Malacca towards the East, but that which I wil speake of here is by good information of them that haue bene there. The sailing from Malacca towards the East is not common for all men, as to China and Iapan, and so forwards to go who will, but onely for the king of Portugall and his nobles, with leaue granted vnto them of the king to make such voiages, or to the iurisdiction of the captaine of Malacca, where he expecteth to know what voiages they make from Malacca, thither, & these are the kings voiages, that euery yere there departeth frō Malacca 2. gallions

At the Moluccos they lade the Cloues.

of the kings, one of thē goeth to ỹ Moluccos to lade Cloues, and the other goeth to Banda to lade Nutmegs and Maces. These two gallions are laden for the king, neither doe they carie any particular mans goods, sauing the portage of the Mariners and souldiers, and for this cause they are not voiages for marchants, because that going thither, they shal not haue where to lade their goods of returne; and besides this, the captaine will not cary any marchant for either of these two places. There goe small shippes of the Moores thither, which

The kingdome of Asse.

come from the coast of Iaua, and change or guild their commodities in the kingdom of Asse, and these be the Maces, Cloues, and Nutmegs, which go for the streights of Mecca. The voiages that the king of Portugall granteth to his nobles are these, of China and Iapan, from China to Iapan, and from Iapan to China, and from China to the Indies, and the voyage of Bengala, Maluco, and Sonda, with the lading of fine cloth, and euery sort of Bumbast cloth. Sonda is an Iland of the Moores neere to the coast of Iaua, and there they lade

The ship of drugs, so termed of the Portugals.

Pepper for China. The ship that goeth euery yeere from the Indies to China, is called the ship of Drugs, because she carieth diuers drugs of Cambaia, but the greatest part of her lading is siluer. From Malacca to China is eighteene hundred miles: and from China to Iapan goeth euery yeere a shippe of great importance laden with Silke, which for returne of their Silke bringeth barres of siluer which they trucke in China. The distance betweene China and Iapan is foure and twentie hundred miles, and in this way there are diuers Ilands not very bigge, in which the Friers of saint Paul, by the helpe of God, make many Christians

Ilands not discouered.

there like to themselues. From these Ilands hitherwards the place is not yet discouered for the great sholdnesse of Sandes that they find. The Portugals haue made a small citie neere vnto the coast of China called Macao, whose church and houses are of wood, and it hath a bishoprike, but the customs belong to the king of China, and they goe and pay the same at a citie called Canton, which is a citie of great importance and very beautifull two dayes iourney and a halfe from Macao. The people of China are Gentiles, and are so icalous and fearefull, that they would not haue a stranger to put his foote within their land: so that when the Portugals go thither to pay their custome, and to buy their marchandize, they will not consent that they shall lie or lodge within the citie, but send them foorth into the suburbes.

China is vnder the gouernment of the great Tartar.

The countrey of China is neere the kingdom of great Tartaria, and is a very great countrey of the Gentiles and of great importance, which may be iudged by the rich and precious marchandize that come from thence, then which I beleeue there are not better nor in greater quantitie in the whole world besides.

First, great store of golde, which they carie to the Indies, made in plates like to little shippes, and in value three and twentie caracts a peece, very great aboundance of fine silke, cloth of damaske and taffata, great quantitie of muske, great quantitie of Occam in barres, great quantitie of quicksiluer and of Cinaper, great store of Camfora, an infinite quantitie of Porcellane, made in vessels of diuerse sortes, great quantitie of painted cloth and squares,

infinite

infinite store of the rootes of China: and euery yeere there commeth from China to the Indies, two or three great shippes, laden with most rich and precious marchandise. The Rubarbe commeth from thence ouer lande, by the way of Persia, because that euery yeere there goeth a great Carouan from Persia to China, which is in going thither sixe moneths. The Carouan arriueth at a Citie called Lanchin, the place where the king is resident with his Court. I spake with a Persian that was three yeeres in that citie of Lanchin, and he tolde me that it was a great Citie and of great importance. The voiages of Malacca which are in the iurisdiction of the Captaine of the castle, are these: Euery yeere he sendeth a small shippe to Timor to lade white Sandols, for all the best commeth from this land: there commeth some also from Solor, but that is not so good: also he sendeth another small ship euery yere to Cauchin China, to lade there wood of Aloes, for that all the wood of Aloes commeth from this place, which is in the firme land neere vnto China, and in that kingdome I could not knowe how that wood groweth by any meanes. For that the people of the countrey will not suffer the Portugales to come within the land, but onely for wood and water, and as for all other things that they wanted, as victuals or marchandise, the people bring that a boord the ship in small barkes, so that euery day there is a mart kept in the ship, vntill such time as she be laden: also there goeth another ship for the said Captaine of Malacca to Sion, to lade Verzino: all these voiages are for the Captaine of the castle of Malacca, and when he is not disposed to make these voiages, he selleth them to another.

A yeerly Carouan from Persia to China.

A market kept aboord of the ships.

The citie of Sion, or Siam.

Sion was the imperiall seat, and a great Citie, but in the yeere of our Lord God one thousand fiue hundred sixtie and seuen, it was taken by the king of Pegu, which king made a voyage or came by lande foure moneths iourney with an armie of men through his lande, and the number of his armie was a million and foure hundreth thousand men of warre: when hee came to the Citie, he gaue assault to it, and besieged it one and twentie monethes before he could winne it, with great losse of his people, this I know, for that I was in Pegu sixe moneths after his departure, and sawe when that his officers that were in Pegu, sent fiue hundreth thousand men of warre to furnish the places of them that were slaine and lost in that assault: yet for all this, if there had not beene treason agdinst the citie, it had not beene lost: for on a night there was one of the gates set open, through the which with great trouble the king gate into the citie, and became gouernour of Sion: and when the Emperour sawe that he was betrayed, and that his enemie was in the citie, he poysoned himselfe: and his wiues and children, friends and noblemen, that were not slaine in the first affront of the entrance into the citie, were all caried captiues into Pegu, where I was at the comming home of the king with his triumphs and victorie, which comming home & returning from the warres was a goodly sight to behold, to see the Elephants come home in a square, laden with golde, siluer, iewels, and with Noble men and women that were taken prisoners in that citie.

A prince of a marueilous strength and power.

Now to returne to my voyage: I departed from Malacca in a great shippe which went for Saint Tome, being a Citie situate on the coast of Coromandel: and because the Captaine of the castles of Malacca had vnderstanding by aduise that the king of * Assi would come with a great armie and power of men against them, therefore vpon this he would not giue licence that any shippes should depart: Wherefore in this ship wee departed from thence in the night, without making any prouision of our water: and wee were in that shippe foure hundreth and odde men: we departed from thence with intention to goe to an Iland to take in water, but the windes were so contrary, that they would not suffer vs to fetch it, so that by this meanes wee were two and fortie dayes in the sea as it were lost, and we were driuen too and fro, so that the first lande that we discouered, was beyonde Saint Tome, more then fiue hundreth miles which were the mountaines of Zerzerline, neere vnto the kingdome of Orisa, and so wee came to Orisa with many sicke, and more that were dead for want of water: and they that were sicke in foure dayes dyed: and I for the space of a yeere after had my throat

* Or Achem.

The mountaines of Zerzerline.

so

so sore and hoarse, that I could neuer satisfie my thirst in drinking of water: I iudge the reason of my hoarsenesse to bee with soppes that I wet in vineger and oyle, wherewith I susteyned my selfe many dayes. There was not any want of bread nor of wine: but the wines of that countrey are so hot that being drunke without water they will kill a man: neither are they able to drinke them: when we beganne to want water, I sawe certaine Moores that were officers in the ship, that solde a small dish full for a duckat, after this I sawe one that would haue giuen a barre of Pepper, which is two quintalles and a halfe, for a litle measure of water, and he could not haue it. Truely I beleeue that I had died with my slaue, whom then I had to serue mee, which cost mee verie deare: but to prouide for the daunger at hand, I solde my slaue for halfe that he was worth, because that I would saue his drinke that he drunke, to serue my owne purpose, and to saue my life.

Of the kingdome of Orisa, and the riuer Ganges.

Orisa was a faire kingdome and trustie, through the which a man might haue gone with golde in his hande without any daunger at all, as long as the lawefull King reigned which was a Gentile, who continued in the citie called Catecha, which was within the land sixe dayes iourney. This king loued strangers marueilous well, especially marchants which had traffique in and out of his kingdome, in such wise that hee would take no custome of them, neither any other grieuous thing. Onely the shippe that came thither payde a small thing according to her portage, and euery yeere in the port of Orisa were laden fiue and twentie or thirtie ships great and small, with ryce and diuers sortes of fine white bumbaste cloth, oyle of Zerzeline which they make of a seed, and it is very good to eate and to fry fish withal, great store of butter, Lacca, long pepper, Ginger, Mirabolans dry and condite, great store of cloth of herbes, which is a kinde of silke which groweth amongst the woods without any labour of man, and when the bole thereof is growen round as bigge as an Orenge, then they take care onely to gather them. About sixteene yeeres past, this king with his kingdome were destroyed by the king of Patane, which was also king of the greatest part of Bengala, and when he had got the kingdome, he set custome there twenty pro cento, as Marchants paide in his kingdome: but this tyrant enioyed his kingdome but a small time, but was conquered by another tyrant, which was the great Mogol king of Agra, Delly, and of all Cambaia, without any resistance. I departed from Orisa to Bengala, to the harbour Piqueno, which is distant from Orisa towardes the East a hundred and seuentie miles. They goe as it were rowing alongst the coast fiftie and foure miles, and then we enter into the riuer Ganges: from the mouth of this riuer, to a citie called Satagan, where the marchants gather themselues together with their trade, are a hundred miles, which they rowe in eighteene houres with the increase of the water: in which riuer it floweth and ebbeth as it doth in the Thamis, and when the ebbing water is come, they are not able to rowe against it, by reason of the swiftnesse of the water, yet their barkes be light and armed with oares, like to Foistes, yet they cannot preuaile against that streame, but for refuge must make them fast to the banke of the riuer *vntill* the next flowing water, and they call these barkes Bazaras and Patnas: they rowe as well as a Galliot, or as well as euer I haue seene any. A good tides rowing before you come to Satagan, you shall haue a place which is called Buttor, and from thence vpwards the ships doe not goe, because that vpwardes the riuer is very shallowe, and litle water. Euery yeere at Buttor they make and vnmake a Village, with houses and shoppes made of strawe, and with all things necessarie to their vses, and this village standeth as long as the ships ride there, and till they depart for the Indies, and when they are departed, euery man goeth to his plot of houses, and there setteth fire on them, which thing made me to marualle. For as I passed vp to Satagan, I sawe this village standing with a great number of people, with an infinite number of ships and Bazars, and at my returne comming downe with my Captaine of the last ship, for whom I tarried, I was al amazed to see such a place so soone razed and burnt, & nothing left but the signe of the burnt houses. The small ships go to Satagan, and there they lade.

The commodities that go out of Orisa.

This cloth we call Nettle cloth.

The riuer of Ganges.

Of

Of the citie of Satagan.

IN the port of Satagan euery yeere lade thirtie or fiue and thirtie ships great and small, with rice, cloth of Bombast of diuerse sortes, Lacca, great abundance of sugar, Mirabolans dried and preserued, long pepper, oyle of Zerzeline, and many other sorts of marchandise. The citie of Satagan is a reasonable faire citie for a citie of the Moores, abounding with all things, and was gouerned by the king of Patane, and now is subiect to the great Mogol. I was in this kingdome foure moneths, whereas many marchants did buy or fraight boates for their benefites, and with these barkes they goe vp and downe the riuer of Ganges to faires, buying their commoditie with a great aduantage, because that euery day in the weeke they haue a faire, now in one place, and now in another, and I also hired a barke and went vp and downe the riuer and did my businesse, and so in the night I saw many strange things. The kingdome of Bengala in times past hath bene as it were in the power of Moores, neuerthelesse there is great store of Gentiles among them; alwayes whereas I haue spoken of Gentiles, is to be vnderstood Idolaters, and wheras I speak of Moores I meane Mahomets sect. Those people especially that be within the land doe greatly worship the riuer of Ganges: for when any is sicke, he is brought out of the countrey to the banke of the riuer, and there they make him a small cottage of strawe, and euery day they wet him with that water, whereof there are many that die, and when they are dead, they make a heape of stickes and boughes and lay the dead bodie thereon, and putting fire thereunto, they let the bodie alone vntill it be halfe rosted, and then they take it off from the fire, and make an emptie iarre fast about his necke, and so throw him into the riuer. These things euery night as I passed vp and downe the riuer I saw for the space of two moneths, as I passed to the fayres to buy my commodities with the marchants. And this is the cause that the Portugales will not drinke of the water of the riuer Ganges, yet to the sight it is more perfect and clearer then the water of Nilus is. From the port Piqueno I went to Cochin, and from Cochin to Malacca, from whence I departed for Pegu being eight hundred miles distant. That voyage is woont to be made in fiue and twentie or thirtie dayes, but we were foure moneths, and at the ende of three moneths our ship was without victuals. The Pilot told vs that wee were by his altitude not farre from a citie called Tanasary, in the kingdome of Pegu, and these his words were not true, but we were (as it were) in the middle of many Ilands, and many vninhabited rockes, and there were also some Portugales that affirmed that they knew the land, and knewe also where the citie of Tanasari was.

The commodities that are laden in Satagan.

Moores are of the sect of Mahomet.

A ceremony of the gentiles when they are dead.

This citie of right belongeth to the kingdome of Sion, which is situate on a great riuers side, which commeth out of the kingdome of Sion: and where this riuer runneth into the sea, there is a village called Mirgim, in whose harbour euery yeere there lade some ships with Verzina, Nypa, and Beniamin, a few cloues, nutmegs and maces which come from the coast of Sion, but the greatest marchandise there is Verzin and Nypa, which is an excellent wine, which is made of the floure of a tree called Nyper. Whose liquour they distill, and so make an excellent drinke cleare as christall, good to the mouth, and better to the stomake, and it hath an excellent gentle vertue, that if one were rotten with the French pockes, drinking good store of this, he shall be whole againe, and I haue seene it proued, because that when I was in Cochin, there was a friend of mine, whose nose beganne to drop away with that disease, and he was counselled of the doctors of phisicke, that he should goe to Tanasary at the time of the new wines, and that he should drinke of the nyper wine, night and day, as much as he could before it was distilled, which at that time is most delicate, but after that it is distilled, it is more strong, and if you drinke much of it, it will fume into the head with drunkennesse. This man went thither, and did so, and I haue seene him after with a good colour and sound. This wine is very much esteemed in the Indies, and for that it is brought so farre off, it is very deare: in Pegu ordinarily it is good cheape, because it is neere to the place where they make it, and there is euery yeere great quantitie made thereof. And returning to my purpose, I say, being amongst these rockes, and farre from the land which is ouer against Tanasary, with great scarcitie of victuals, and that by the saying

Marchandise comming from Sion.

Niper wine good to cure the French disease.

of

of the Pylot and two Portugales, holding then firme that wee were in front of the aforesayd harbour, we determined to goe thither with our boat and fetch victuals, and that the shippe should stay for vs in a place assigned. We were twentie and eight persons in the boat that went for victuals, and on a day about twelue of the clocke we went from the ship, assuring our selues to bee in the harbour before night in the aforesaid port, wee rowed all that day, and a great part of the next night, and all the next day without finding harbour, or any signe of good landing, and this came to passe through the euill counsell of the two Portugales that were with vs.

For we had ouershot the harbour and left it behind vs, in such wise that we had lost the lande inhabited, together with the shippe, and we eight and twentie men had no maner of victuall with vs in the boate, but it was the Lords will that one of the Mariners had brought a litle rice with him in the boate to barter away for some other thing, and it was not so much but that three or foure men would haue eaten it at a meale: I tooke the gouernment of this Ryce, promising that by the helpe of God that Ryce should be nourishment for vs vntil it pleased God to send vs to some place that was inhabited: & when I slept I put the ryce into my bosome because they should not rob it from me: we were nine daies rowing alongst the coast, without finding any thing but countreys vninhabited, & desert Ilands, where if we had found but grasse it would haue seemed sugar vnto vs, but wee could not finde any, yet we found a fewe leaues of a tree, and they were so hard that we could not chewe them, we had water and wood sufficient, and as wee rowed, we could goe but by flowing water, for when it was ebbing water, wee made fast our boat to the banke of one of those Ilandes, and in these nine dayes that we rowed, we found a caue or nest of Tortoises egges, wherein were one hundred fortie and foure egges, the which was a great helpe vnto vs: these egges are as bigge as a hennes egge, and haue no shell about them but a tender skinne, euery day we sodde a kettle-full of those egges, with an handfull of rice in the broth thereof: it pleased God that at the ende of nine dayes we discouered certaine fisher men, a fishing with small barkes, and we rowed towardes them, with a good cheare, for I thinke there were neuer men more glad then we were, for wee were so sore afflicted with penurie, that we could scarce stande on our legges. Yet according to the order that we set for our ryce, when we sawe those fisher men, there was left sufficient for foure dayes. The first village that we came to was in the gulfe of Tauay, vnder the king of Pegu, whereas we found great store of victuals: then for two or three dayes after our arriuall there, we would eate but litle meate any of vs, and yet for all this, we were at the point of death the most part of vs. From Tauay to Martauan, in the kingdome of Pegu, are seuentie two miles. We laded our bote with victuals which were aboundantly sufficient for sixe moneths, from whence we departed for the port and Citie of Martauan, where in short time we arriued, but we found not our ship there as we had thought we should, from whence presently we made out two barkes to goe to looke for her. And they found her in great calamitie, and neede of water, being at an anker with a contrary winde, which came very ill to passe, because that she wanted her boat a moneth, which should haue made her prouision of wood and water, the shippe also by the grace of God arriued safely in the aforesaid port of Martauan.

Great extremitie at sea.

Tauay vnder the king of Pegu.

The Citie of Martauan.

Martauan a citie vnder the king of Pegu.

WE found in the Citie of Martauan ninetie Portugales of Merchants and other base men, which had fallen at difference with the Retor or gouernour of the citie, and all for this cause, that certaine vagabondes of the Portugales had slaine fiue falchines of the king of Pegu, which chaunced about a moneth after the king of Pegu was gone with a million and foure hundred thousand men to conquere the kingdome of Sion. They haue for custome in this Countrey and kingdome, the king being wheresoeuer his pleasure is to bee out of his kingdome, that euery fifteene dayes there goeth from Pegu a Carouan of Falchines, with euery one a basket on his head full of some fruites or other delicates of refreshings, and with cleane clothes: it chaunced that this Carouan passing by Martauan, and resting themselues there a night, there happened betweene the Portugales and them wordes of despight, and from wordes to blowes,

A custom that these people haue when the king is in the warres.

and

and because it was thought that the Portugales had the worse, the night following, when the Falchines were a sleepe with their companie, the Portugales went and cut off fiue of their heads. Now there is a law in Pegu, that whosoeuer killeth a man, he shall buy the shed blood with his money, according to the estate of the person that is slaine, but these Falchines being the seruants of the king, the Retors durst not doe any thing in the matter, without the consent of the king, because it was necessarie that the king should knowe of such a matter. When the king had knowledge thereof, he gaue commaundement that the malefactors should be kept vntill his comming home, and then he would duely minister iustice, but the Captaine of the Portugales would not deliuer those men, but rather set himselfe with all the rest in armes, and went euery day through the Citie marching with his Drumme and ensignes displayd. For at that time the Citie was emptie of men, by reason they were gone all to the warres and in businesse of the king: in the middest of this rumour wee came thither, and I thought it a strange thing to see the Portugales vse such insolencie in another mans Citie. And I stoode in doubt of that which came to passe, and would not vnlade my goods because that they were more sure in the shippe then on the land, the greatest part of the lading was the owners of the shippe, who was in Malacca, yet there were diuerse marchants there, but their goods were of small importance, all those marchants tolde me that they would not vnlade any of their goods there, vnlesse I would vnlade first, yet after they left my counsell and followed their owne, and put their goods a lande and lost euery whit. The Rector with the customer sent for mee, and demaunded why I put not my goods a lande, and payed my custome as other men did? To whom I answered, that I was a marchant that was newly come thither, and seeing such disorder amongst the Portugales, I doubted the losse of my goods which cost me very deare, with the sweate of my face, and for this cause I was determined not to put my goods on lande, vntil such time as his honour would assure me in the name of the king, that I should haue no losse, and although there came harme to the Portugales, that neither I nor my goods should haue any hurt, because I had neither part nor any difference with them in this tumult: my reason sounded well in the Retors eares, and so presently he sent for the Bargits, which are as Counsellers of the Citie, and there they promised mee on the kings head or in the behalfe of the king, that neither I nor my goods should haue any harme, but that we should be safe and sure: of which promise there were made publike notes. And then I sent for my goods and had them on land, and payde my custome, which is in that countrey ten in the hundreth of the same goods, and for my more securitie I tooke a house right against the Retors house. The Captaine of the Portugales, and all the Portugall marchants were put out of the Citie, and I with twentie and two poore men which were officers in the shippe, had my dwelling in the Citie. After this, the Gentiles deuised to be reuenged of the Portugales; but they would not put it in execution vntil such time as our small shippe had discharged all her goods, and then the next night following came from Pegu foure thousand souldiers with some Elephants of warre; and before that they made any tumult in the citie, the Retor sent, and gaue commaundement to all Portugales that were in the Citie, when they heard any rumour or noyse, that for any thing they should not goe out of their houses, as they tendered their owne health. Then foure houres within night I heard a great rumour and noyse of men of warre, with Elephants which threw downe the doores of the ware-houses of the Portugales, and their houses of wood and strawe, in the which tumult there were some Portugales wounded, and one of them slaine; and others without making proofe of their manhoode, which the day before did so bragge, at that time put themselues to flight most shamefully, and saued themselues a boord of litle shippes, that were at an anker in the harbour, and some that were in their beds fled away naked, and that night they caried away all the Portugalles goods out of the suburbes into the Citie, and those Portugales that had their goods in the suburbes also. After this the Portugales that were fledde into the shippes to saue themselues, tooke a newe courage to themselues, and came on lande and set fire on the houses in the suburbes, which houses being made of boorde and strawe, and the winde blowing fresh, in small time were burnt and consumed, with which fire halfe the Citie had like to haue beene burnt; when the Portugales had done this, they were without all hope to recouer any part of their

A law in Pegu for killing of men.

Great pride of the Portugales.

A reuenge on the Portugales.

goods againe, which goods might amount to the summe of sixteene thousand duckats, which, if they had not set fire to the towne, they might haue had againe without any losse at all. Then the Portugales vnderstanding that this thing was not done by the consent of the king, but by his Lieutenant and the Retor of the citie were very ill content, knowing that they had made a great fault, yet the next morning following, the Portugales beganne to bende and shoot their ordinance against the Citie, which batterie of theirs continued foure dayes, but all was in vaine, for the shotte neuer hit the Citie, but lighted on the top of a small hill neere vnto it, so that the citie had no harme. When the Retor perceiued that the Portugales made battery against the Citie, hee tooke one and twentie Portugales that were there in the Citie, and sent them foure miles into the Countrey, there to tarry vntill such time as the other Portugales were departed, that made the batterie, who after their departure let them goe at their owne libertie without any harme done vnto them. I my selfe was alwayes in my house with a good guard appointed me by the Retor, that no man should doe me iniurie, nor harme me nor my goods; in such wise that hee performed all that he had promised me in the name of the king, but he would not let me depart before the comming of the king, which was greatly to my hinderance, because I was twenty and one moneths sequestred, that I could not buy nor sell any kinde of marchandize. Those commodities that I brought thither, were peper, candols, and Porcellan of China: so when the king was come home, I made my supplication vnto him, and I was licenced to depart when I would.

From Martauan I departed to goe to the chiefest Citie in the kingdome of Pegu, which is also called after the name of the kingdome, which voyage is made by sea in three or foure daies; they may goe also by lande, but it is better for him that hath marchandize to goe by sea and lesser charge. And in this voyage you shall haue a Macareo, which is one of the most marueilous things in the world that Nature hath wrought, and I neuer saw any thing so hard to be beleeued as this, to wit, the great increasing & diminishing of the water there at one push or instant, and the horrible earthquake and great noyse that the said Macareo maketh where it commeth. We departed from Martauan in barkes, which are like to our Pylot-boates, with the increase of the water, and they goe as swift as an arrowe out of a bow, so long as the tide runneth with them, and when the water is at the highest, then they drawe themselues out of the Chanell towardes some banke, and there they come to anker, and when the water is diminished, then they rest on dry land: and when the barkes rest dry, they are as high from the bottome of the Chanell, as any house top is high from the ground. They let their barkes lie so high for this respect, that if there should any shippe rest or ride in the Chanell, with such force commeth in the water, that it would ouerthrowe shippe or barke: yet for all this, that the barkes be so farre out of the Channell, and though the water hath lost her greatest strength and furie before it come so high, yet they make fast their prowe to the streme, and oftentimes it maketh them very fearefull, and if the anker did not holde her prow vp by strength, shee would be ouerthrowen and lost with men and goods. When the water beginneth to increase, it maketh such a noyse and so great that you would thinke it an earthquake, and presently at the first it maketh three waues. So that the first washeth ouer the barke, from stemme to sterne, the second is not so furious as the first, and the thirde rayseth the Anker, and then for the space of sixe houres while the water encreaseth, they rowe with such swiftnesse that you would thinke they did fly: in these tydes there must be lost no iot of time, for if you arriue not at the stagions before the tyde be spent, you must turne backe from whence you came. For there is no staying at any place, but at these stagions, and there is more daunger at one of these places then at another, as they be higher and lower one then another. When as you returne from Pegu to Martauan, they goe but halfe the tide at a time, because they will lay their barkes vp aloft on the bankes, for the reason aforesayd. I could neuer gather any reason of the noyse that this water maketh in the increase of the tide, and in deminishing of the water. There is another Macareo in Cambaya, but that is nothing in comparison of this. By the helpe of God we came safe to Pegu, which are two cities, the olde and the newe, in the olde citie are the Marchant strangers, and marchants of the Countrey, for there are the greatest doings and the greatest trade. This citie is not very great, but

A thing most marueilous, that at the comming of a tide the earth should quake.

This tide is like to the tides in our riuer of Seuerne.

These tides make their iust course as ours doe.

This Macareo is a tide or a currantall

but it hath very great suburbes. Their houses be made with canes, and couered with leaues, or with strawe, but the marchants haue all one house or Magason, which house they call Godon which is made of brickes, and there they put all their goods of any valure, to saue them from the often mischances that there happen to houses made of such stuffe. In the newe citie is the pallace of the king, and his abiding place with all his barons and nobles, and other gentlemen; and in the time that I was there, they finished the building of the new citie: it is a great citie, very plaine and flat, and foure square, walled round about and with ditches that compasse the wals about with water, in which diches are many crocodils, it hath no drawe bridges, yet it hath twentie gates, flue for euery square on the walles, there are many places made for centinels to watch, made of wood and couered or guilt with golde, the streetes thereof are the fayrest that I haue seene, they are as streight as a line from one gate to another, and standing at the one gate you may discouer to the other, and they are as broad as 10 or 12 men may ride a breast in them: and those streetes that be thwart are faire and large, these streetes, both on the one side and on the other, are planted at the doores of the houses, with nut trees of India, which make a very commodious shadowe, the houses be made of wood and couered with a kind of tiles in forme of cups, very necessary for their vse, the kings palace is in the middle of the citie, made in forme of a walled castle, with ditches full of water round about it, the lodgings within are made of wood all ouer gilded, with fine pinacles, and very costly worke, couered with plates of golde. Truely it may be a kings house: within the gate there is a faire large court, from the one side to the other, wherein there are made places for the strongest and stoutest Eliphants appointed for the seruice of the kings person, and amongst all other Eliphants, he hath foure that be white, a thing so rare that a man shall hardly finde another king that hath any such, and if this king knowe any other that hath white Eliphantes, he sendeth for them as for a gift. The time that I was there, there were two brought out of a farre Countrey, and that cost me something the sight of them, for they commaund the marchants to goe to see them, and then they must giue somewhat to the men that bring them: the brokers of the marchants giue for euery man halfe a duckat, which they call a Tansa, which amounteth to a great summe, for the number of merchants that are in that citie; and when they haue payde the aforesayde Tansa, they may chuse whether they will see them at that time or no, because that when they are in the kings stall, euery man may see them that will: but at that time they must goe and see them, for it is the kings pleasure it should be so. This King amongst all other his titles, is called the King of the white Eliphants, and it is reported that if this king knewe any other king that had any of these white Eliphantes, ands would not send them vnto him, that he would hazard his whole kingdome to conquer them, he esteemeth these white Eliphants very deerely, and they are had in great regard, and kept with very meete seruice, euery one of them is in a house, all guilded ouer, and they haue their meate giuen them in vessels of silver and golde, there is one blacke Eliphant the greatest that hath bene seene, and he is kept according to his bignesse, he is nine cubites high, which is a marueilous thing. It is reported that this king hath foure thousand Elephants of warre, and all haue their teeth, and they vse to put on their two vppermost teeth sharpe spikes of yron, and make them fast with rings, because these beastes fight, and make battell with their teeth; hee hath also very many yong Eliphants that haue not their teeth sprowted foorth: also this king hath a braue deuise in hunting to take these Eliphants when hee will, two miles from the Citie. He hath builded a faire pallace all guilded, and within it a faire Court, and within it and rounde about there are made an infinite number of places for men to stande to see this hunting: neere vnto this Pallace is a mighty great wood, through the which the hunts-men of the king ride continually on the backs of the feminine Eliphants, teaching them in this businesse. Euery hunter carieth out with him fine or sixe of these femininес, and they say that they anoynt the secret place with a certaine composition that they haue, that when the wilde Eliphant doeth smell thereunto, they followe the femininес and cannot leaue them: when the hunts-men haue made prouision, & the Eliphant is so entangled, they guide the femininес towards the Pallace which is called Tambell, and this Pallace hath a doore which doth open and shut with engines, before which doore there is a long streight way with trees on both the sides, which couereth the way in such wise as it is like darkenesse in a cor-

Houses made of canes, & couered with leaues of trees.

Godon is a place or house for marchants to lay their goods in.

The forme of the building of the new citie of Pegu.

A rich and stately pallace.

Foure white Eliphants.

This money called Tansa is halfe a duckat which may be three shillings & foure pence.

A warlike policie.

An excellent deuise to hunt and take wilde Elephants.

ner: the wilde Eliphant when he commeth to this way, thinketh that he is in the woods. At end of this darke way there is a great field, when the hunters haue gotten this praye, when they first come to this field, they send presently to giue knowledge thereof to the Citie, and with all speed there go out fiftie or sixtie men on horsebacke, and doe beset the fielde rounde about: in the great fielde then the females which are taught in this businesse goe directly to the mouth of the darke way, and when as the wilde Eliphant is entred in there, the hunters shoute and make a great noyse, asmuch as is possible, to make the wilde Eliphant enter in at the gate of that Pallace, which is then open, and assoone as hee is in, the gate is shut without any noyse, and so the hunters with the female Eliphants and the wilde one are all in the Court together, and then within a small time the females withdraw themselues away one by one out of the Court, leauing the wilde Eliphant alone: and when he perceiueth that he is left alone, he is so madde that for two or three houres to see him, it is the greatest pleasure in the world: he weepeth, hee flingeth, hee runneth, he iustleth, hee thrusteth vnder the places where the people stand to see him, thinking to kil some of them, but the posts and timber is so strong and great, that hee cannot hurt any body, yet hee oftentimes breaketh his teeth in the grates; at length when hee is weary and hath laboured his body that hee is all wet with sweat, then he plucketh in his trunckе into his mouth, and then hee throweth out somuch water out of his belly, that he sprinckleth it ouer the heades of the lookers on, to the vttermost of them, although it bee very high: and then when they see him very weary, there goe certaine officers into the Court with long sharpe canes in their hands, and, prick him that they make him to goe into one of the houses that is made alongst the Court, for the same purpose: as there are many which are made long and narrow, that when the Eliphant is in, he cannot turne himself to go backe againe. And it is requisite that these men should be very wary and swift, for although their canes be long, yet the Eliphant would kill them if they were not swift to saue themselues: at length when they haue gotten him into one of those houses, they stand ouer him in a loft and get ropes vnder his belly and about his necke, and about his legges, and binde him fast, and so let him stand foure or fiue dayes, and giue him neither meate nor drinke. At the ende of these foure or fiue dayes, they vnloose him and put one of the females vnto him, and giue them meate and drinke, and in eight dayes he is become tame. In my iudgement there is not a beast so intellectiue as are these Eliphants, nor of more vnderstanding in al the world: for he wil do all things that his keeper saith, so that he lacketh nothing but humaine speech.

An excellent patterne of the Eliphants.

These cases are like to them in Spaine which they call loco de toro.

A strange thing that a beast so wilde should in so short time be made tame.

It is reported that the greatest strength that the king of Pegu hath is in these Eliphants, for when they goe to battell, they set on their backes a Castle of wood bound thereto, with bands vnder their bellies: and in euery Castle foure men very commodiously set to fight with hargubushes, with bowes and arrowes, with darts and pikes, and other launcing weapons: and they say that the skinne of this Eliphant is so hard, that an harquebusse will not pierce it, vnlesse it bee in the eye, temples, or some other tender place of his body. And besides this, they are of great strength, and haue a very excellent order in their battel, as I haue seene at their feastes which they make in the yeere, in which feastes the king maketh triumphes, which is a rare thing and worthy memorie, that in so barbarous a people there should be such goodly orders as they haue in their armies, which be distinct in squares of Eliphants, of horsemen, of harquebushers and pikemen, that truly the number of them are infinite: but their armour and weapons are very nought and weake as well the one as the other: they haue very bad pikes, their swords are worse made, like long knives without points, his harquebushes are most excellent, and alway in his warres he hath eightie thousand harquebushes, and the number of them encreaseth dayly. Because the king will haue them shoote euery day at the Plancke, and so by continuall exercise they become most excellent shot: also hee hath great ordinance made of very good mettall; to conclude there is not a King on the earth that hath more power or strength then this king of Pegu, because hee hath twentie and sixe crowned kings at his commaunde. He can make in his campe a million and a halfe of men of warre in the fielde against his enemies. The state of his kingdome and maintenance of his army, is a thing incredible to consider, & the victuals that should maintaine such a number of people in the warres: but he that knoweth the nature and quality of that people,

The greatest strength that the king of Pegu hath.

A goodly order in a barbarous people.

The order of their weapons and number of his men.

96. Crowned kings at his commaund.

Fifteene hundreth thousand men in one Campe.

people, will easily beleeue it. I haue seene with mine eyes, that those people and souldiers haue eaten of all sorts of wild beasts that are on the earth, whether it bee very filthie or otherwise all serueth for their mouthes: yea, I haue seene them eate Scorpions and Serpents, also they feed of all kinde of herbes and grasse. So that if such a great armie want not water and salt, they will maintaine themselues a long time in a bush with rootes, flowers and leaues of trees, they cary rice with them for their voyage, & that serueth them in stead of comfits, it is so daintie vnto them. This king of Pegu hath not any army or power by sea, but in the land, for people, dominions, golde and siluer, he farre exceeds the power of the great Turke in treasure and strength. This king hath diuers Magasons full of treasure, as gold, & siluer, and euery day he encreaseth it more and more, and it is neuer diminished. Also hee is Lord of the Mines of Rubies, Safires & Spinels. Neere vnto his royall pallace there is an inestimable treasure whereof hee maketh no accompt, for that it standeth in such a place that euery one may see it, and the place where this treasure is, is a great Court walled round about with walls of stone, with two gates which stand open euery day. And within this place or Court are foure gilded houses couered with lead, & in euery one of these are certaine heathenish idoles of a very great valure. In the first house there is a stature of the image of a man of gold very great, & on his head a crowne of gold beset with most rare Rubies and Safires, and round about him are 4. litle children of gold. In the second house there is the stature of a man of siluer, that is set as it were sitting on heapes of money: whose stature in height, as hee sitteth, is so high, that his highnesse exceeds the height of any one roofe of an house; I measured his feete, and found that they were as long as all my body was in height, with a crowne on his head like to the first. And in the thirde house, there is a stature of brasse of the same bignesse, with a like crowne on his head. In the 4. and last house there is a stature of a man as big as the other, which is made of Gansa, which is the metall they make their money of, & this metall is made of copper & leade mingled together. This stature also hath a crowne on his head like the first: this treasure being of such a value as it is, standeth in an open place that euery man at his pleasure may go & see it: for the keepers therof neuer forbid any man the sight thereof. I say as I haue said before, that this king euery yere in his feastes triumpheth: & because it is worthy of the noting, I thinke it meet to write therof, which is as foloweth. The king rideth on a triumphant cart or wagon all gilded, which is drawen by 16. goodly horses: and this cart is very high with a goodly canopy ouer it, behind the cart goe 20. of his Lords & nobles, with euery one a rope in his hand made fast to the cart for to hold it vpright that it fal not. The king sitteth in the middle of the cart; & vpon the same cart about the king stande 4. of his nobles most fauored of him, and before this cart wherein the king is, goeth all his army as aforesaid, and in the middle of his army goeth all his nobilitie, round about the cart, that are in his dominions, a marueilous thing it is to see so many people, such riches & such good order in a people so barbarous as they be. This king of Pegu hath one principal wife which is kept in a Seralio, he hath 300. concubines, of whom it is reported that he hath 90. children. This king sitteth euery day in person to heare the suites of his subiects, but he nor they neuer speake one to another, but by supplications made in this order. The king sitteth vp aloft, in a great hall, on a tribunall seat, and lower vnder him sit all his Barons round about, then those that demaund audience enter into a great Court before the king, and there set them downe on the ground 40. paces distant from the kings person, and amongst those people there is no difference in matters of audience before the king, but all alike, and there they sit with their supplications in their hands, which are made of long leaues of a tree, these leaues are 3. quarters of a yard long, & two fingers broad, which are written with a sharpe iron made for ỳ purpose, & in those leaues are their supplications written, & with their supplications, they haue in their hands a present or gift, according to the waighting of their matter. Then come ỳ secretaries downe to read these supplications, taking them & reading them before the king, & if the king think it good to do to them that fauour or iustice that they demaund, then he cõmandeth to take the presents out of their hands: but if he thinke their demand be not iust or according to right, he commandeth them away without taking of their

Eating of dogges.

The riches of the king of Pegu.

The great pompe of the king.

The order of Iustice.

No difference of persons before the King in controuersies or in iustice.

their gifts or presents. In the Indies there is not any marchandise that is good to bring to Pegu, vnlesse it bee at some times by chance to bring Opium of Cambaia, and if he bring money he shall lose by it. Now the commodities that come from S. Tome are the onely marchandize for that place, which is the great quantity of cloth made there, which they vse in Pegu; which cloth is made of bombast wouen and painted, so that the more that kinde of cloth is washed, the more liuelie they shewe their colours, which is a rare thing, and there is made such accompt of this kinde of cloth which is of so great importance, that a small bale of it will cost a thousand or two thousand duckets. Also from S. Tome they layd great store of red yarne, of bombast died with a roote which they call Saia, as aforesayd, which colour will neuer out. With which marchandise euery yeere there goeth a great shippe from S. Tome to Pegu, of great importance, and they vsually depart from S. Tome to Pegu the 11. or 12. of September, & if she stay vntill the twelfth, it is a great hap if she returne not without making of her voiage. Their vse was to depart the sixt of September, and then they made sure voyages, and now because there is a great labour about that kind of cloth to bring it to perfection, and that it be well died, as also the greedinesse of the Captaine that would make an extraordinary gaine of his fraight, thinking to haue the wind alwayes to serue their turne, they stay so long, that at sometimes the winde turneth. For in those parts the windes blow firmely for certaine times, with the which they goe to Pegu with the winde in poope, and if they arriue not there before the winde change, and get ground to anker, perforce they must returne backe againe: for that the gales of the winde blowe there for three or foure moneths together in one place with great force. But if they get the coast & anker there, then with great labour they may saue their voyage. Also there goeth another great shippe from Bengala euery yeere, laden with fine cloth of bombast of all sorts, which arriueth in the harbour of Pegu, when the ship that commeth from S. Tome departeth. The harbour where these two ships arriue is called Cosmin. From Malaca to Martauan, which is a port in Pegu, there come many small ships, and great, laden with pepper, Sandolo, Porcellan of China, Camfora, Bruneo and other marchandise. The ships that come from Mecca enter into the port of Pegu and Cirion, and those shippes bring cloth of Wooll, Scarlets, Veluets, Opium, and Chickinos, by the which they lose, and they bring them because they haue no other thing that is good for Pegu: but they esteeme not the losse of them, for that they make such great gaine of their commodities that they cary from thence out of that kingdome. Also the king of Assi his ships come thither into the same port laden with peper; from the coast of S. Tome of Bengala, out of the Sea of Bara to Pegu are three hundreth miles, and they go it vp the riuer in foure daies, with the encreasing water, or with the flood, to a City called Cosmin, and there they discharge their ships, whither the Customers of Pegu come to take the note and markes of all the goods of euery man, & take the charge of the goods on them, and conuey them to Pegu, into the kings house, wherein they make the custome of the marchandize. When the Customers haue taken the charge of the goods & put them into barks, the Retor of the City giueth licence to the Marchants to take barke, and goe vp to Pegu with their marchandize; and so three or foure of them take a barke and goe vp to Pegu in compony. God deliuer euery man that hee giue not a wrong note, and entrie, or thinke to steale any custome: for if they do, for the least trifle that is, he is vtterly vndone, for the king doeth take it for a most great affront to bee deceiued of his custome; and therefore they make diligent searches, three times at the lading and vnlading of the goods, and at the taking of them a land. In Pegu this search they make when they goe out of the ship for Diamonds, Pearles, and fine cloth which taketh little roome: for because that all the iewels that come into Pegu, and are not found of that countrey, pay custome, but Rubies, Safyres and Spinels pay no custome in nor out: because they are found growing in that Countrey. I haue spoken before, how that all Marchants that meane to goe thorow the Indies, must cary al maner of houshold stuffe with them which is necessary for a house, because that there is not any lodging nor Innes nor hostes, nor chamber roome in that Countrey, but the first thing a man doth when he commeth to any City is to hier a house, either by the yeere or by the moneth, or as he meanes to stay in those parts.

The commodities that are ventured in Pegu.

Note the departure of the ships from S. Tome to Pegu.

Commodities brought into Pegu.

The Chikinos are pieces of gold worth neare 7. shillings.

Great rigour for the stealing of Customer.

In

In Pegu their order is to hire their houses for sixe moneths. Nowe from Cosmin to the Citie of Pegu they goe in sixe houres with the flood, and if it be ebbing water, then they make fast their boate to the riuer side, and there tary vntil the water flow againe. It is a very commodious and pleasant voyage, hauing on both sides of the riuers many great villages, which they call Cities: in the which hennes, pigeons, egges, milke, rice, and other things be very good cheape. It is all plaine, and a goodly Countrey, and in eight dayes you may make your voyage vp to Macceo, distant frō Pegu twelue miles, & there they discharge their goods, & lade them in Carts or waines drawen with oxen, and the Marchants are caried in a closet which they call Deling, in the which a man shall be very well accommodated, with cushions vnder his head, and couered for the defence of the Sunne and raine, and there he may sleepe if he haue wil thereunto: and his foure Falchines cary him running away, changing two at one time and two at another. The custome of Pegu and fraight thither, may amount vnto twentie or twentie two per cento, and 23. according as he hath more or lesse stolen from him that day they custome the goods. It is requisite that a man haue his eyes watchfull, and to be carefull, and to haue many friendes, for when they custome in the great hall of the king, there come many gentlemen accompanied with a number of their slaues, and these gentlemen haue no shame that their slaues rob strangers: whether it be cloth in shewing of it or any other thing, they laugh at it. And although the Marchants helpe one another to keepe watch, & looke to their goods, they cannot looke therto so narrowly but one or other wil rob something, either more or lesse, according as their marchandise is more or lesse: and yet on this day there is a worse thing then this: although you haue set so many eyes to looke there for your benefit, that you escape vnrobbed of the slaues, a man cannot choose but that he must be robbed of the officers of the custome house. For paying the custome with the same goods ofientimes they take the best that you haue, & not by rate of euery sort as they ought to do, by which meanes a man payeth more then his dutie. At length when the goods be dispatched out of the custome house in this order, the Marchant causeth them to be caried to his house, and may do with them at his pleasure.

Description of the fruitfulnesse of that soyle.

Deling is a small litter caried with men as is aforesaid.

There are in Pegu 8. brokers of the king, which are called Tareghe, who are bound to sell all the marchandize which come to Pegu, at the common or the currant price: then if the marchants wil sell their goods at that price, they set them away, and the brokers haue two in the hundreth of euery sort of marchandise, and they are bound to make good the debts of those goods, because they be soldby their hands or meanes, & on their wordes, and oftentimes the marchant knoweth not to whom he giueth his goods, yet he cannot lose any thing thereby, for that the broker is bound in any wise to pay him, and if the marchant sel his goods without the consent of the broker, yet neuerthelesse he must pay him two per cento, and be in danger of his money: but this is very seldom seene, because the wife, children, and slaues of the debtor are bound to the creditor, and when his time is expired and paiment not made, the creditor may take the debtor and cary him home to his house, and shut him vp in a Magasin, whereby presently he hath his money, and not being able to pay the creditor, he may take the wife, children, and slaues of the debtor, and sel them, for so is the lawe of that kingdome. The currant money that is in this city, and throughout all this kingdom is called Ganza or Ganza, which is made of Copper and leade: It is not the money of the king, but euery man may stamp it that wil, because it hath his iust partition or value: but they make many of them false, by putting ouermuch lead into them, and those will not passe, neither will any take them. With this money Ganza, you may buy golde or siluer, Rubies and Muske, and other things. For there is no other money currant amongst them. And Golde, siluer and other marchandize are at one time dearer than another, as all other things be.

A lawe for Bankrupts.

Euery man may stampe what money he wil.

This Ganza goeth by weight of Byze, & this name of Byza goeth for y accompt of the weight, and commonly a Byza of a Ganza is worth (after our accompt) halfe a ducat, litle more or lesse: and albeit that Gold and siluer is more or lesse in price, yet the Byza neuer changeth: euery Byza maketh a hundreth Ganza of weight, and so the number of the money is Byza. He that goeth to Pegu to buy Iewels, if he wil do well, it behoueth him to be a whole yere there to do his businesse. For if so be that he would return with the ship he came

How a man may dispose himselfe for the trade in Pegu.

came in, he cānot do any thing so cōueniently for the breuitie of the time, because that when they custome their goods in Pegu that come from S. Tome in their ships, it is as it were about Christmas: and when they haue customed their goods, then must they sell them for their credits sake for a moneth or two: and then at the beginning of March the ships depart. The Marchants that come from S. Tome take for the paiment of their goods, gold, and siluer, which is neuer wanting there. And 8. or 10. dayes before their departure they are all satisfied: also they may haue Rubies in paiment, but they make no accompt of them: and they that will winter there for another yere, it is needfull that they be aduertised, that in the sale of their goods, they specifie in their bargaine, the terme of two or 3. moneths paiment, & that their paiment shal be in so many Ganza, and neither golde nor siluer: because that with the Ganza they may buy & sel euery thing with great aduātage. And how needful is it to be aduertized, when they wil recouer their paiments, in what order they shal receiue their Ganza? Because he that is not experienced may do himselfe great wrong in the weight of the Ganza, as also in the falsenesse of them: in the weight he may be greatly deceiued, because that from place to place it doth rise and fall greatly: and therefore when any wil receiue money or make paiment, he must take a publique wayer of money, a day or two before he go about his businesse, and giue him in paiment for his labour two Byzaes a moneth, and for this he is bound to make good all your money, & to maintaine it for good, for that hee receiueth it and seales the bags with his seale: and when hee hath receiued any store, then hee causeth it to bee brought into the Magason of the Marchant, that is the owner of it.

Good instructions.

That money is very weightie, for fourtie Byza is a strong Porters burden; and also where the Marchant hath any payment to be made for those goods which he buyeth, the Common wayer of money that receiueth his money must make the payment thereof. So that by this meanes, the Marchant with the charges of two Byzes a moneth, receiueth and payeth out his money without losse or trouble. The Marchandizes that goe out of Pegu are Gold, Siluer, Rubies, Saphyres, Spinelles, great store of Beniamin, long peper, Leade, Lacca, rice, wine, some sugar, yet there might be great store of sugar made in the Countrey, for that they haue aboundance of Canes, but they giue them to Eliphants to eate, and the people consume great store of them for food, and many more doe they consume in vaine things, as these following. In that kingdome they spend many of these Sugar canes in making of houses and tents which they call Varely for their idoles, which they call Pagodes, whereof there are great aboundance, great and smal, and these houses are made in forme of little hilles, like to Sugar loaues or to Bells, and some of these houses are as high as a reasonable steeple, at the foote they are very large, some of them be in circuit a quarter of a mile. The saide houses within are full of earth, and walled round about with brickes and dirt in steade of lime, and without forme, from the top to the foote they make a couering for them with Sugar canes, and plaister it with lime all ouer, for otherwise they would bee spoyled, by the great aboundance of raine that falleth in those Countreys. Also they consume about these Varely or idol houses great store of leafe-gold, for that they ouerlay all the tops of the houses with gold, and some of them are couered with golde from the top to the foote: in couering whereof there is great store of gold spent, for that euery 10. yeeres they new ouerlay them with gold, from the top to the foote, so that with this vanitie they spend great aboundance of golde. For euery 10. yeres the raine doeth consume the gold from these houses. And by this meanes they make golde dearer in Pegu then it would bee, if they consumed not so much in this vanitie. Also it is a thing to bee noted in the buying of iewels in Pegu, that he that hath no knowledge shall haue as good iewels, and as good cheap, as he that hath bene practized there a long time, which is a good order, and it is in this wise. There are in Pegu foure men of good reputation, which are called Tareghe, or brokers of Iewels. These foure men haue all the Iewels or Rubies in their handes, and the Marchant that wil buy commeth to one of these Tareghe and telleth him, that he hath so much money to imploy in Rubies. For through the hands of these foure men passe all the Rubies: for they haue such quantitie, that they knowe not what to doe with them, but sell them at most vile and base prices. When the Marchant hath broken his mind to one of these brokers or Tareghe, they

The Marchandizes that goe out of Pegu.

Idol houses couered with gold.

Rubies exceeding cheape in Pegu.

cary

cary him home to one of their Shops, although he hath no knowledge in Iewels: and when the Iewellers perceiue that hee will employ a good round summe, they will make a bargaine, and if not, they let him alone. The vse generally of this Citie is this: that when any Marchant hath bought any great quantitie of Rubies, and hath agreed for them, hee carieth them home to his house, let them be of what value they will, he shall haue space to looke on them and peruse them two or three dayes: and if he hath no knowledge in them, he shall alwayes haue many Marchants in that Citie that haue very good knowledge in Iewels; with whom he may alwayes conferre and take counsell, and may shew them vnto whom he will; and if he finde that hee hath not employed his money well, hee may returne his Iewels backe to them whom hee had them of, without any losse at all. Which thing is such a shame to the Tarreghe to haue his Iewels returne, that he had rather beare a blow on the face then that it should be thought that he solde them so deere to haue them returned. For these men haue alwayes great care that they afford good peniworths, especially to those that haue no knowledge. This they doe, because they woulde not loose their credite: and when those Marchants that haue knowledge in Iewels buy any, if they buy them deere, it is their own faults and not the brokers: yet it is good to haue knowledge in Iewels, by reason that it may somewhat ease the price. There is also a very good order which they haue in buying of Iewels, which is this; There are many Marchants that stand by at the making of the bargaine, and because they shall not vnderstand howe the Iewels be solde, the Broker and the Marchants haue their hands vnder a cloth, and by touching of fingers and nipping the ioynts they know what is done, what is bidden, and what is asked. So that the standers by knowe not what is demaunded for them, although it be for a thousand or 10. thousand duckets. For euery ioynt and euery finger hath his signification. For if the Marchants that stande by should vnderstand the bargaine, it would breede great controuersie amongst them. And at my being in Pegu in the moneth of August, in Anno 1569. hauing gotten well by my endeuour, I was desirous to see mine owne Countrey, and I thought it good to goe by the way of S. Tome, but then I should tary vntil March.

An honest care of heathen people.

Bargaines made with the nipping of fingers vnder a cloth.

In which iourney I was counsailed, yea, and fully resolued to go by the way of Bengala, with a shippe there ready to depart for that voyage. And then wee departed from Pegu to Chatigan a great harbour or port, from whence there goe smal ships to Cochin, before the fleete depart for Portugall, in which ships I was fully determined to goe to Lisbon, and so to Venice. When I had thus resolued my selfe, I went a boord of the shippe of Bengala, at which time it was the yeere of Touffon: concerning which Touffon ye are to vnderstand, that in the East Indies often times, there are not stormes as in other countreys; but euery 10. or 12. yeeres there are such tempests and stormes, that it is a thing incredible, but to those that haue seene it, neither do they know certainly what yeere they wil come.

This Touffon is an extraordinary storme at Sea.

Vnfortunate are they that are at sea in that yere and time of the Touffon, because few there are that escape that danger. In this yere it was our chance to be at sea with the like storme, but it happened well vnto vs, for that our ship was newly ouer-plancked, and had not any thing in her saue victuall and balasts, Siluer and golde, which from Pegu they cary to Bengala, and no other kinde of Marchandise. This Touffon or cruel storme endured three dayes and three nights: in which time it caried away our sailes, yards, and rudder; and because the shippe laboured in the Sea, wee cut our mast ouer boord: which when we had done she laboured a great deale more then before, in such wise, that she was almost full with water that came ouer the highest part of her and so went downe: and for the space of three dayes and three nights sixtie men did nothing but hale water out of her in this wise, twentie men in one place, and twentie men in another place, and twentie in a thirde place: and for all this storme, the shippe was so good, that shee tooke not one iot of water below through her sides, but all ran downe through the hatches, so that those sixtie men did nothing but cast the Sea into the Sea. And thus driuing too and fro as the winde and Sea would, we were in a darke night about foure of the clocke cast on a sholde: yet when it was day, we could neither see land on one side nor other, and knew not where we were. And as it pleased the diuine power, there came a great waue of the Sea, which draue vs beyonde the should. And when wee felt

The Touffon cometh but euery 10. or 12. yeeres.

A manifest taken of the ebbing and flowing, in those Countreis.

the shippe aflote, we rose vp as men reuiued, because the Sea was calme and smooth water, and then sounding we found twelue fadome water, and within a while after wee had but sixe fadome, and then presently we came to anker with a small anker that was left vs at the sterne, for all our other were lost in the storme: and by and by the shippe strooke a ground, and then wee did prop her that she should not ouerthrow.

This Island is called Sondius.

When it was day the shippe was all dry, and wee found her a good mile from the Sea on drie land. This Touffon being ended, we discouered an Island not farre from vs, and we went from the shippe on the sands to see what Island it was: and wee found it a place inhabited, and, to my iudgement, the fertilest Island in all the world, the which is diuided into two parts by a chanell which passeth betweene it, & with great trouble we brought our ship into the same chanel, which parteth the Island : flowing water, and there we determined to stay 40. dayes to refresh vs. And when the people of the Island saw the ship, and that we were cõming a land: presently they made a place of bazar or a market, with shops right ouer against the ship with all maner of prouision of victuals to eate, which they brought downe in great abundance, and sold it so good cheape, that we were amazed at the cheapenesse thereof. I bought many salted kine there, for the prouision of the ship, for halfe a Larine a piece, which Larine may be 12. shillings sixe pence, being very good and fat; and 4. wilde hogges ready dressed for a Larine; great fat hennes for a Bizze a piece, which is at the most a pennie: and the people told vs that we were deceiued the halfe of our money, because we bought things so deare. Also a sacke of fine rice for a thing of nothing, and consequently all other things for humaine sustenance were there in such aboundance, that it is a thing incredible but to them that haue seene it. This Island is called Sondina belonging to the kingdome of Bengala, distant 120. miles from Chatigan, to which place wee were bound. The people are Moores, and the king a very good man of a Moore king, for if he had bin a tyrant as others be, he might haue robbed vs of all, because the Portugall captaine of Chatigan was in armes against the Retor of that place, & euery day there were some slaine, at which newes we rested there with no smal feare, keeping good watch and ward aboord euery night as the vse is, but the gouernour of the towne did comfort vs, and bad vs that we should feare nothing, but that we should repose our selues securely without any danger, although the Portugales of Chatigan had slaine the gouernour of that City, and said that we were not culpable in that fact: and moreouer he did vs euery day what pleasure he could, which was a thing contrary to our expectations considering that they & the people of Chatigan were both subiects to one king. We departed from Sondiua, & came to Chatigan the great port of Bengala, at the same time when the Portugales had made peace and taken a truce with the gouernours of the towne, with this condition that the chiefe Captaine of the Portugales with his ship should depart without any lading: for there were then at that time 18. ships of Portugales great and small. This Captaine being a Gentleman and of good courage, was notwithstanding contented to depart to his greatest hinderance, rather than hee would seeke to hinder so many of his friends as were there, as also because the time of the ycere was spent to go to the Indies. The night before he departed, euery ship that had any lading therein, put it aboord of the Captaine to helpe to ease his charge and to recompence his courtesies. In this time there came a messenger from the king of Rachim to this Portugal Captaine, who saide in the behalfe of his king, that hee had heard of the courage and valure of him, desiring him gently that he would vouchsafe to come with the ship into his port, and coming thither he should be very wel intreated. This Portugal went thither and was very well satisfied of this King.

Sondius is the fruitfullest Countrey in al the world.

Chatigan is a port in Bengala, whither the Portugales go with their ships.

The King of Rachim, or Arracam, neighbour to Bengala.

This King of Rachim hath his seate in the middle coast betweene Bengala and Pegu, and the greatest enemie he hath is the king of Pegu: which king of Pegu deuiseth night and day how to make this king of Rachim his subiect, but by no meanes hee is able to doe it: because the king of Pegu hath no power nor armie by Sea. And this king of * Rachim may arme two hundreth Galleyes or Fusts by Sea, and by land he hath certaine sluses with the which when the king of Pegu pretendeth any harme towards him, hee may at his pleasure drowne a great part of the Countrey. So that by this meanes hee cutteth off the way whereby the king of Pegu should come with his power to hurt him.

Or, Arracam.

From

From the great port of Chatigan they cary for the Indies great store of rice, very great quantitie of Bombast cloth of euery sort, Suger, corne, and money, with other marchandize. And by reason of the warres in Chatigan, the Portugall ships taried there so long, that they arriued not at Cochin so soone as they were wont to doe other yeeres. For which cause the fleete that was at Cochin was departed for Portugal before they arriued there, and I being in one of the small shippes before the fleete, in discouering of Cochin, we also discouered the last shippe of the Fleete that went from Cochin to Portugall, where shee made saile, for which I was marueilously discomforted, because that all the yeere following, there was no going for Portugale, and when we arriued at Cochin I was fully determined to goe for Venice by the way of Ormus, and at that time the Citie of Goa was besieged by the people of Dialcan, but the Citizens forced not this assault, because they supposed that it would not continue long. For all this I embarked my selfe in a Galley that went for Goa, meaning there to shippe my selfe for Ormus: but when we came to Goa, the Viceroy would not suffer any Portugal to depart, by reason of the warres. And being in Goa but a small time, I fell sicke of an infirmitie that helde mee foure moneths: which with phisicke and diet cost me eight hundreth duckets, and there I was constrained to sell a smal quantitie of Rubies to sustaine my neede: and I solde that for fiue hundreth duckets, that was worth a thousand. And when I beganne to waxe well of my disease, I had but little of that money left, euery thing was so scarse: For euery chicken (and yet not good) cost mee seuen or eight Liuers, which is sixe shillings, or sixe shillings eight pence. Beside this great charges, the Apothecaries with their medicines were no small charge to me. At the ende of sixe moneths they raised the siege, and then I beganne to worke, for lewels were risen in their prices: for whereas before I sold a few of refused Rubies, I determined then to sell the rest of all my lewels that I had there, and to make an other voyage to Pegu. And for because that at my departure from Pegu, Opium was in great request, I went then to Cambaya to imploy a good round summe of money in Opium, and there I bought 60. percels of Opium, which cost me two thousand & a hundreth duckets, euery ducket at foure shillings two pence. Moreouer I bought three bales of Bombast cloth, which cost me eight hundred duckats, which was a good comoditie for Pegu: when I had bought these things, the Viceroy commanded that the custome of the Opium should be paide in Goa, and paying custome there I might cary it whither I would. I shipped my 3. bales of cloth at Chaul in a shippe that went for Cochin, and I went to Goa to pay the aforesaid custome for my Opium, and from Goa I departed to Cochin in a ship that was for the voyage of Pegu, and went to winter then at S. Tome. When I came to Cochin, I vnderstood that the ship that had my three bales of cloth was cast away and lost, so that I lost my 800. Serafins or duckats: and departing from Cochin to goe for S. Tome, in casting about for the Island of Zeilan the Pilote was deceiued, for that the Cape of the Island of Zeilan lieth farre out into the sea, and the Pilot thinking that he might haue passed hard aboord the Cape, and paying roomer in the night; when it was morning we were farre within the Cape, and past all remedy to go out. by reason the winds blew so fiercely against vs. So that by this meanes we lost our voyage for that yere, and we went to Manar with the ship to winter there, the ship hauing lost her mastes, and with great dilligence we hardly saued her, with great losses to the Captaine of the ship, because he was forced to fraight another ship in S. Tome for Pegu with great losses and interest, and I with my friends agreed together in Manar to take a bark to cary vs to S. Tome; which thing we did with al the rest of the marchants; and arriuing at S. Tome I had news through or by the way of Bengala, that in Pegu Opium was very deare, and I knew that in S. Tome there was no Opium but mine to go for Pegu that yere, so that I was holden of al the marchants there to be very rich: and so it would haue proued, if my aduerse fortune had not bin contrary to my hope, which was this. At that time there went a great ship from Cambaya, to the king of Assi, with great quantitie of Opium, & there to lade peper: in which voyage there came such a storme, that the ship was forced with wether to goe roomer 800. miles, and by this meanes came to Pegu, whereas they arriued a day before mee; so that Opium which was before very deare, was now at a base price: so that which was sold for fiftie Bizze before, was solde for 2. Bizze & an halfe,

The diuersities that are from Chatigan to the Indies.

The Portugal ships depart toward Portugall out of the harbor of Cochin.

Goa was besieged.

Opium a good commoditie in Pegu.

halfe, there was such quantitie came in that ship: so that I was glad to stay two yeres in Pegu vnlesse I would haue giuen away my commoditie: and at the end of two yeres of my 2100. duckets which I bestowed in Cambaya, I made but a thousand duckets. Then I departed againe from Pegu to goe for the Indies and for Ormus with great quantitie of Lacca, and from Ormus I returned into the Indies for Chaul, and from Chaul to Cochin, and from Cochin to Pegu. Once more I lost occasion to make me riche, for whereas I might haue brought good store of Opium againe, I brought but a little, being feerefull of my other voyage before. In this small quantitie I made good profite. And now againe I determined to go for my Countrey, and departing from Pegu, I tarried and wintered in Cochin, and then I left the Indies and came for Ormus.

I thinke it very necessary before I ende my voyage, to reason somewhat, and to shewe what fruits the Indies do yeeld and bring forth. First, in the Indies and other East parts of India there is Peper and ginger, which groweth in all parts of India. And in some parts of the Indies, the greatest quantitie of peper groweth amongst wilde bushes, without any maner of labour: sauing, that when it is ripe they goe and gather it. The tree that the peper groweth on is like to our Iuie, which runneth vp to the tops of trees whereseuer it groweth: and if it should not take holde of some tree, it would lie flat and rot on the ground. This peper-tree hath his flowre and berry like in all parts to our Iuie berry, and those berries be graines of peper: so that when they gather them they be greene, and then they lay them in the Sunne, and they become blacke.

Peper tree.

Ginger. The Ginger groweth in this wise: the land is tilled and sowen, and the herbe is like to Panizzo, and the roote is the ginger. These two spices grow in diuers places.

Cloues. The Cloues come all from the Moluccas, which Moluccas are two Islands, not very great, and the tree that they grow on is like to our Lawrell tree.

Nutmegs and Maces. The Nutmegs and Maces, which grow both together, are brought from the Island of Banda, whose tree is like to our walnut tree, but not so big.

White Sandol. Canfora. All the good white Sandol is brought from the Island of Timor. Canfora being compound commeth all from China, and all that which groweth in canes commeth from Borneo, & I thinke that this Canfora commeth not into these parts: for that in India they consume great store, and that is very deare. The good Lignum Aloes commeth from Cauchinchina.

Lignum Aloes.

Beniamin. The Beniamin commeth from the kingdome of Assi and Sion.

Long peper. Long peper groweth in Bengala, Pegu, and Iaua.

This Muske the fewes doe counterfeit and take out halfe the good muske and beat the flesh of an asse and put in the roome of it. Muske commeth from Tartaria, which they make in this order, as by good information I haue bene told. There is a certaine beast in Tartaria, which is wilde and as big as a wolfe, which beast they take aliue, & beat him to death with small staues: his blood may be spread through his whole body, then they cut it in pieces, & take out all the bones, & beat the flesh with the blood in a morter very small, and dry it, and make purses to put it in of the skin, and these be the cods of muske.

Truely I know not whereof the Amber is made, and there are diuers opinions of it, but this is most certaine, it is cast out of the Sea, and throwne on land, and found vpon the sea bankes.

Rubies, Saphyres, and Spinels. The Rubies, Saphyres, and the Spinels be gotten in the kingdome of Pegu. The Diamants come from diuers places; and I know but three sorts of them. That sort of Diamants that is called Chiappe, commeth from Bezeneger. Those that be pointed naturally come from the land of Delly, and from Iaua, but the Diamants of Iaua are more waighty then the other.

The Balassi growe in Zeilan. I could neuer vnderstand from whence they that are called Balassi come.

Peasles they fish in diuers places, as before in this booke is showne.

Spodium. From Cambaza commeth the Spodium which congeleth in certaine canes, whereof I found many in Pegu, when I made my house there, because that (as I haue sayd before) they make their houses there of wouen canes like to mats. From Chaul they trade alongst the coast of Melinde in Ethiopia, within the land of Cafraria: on that coast are many good harbors kept by the Moores. Thither the Portugals bring a kinde of Bombast cloth of a low price, and great store of Paternosters or beads made of paltrie glasse, which they make in Chaul according

On the coast of Melyode in Ethiopia, in the land of Cafraria, the great trade that the Portugals haue.

cording to the vse of the Countrey: and from thence they cary Elephants teeth for India, slaues called Cafari, and some Amber and Gold. On this coast the king of Portugall hath his castle called Mozambique, which is of as great importance as any castle that hee hath in all his Indies vnder his protection, and the Captaine of this castle hath certaine voyages to this Cafraria, to which places no Marchants may goe, but by the Agent of this Captaine: and they vse to goe in small shippes, and trade with the Cafars, and their trade in buying and selling is without any speach one to the other. In this wise the Portugals bring their goods by litle and litle alongst the Sea coast, and lay them downe: and so depart, and the Cafar Marchants come and see the goods, & there they put downe as much gold as they thinke the goods are worth, and so goe their way and leaue their golde and the goods together, then commeth the Portugal, and finding the golde to his content, hee taketh it and goeth his way into his ship, and then commeth the Cafar and taketh the goods and carieth them away: and if he finde the golde there still, it is a signe that the Portugals are not contented, and if the Cafar thinke he hath put too little, he addeth more, as he thinketh the thing is worth: and the Portugales must not stand with them too strickt; for if they doe, then they will haue no more trade with them: For they disdaine to be refused, when they thinke that they haue offered ynough, for they bee a peeuish people, and haue dealt so of a long time: and by this trade the Portugals change their commodities into gold, and cary it to the Castle of Mozambique, which is in an Island not farre distant from the firme land of Cafraria on the coast of Ethiopia, and is distant from India 2800. miles. Now to returne to my voyage, when I came to Ormus, I found there Master Francis Berettin of Venice, and we fraighted a bark together to goe for Basora for 70. duckets, and with vs there went other Marchants, which did ease our fraight, and very commodiously wee came to Basora and there we stayed 40. dayes for prouiding a Carouan of barks to go to Babylon, because they vse not to goe two or 3. barkes at once, but 25. or 30. because in the night they cannot go, but must make them fast to the banks of the riuer, and then we must make a very good & strong guard, and be wel prouided of armor, for respect & safegard of our goods, because the number of theeues is great that come to spoile and rob the marchants. And when we depart for Babylon we goe a litle with our saile, and the voyage is 38. or 40. dayes long, but we were 50. dayes on it. When we came to Babylon we stayed there 4. moneths, vntill the Carouan was ready to go ouer the wildernes, or desert for Alepo; in this citie we ware 6. Marchants that accompanied together, fiue Venetians and a Portugal; whose names were as followeth, Messer Florinasa with one of his kinsmen, Messer Andrea de Polo, the Portugal & M. Francis Berettin and I, and so wee furnished our selues with victuals and beanes for our horses for 40. dayes; and wee bought horses and mules, for that they bee very good cheape there, I my selfe bought a horse there for 11. akeus, and solde him after in Alepo for 30. duckets. Also we bought a Tent which did vs very great pleasure: we had also amongst vs 32. Camels laden with marchandise: for the which we paid 2. duckets for euery camels lading, and for euery 10. camels they made 11, for so is their vse and custome. We take also with vs 3. men to serue vs in the voyage, which are vsed to goe in those voyages for fiue D d. a man, and are bound to serue vs to Alepo: so that we passed very well without any trouble: when the camels cried out to rest, our pauilion was the first that was erected. The Carouan maketh but small iourneis about 20. miles a day, & they set forwards euery morning before day two houres, and about two in the afternoone they sit downe. We had great good hap in our voyage, for that it rained: For which cause we neuer wanted water, but euery day found good water, so that we could not take any hurt for want of water. Yet we caried a camel laden alwayes with water for euery good respect that might chance in the desert, so that wee had no want neither of one thing, nor other that was to bee had in the countrey. For wee came very well furnished of euery thing, and euery day we eat fresh mutton, because there came many shepheards with vs with their flocks, who kept those sheepe that we bought in Babylon, and euery marchant marked his sheepe with his owne marke, and we gaue the shepheards a Medin, which is two pence of our money for the keeping and feeding

Buying and selling without words one to another.

Golden trades that the Portugals haue.

An order how to prouide to goe ouer the Desert from Babylon to Alepo.

ing our sheep on the way and for killing of them. And beside the Medin they haue the heads, the skinnes, and the intrals of euery sheepe they kil. We sixe bought 20. sheepe, and when we came to Alepo we had 7. aliue of them. And in the Carouan they vse this order, that the marchants doe lende flesh one to another, because they will not cary raw flesh with them, but pleasure one another by lending one one day and another another day.

36. Dayes iourney ouer the wildernes.

From Babylon to Alepo is 40. dayes iourney, of the which they make 36. dayes ouer the wildernes, in which 36. dayes they neither see house, trees, nor people that inhabite it, but onely a plaine, and no signe of any way in the world. The Pilots goe before, and the Carouan followeth after. And when they sit downe all the Carouan vnladeth and sitteth downe, for they know the stations where the wells are. I say, in 36. dayes we passe ouer the wildernesse. For when wee depart from Babylon two dayes we passe by villages inhabited vntil we haue passed the riuer Euphrates. And then within two dayes of Alepo we haue villages inhabited. In this Carouan there goeth alway a Captaine that doth Iustice vnto all men: and euery night they keepe watch about the Carouan, and comming to Alepo we went to Tripoli, whereas Master Florin, and Master Andrea Polo, and I with a Frier, went and hired a barke to goe with vs to Ierusalem. Departing from Tripolie, we arriued at Iaffa: from which place in a day and halfe we went to Ierusalem, and we gaue order to our barke to tary for vs vntill our returne. Wee stayed in Ierusalem 14. dayes, to visite those holy places: from whence we returned to Iaffa, and from Iaffa to Tripolie, and there wee shipped our selues in a ship of Venice called the Bagazzana: And by the helpe of the diuine power, we arriued safely in Venice the 1ift of Nouember 1581. If there be any that hath any desire to goe into those partes of India, let him not be astonied at the troubles that I haue passed: because I was intangled in many things: for that I went very poore frō Venice with 1200. duckets imployed in marchandize, and when I came to Tripolie, I fell sicke in the house of Master Regaly Oratio, and this man sent away my goods with a small Carouan that went from Tripolie to Alepo, and the Carouan was robd, and all my goods lost sauing foure chests of glasses which cost me 200. duckets, of which glasses I found many broken: because the theeues thinking it had bene other marchandize, brake them vp, and seeing they were glasses they let them all alone. And with this onely stocke I aduentured to goe into the Indies: And thus with change and rechange, and by diligence in my voyage, God did blesse and helpe mee, so that I got a good stocke. I will not be vnmindfull to put them in remembrance, that haue a desire to goe into those parts, how they shall keepe their goods, and giue them to their heires at the time of their death, and howe this may be done very securely. In all the cities that the Portugales haue in the Indies, there is a house called the schoole of Sancta misericordia comissaria: the gouernours whereof, if you giue them for their paines, will take a coppy of your will and Testament, which you must alwayes cary about you: and chiefly when you go into the Indies. In the countrey of the Moores and Gentiles, in those voyages alwayes there goeth a Captaine to administer Iustice to all Christians of the Portugales. Also this captaine hath authoritie to recouer the goods of those Marchants that by chance die in those voyages, and they that haue not made their Wills and registred them in the aforesayde schooles, the Captaines wil consume their goods in such wise, that litle or nothing will be left for their heires and friends. Also there goeth in these same voyages some marchants that are commissaries of the schoole of Sancta misericordia, that if any Marchant die and haue his Will made, and hath giuen order that the schoole of Misericordia shall haue his goods and sell them, then they sende the money by exchange to the schoole of Misericordia in Lisbone, with that copie of his Testament, then from Lisbon they giue intelligence thereof, into what part of Christendome soeuer it be, and the heires of such a one comming thither, with testimoniall that they be heires, they shall receiue there the value of his goods: in such wise that they shall not loose any thing. But they that die in the kingdome of Pegu loose the thirde part of their goods by antient custome of the Countrey, that if any Christian dieth in the kingdome of Pegu, the king and his officers rest heires of a thirde of his goods, and there hath neuer bene any deceit or fraude vsed in this matter. I haue knowen many rich men that haue dwelled

An order how to prouide for the going to Ierusalem.

The author returneth to Venice 1581.

A very good order that they haue in those Countreys for the recouering of the goods of the dead.

in

in Pegu, and in their age they haue desired to go into their owne Countrey to die there, and haue departed with al their goods and substance without let or trouble.

In Pegu the fashion of their apparel is all one, as well the noble man, as the simple: the onely differēce is in the finenes of the cloth, which is cloth of Bombast one finer then another, and they weare their apparell in this wise: First a white Bombast cloth which serueth for a shirt, then they gird another painted bombast cloth of foureteene braces, which they binde vp betwixt their legges, and on their heads they weare a small tock of three braces, made in guize of a myter, and some goe without tocks, and cary (as it were) a hiue on their heades, which doeth not passe the lower part of his eare, when it is lifted vp; they goe all bare footed, but the Noble men neuer goe on foote, but are caried by men in a seate with great reputation, with a hat made of the leaues of a tree to keepe him from the raine and Sunne, or otherwise they ride on horsebacke with their feete bare in the stirops. All sorts of women whatsoeuer they be, weare a smocke downe to the girdle, and from the girdle downewards to the foote they weare a cloth of three brases, open before; so straite that they cannot goe, but they must shewe their secret as it were aloft, and in their going they faine to hide it with their hand, but they cānot by reason of the straitnes of their cloth. They say that this vse was inuented by a Queene to be an occasion that the sight thereof might remoue from men the vices against nature, which they are greatly giuen vnto; which sight should cause them to regard women the more. Also the women goe bare footed, their armes laden with hoopes of golde and Iewels: And their fingers full of precious rings, with their haire rolled vp about their heads. Many of them weare a cloth about their shoulders instead of a cloake.

Order of apparel in Pegu.

The order of the womens apparel in Pegu.

Now to finish that which I haue begunne to write, I say, that those parts of the Indies are very good, because that a man that hath litle, shall make a great deale thereof; alwayes they must gouerne themselues that they be taken for honest men. For why? to such there shal neuer want helpe to doe wel, but he that is vicious, let him tary at home and not go thither, because he shall alwayes be a begger, and die a poore man.

Letters concerning the voyage of M. Iohn Newbery and M. Ralph Fitch, made by the way of the Leuant Sea to Syria, and ouerland to Balsara, and thence into the East Indies, and beyond, In the yeere 1583.

A letter written from the Queenes Maiestie, to Zelabdim Echebar, King of Cambaia, and sent by Iohn Newbery. In February Anno 1583.

ELizabeth by the grace of God, &c. To the most inuincible, and most mightie prince, ord Zelabdim Echebar king of Cambaya. Inuincible Emperor, &c. The great affection which our Subiects haue, to visit the most distant places of the world, not without good will and intention to introduce the trade of marchandize of al nations whatsoeuer they can, by which meanes the mutual and friendly trafique of marchandize on both sides may come, is the cause that the bearer of this letter Iohn Newbery, ioyntly with those that be in his company, with a curteous and honest boldnesse, doe repaire to the borders and countreys of your Empire, we doubt not but that your imperiall Maiestie through your royal grace, will fauourably and friendly accept him. And that you would doe it the rather for our sake, to make vs greatly beholding to your Maiestie; wee should more earnestly, and with more wordes require it, if wee did think it needful. But by the singular report that is of your imperial Maiesties humanitie in these vttermost parts of the world, we are greatly eased of that burden, and therefore we vse the fewer and lesse words: onely we request that because they are our subiects, they may be honestly intreated and receiued. And that in respect of the hard iourney which they haue vndertaken to places so far distant, it would please your Maiestie with some libertie and securitie of voiage to gratifie it, with such priuileges as to you shall seeme good: which curtesie if your Imperiall maiestie shal to our subiects at our requests performe, wee, according to our royall honour, wil recompence the same with as many deserts as we can. And herewith we bid your Imperial Maiestie to farewel.

A letter

A letter written by her Maiestie to the King of China, in Februarie 1583.

ELizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England, &c. Most Imperial and inuincible prince, our honest subiect Iohn Newbery the bringer hereof, who with our fauour hath taken in hand the voyage which nowe hee pursueth to the parts and countreys of your Empire, not trusting vpon any other ground then vpon the fauour of your Imperiall clemencie and humanitie, is moued to vndertake a thing of so much difficultie, being perswaded that hee hauing entered into so many perils, your Maiestie will not dislike the same, especially if it may appeare that it be not damageable vnto your royall Maiestie, and that to your people it will bring some profite: of both which things he not doubting, with more willing minde hath prepared himselfe for his destinated voyage vnto vs well liked of. For by this meanes we perceiue, that the profit which by the mutual trade on both sides, al the princes our neighbors in ỹ West do receiue, your Imperial maiestie & those that be subiect vnder your dominion, to their great ioy and benefit shal haue the same, which consisteth in the transporting outward of such things whereof we haue plenty, & in bringing in such things as we stand in need of. It cannot otherwise be, but that seeing we are borne and made to haue need one of another, & that wee are bound to aide one another, but that your imperial Maiestie wil wel like of it, & by your subiects ỹ like indeuor wil be accepted. For the increase whereof, if your imperial Maiestie shall adde the securitie of passage, with other priuileges most necessary to vse the trade with your men, your maiestie shall doe that which belongeth to a most honorable & liberal prince, and deserue so much of vs, as by no cõtinuance or length of time shalbe forgotten. Which request of ours we do most instantly desire to be take in good part of your maiestie, and so great a benefit towards vs & our men, we shall endeuor by diligence to requite when time shal serue thereunto. The God Almighty long preserue your Imperial maiestie.

A letter of M. Iohn Newbery, written from Alepo, to M. Richard Hakluyt of Oxford, the 28 of May, Anno 1583.

Right welbeloued, and my assured good friend, I heartily commend me vnto you, hoping of your good health, &c. After we set saile from Grauesend, which was the 13. day of February last, wee remained vpon our coast vntill the 11. day of March, and that day we set saile from Falmouth, and neuer ankered till wee arriued in the road of Tripolie in Syria, which was the last day of Aprill last past, where wee stayed 14. dayes: and the twentie of this present we came hither to Alepo, and with Gods helpe, within fiue or sixe dayes goe from hence towards the Indies. Since my comming to Tripolis I haue made very earnest inquirie both there and here, for the booke of Cosmographie of Abilfada Ismael, but by no meanes can heare of it. Some say that possibly it may be had in Persia, but notwithstanding I will not faile to make inquirie for it, both in Babylon, and in Balsara, and if I can finde it in any of these places, I wil send it you from thence. The letter which you deliuered me for to copy out, that came from M. Thomas Steuens in Goa, as also the note you gaue mee of Francis Fernandes the Portugal, I brought thence with me among other writings vnawares, the which I haue sent you here inclosed. Here is great preparation for the warres in Persia, and from hence is gone the Bassa of a towne called Rabemet, and shortly after goeth the Bassa of Tripolis, and the Bassa of Damasco, but they haue not all with them aboue 6000. men from hence, and they goe to a towne called Asmerome, which is three dayes iourney from Trapezunde, where they shal meete with diuers captaines and souldiers that come from Constantinople and other places thereabout, which goe altogether into Persia. This yeere many men goe into the warres, and so hath there euery yeere since the beginning thereof, which is eight yeeres or thereabouts, but very fewe of them returne againe. Notwithstanding, they get of the Persians, and make castles and holds in their countrey. I pray you make my hearty commendations to master Peter Guillame, and master Philip Iones, and to M. Walter Warner, and to all the rest of our friends. Master Fitch hath

Abilfada Ismael his Cosmographie.

hath him beartily commended vnto you: and so I commit you to the tuition of the Almightie, who blesse and keepe you, and send vs a ioyfull meeting. From Alepo, the 28. of May 1583.

Your louing friend to command in all that I may.
Iohn Newberie.

*Another letter of the said M. Newberie, written to Master Leonard Poore of London from Alepo.

RIght welbeloued, my very heartie commendations vnto you, and the rest of my friends remembred. My last I sent you was the 25. of February last, from Dele out of the Downes, after which time with contrary windes wee remained vpon our owne coast, vntill the 11. day of March, and then wee set saile from Falmouth, and the thirteenth day the winde came contrary with a very great storme, which continued eight dayes, and in this great storme wee had some of our goods wette, but God bee thanked no great hurt done. After which time we sailed with a faire wind within the Streights, and so remained at Sea, and ankered at no place vntil our comming into the roade of Tripolis in Syria, which was the last day of April. This was a very good passage. God make vs thankfull for it. The foureteenth day of this present wee came from Tripolis, and the twentieth day arriued here in Alepo, and with the helpe of God to morrowe or next day, wee beginne our voyage towards Babylon and Balsara, and so into India. Our friend Master Barret hath him commended to you, who hath sent you in the Emanuel a ball of Nutmegs for the small trifles you sent him, which I hope long since you haue receiued. Also hee hath by his letter certified you in what order hee solde those things, whereof I can say nothing, because I haue not seene the accompt thereof, neither haue demaunded it: for euer since our comming hither hee hath bene still busie about the dispatch of the shippe, and our voyage, and I likewise in buying of things here to cary to Balsara, and the Indies. Wee haue bought in currall for 1200, and odde ducats, and amber for foure hundreth ducates, and some sope and broken glasse, with all other small trifles, all which things I hope will serue very wel for those places that wee shall goe vnto. All the rest of the accompt of the Barke Reinolds was sent home in the Emanuel, which was 3600. ducats, which is 200. pound more then it was rated. For master Staper rated it but 1100. li. and it is 1300. pound, so that our part is 200. pound, besides such profit as it shall please God to sende thereof: wherefore you shall doe very wel to speake to M. Staper for the accompt. And if you would content your selfe to trauell for three or foure yeeres, I would wish you to come hither or goe to Cairo, if any goe thither. For wee doubt not if you had remained there but three or foure moneths, you would like so well of the place, that I thinke you would not desire to returne againe in three or foure yeeres. And, if it should be my chance to remaine in any place out of England, I would choose this before all other that I know. My reason is, the place is healthfull and pleasant, and the gaines very good, and no doubt the profit will bee hereafter better, things being vsed in good order: for there should come in euery ship the fourth part of her Cargason in money, which would helpe to put away our commodities at a very good price. Also to haue two very good ships to come together, would doe very well: for in so doing, the danger of the voyage might be accompted as little as from London to Antwerpe. Master Giles Porter and master Edmund Porter, went from Tripolis in a small barke to Iaffa, the same day that we came from thence, which was the 14 day of this present, so that no doubt but long since they are in Ierusalem: God send them and vs safe returne. At this instant I haue receiued the account of M. Barret, and the rest of the rings, with two and twentie duckats, two medines in readie money. So there is nothing remaining in his hands but a few bookes, and with Thomas Bostocke I left certaine small trifles, which I pray you demaund. And so once againe with my hearty commendations I commit you to the tuition of the almightie, who alwayes preserue vs. From Aleppo the 29 of May 1583.

March 11.

The last of April.

Currall. Amber greese. Sope. Broken glasse.

Yours assured, Iohn Newberie.

Another letter of Master Newberie to the aforesaide M. Poore, written from Babylon.

MY last I sent you, was the 29 of May last past from Aleppo, by George Gill the purser of the Tiger, which the last day of the same moneth came from thence, & arriued at Feluge the 19 day of Iune, which Feluge is one dayes iourney from hence. Notwithstanding some of our company came not hither till the last day of the last moneth, which was for want of Camels to cary our goods: for at this time of the yeere, by reason of the great heate that is here, Camels are very scant to be gotten. And since our comming hither we haue found very small sales, but diuers say that in the winter our commodities will be very well sold, I pray God their words may prooue true. I thinke cloth, kersies & tinne, haue neuer bene here at so low prices as they are now. Notwithstanding, if I had here so much readie money as the commodities are woorth, I would not doubt to make a very good profite of this voiage hither, and to Balsara, and so by Gods helpe there will be reasonable profite made of the voiage. But with halfe money & halfe commoditie, may be bought here the best sort of spices, and other commodities that are brought from the Indies, and without money there is here at this instant small good to be done. With Gods helpe two dayes hence, I minde to goe from hence to Balsara, and from thence of force I must goe to Ormus for want of a man that speaketh the Indian tongue. At my being in Aleppo I hired two Nazaranies, and one of them hath bene twise in the Indies, and hath the language very well, but he is a very lewde fellow, and therefore I will not take him with me.

The best sort of spices at Babylon. Balsara. Ormus.

Here follow the prices of wares as they are worth here at this instant.

The prices of spices at Babylon.

CLoues and Maces, the bateman, 5 duckats.
Cynamon 6 duckats, and few to be gotten.
Nutmegs, the bateman, 45 medins, and 40 medins maketh a duckat.
Ginger, 40 medins.
Pepper, 75 medins.
Turbetin, the bateman, 50 medins.
Neel the churle, 70 duckats, and a churle is 27 rottils and a halfe of Aleppo.
Silke, much better then that which commeth from Persia, 11 duckats and a halfe the bateman, and euery bateman here maketh 7 pound and 5 ounces English waight. From Babylon the 20 day of Iuly, 1583.

Yours, Iohn Newberie.

Master Newberie his letter from Ormus, to M. Iohn Eldred and William Shals at Balsara.

RIght welbeloued and my assured good friends, I heartily cõmend me vntǫ you, hoping of your good healths, &c. To certifie you of my voiage, after I departed frõ you, time wil not permit: but the 4 of this present we arriued here, & the 10 day I with the rest were committed to prison, and about the middle of the next moneth, the Captaine wil send vs all in his ship for Goa. The cause why we are taken, as they say, is, for that I brought letters from Don Antonio. But the trueth is, Michael Stropene was the onely cause, vpon letters that his brother wrote him from Aleppo. God knoweth how we shall be delt withall in Goa, and therefore if you can procure our masters to send the king of Spaine his letters for our releasement, you should doe vs great good: for they cannot with iustice put vs to death. It may be that they will cut our throtes, or keepe vs long in prison: Gods will be done. All those commodities that I brought hither, had beene very well sold, if this trouble had not chanced. You shall do well to send with all speed a messenger by land from Balsara to Aleppo, for to certifie of this mischance, although it cost thirtie or fortie crownes, for that we may be the sooner released, and I shalbe the better able to recouer this againe which is

now

now like to be lost: I pray you make my hearty commendations, &c. From out of the prison in Ormuz, this 21 of September, 1583.

His second Letter to the foresaid Master Iohn Eldred and William Shales.

THe barke of the Iewes is arriued here two daies past, by whom I know you did write, but your letters are not like to come to my handes. This bringer hath shewed me here very great courtesie, wherefore I pray you shew him what fauor you may. About the middle of the next moneth I thinke we shall depart from hence, God be our guide. I thinke Andrew will goe by land to Aleppo, wherein I pray you further him what you may: but if he should not goe, then I pray you dispatch away a messenger with as much speede as possible you may. I can say no more, but do for me as you would I should do for you in the like cause, and so with my very hearty commendations, &c. From out of the prison in Ormuz, this 24 day of September, 1583.

Yours, Iohn Newberie.

His third Letter to Maister Leonard Poore, written from Goa.

MY last I sent you was from Ormuz, whereby I certified you what had happened there vnto me, and the rest of my company, which was, that foure dayes after our arriuall there, we were all committed to prison, except one Italian which came with me from Aleppo, whom the Captaine neuer examined, onely demaunded what countryman he was, but I make account Michael Stropene, who accused vs, had informed the Captaine of him. The first day we arriued there, this Stropene accused vs that we were spies sent from Don Antonio, besides diuers other lies: notwithstanding if we had beene of any other countrey then of England, we might freely haue traded with them. And although we be Englishmen, I know no reason to the contrary, but that we may trade hither and thither as well as other nations, for all nations doe, and may come freely to Ormuz, as Frenchmen, Flemmings, Almains, Hungarians, Italians, Greekes, Armenians, Nazaranies, Turkes and Moores, Iewes & Gentiles, Persians, Moscouites, and there is no nation that they seeke for to trouble, except ours: wherefore it were contrary to all iustice and reason that they should suffer all nations to trade with them, and to forbid vs. But now I haue as great liberty as any other nation, except it be to go out of the countrey, which thing as yet I desire not. But I thinke hereafter, and before it be long, if I shall be desirous to go from hence, that they wil not deny me licence. Before we might be suffered to come out of prison, I was forced to put in sureties for 2000 pardaus, not to depart from hence without licence of the viceroy: otherwise except this, we haue as much libertie as any other nation, for I haue our goods againe, & haue taken an house in the chiefest streete in the towne, called the Rue drette, where we sell our goods.

Michael Stropene an Italian accused our men to be spies.

There were two causes which moued the captaine of Ormus to imprison vs, & afterwards to send vs hither. The first was, because Michael Stropene had accused vs of many matters, which were most false. And the second was for that M. Drake at his being at Maluco, caused two pieces of his ordinance to be shot at a gallion of the kings of Portugall, as they say. But of these things I did not know at Ormus: and in the ship that we were sent in came the chiefest iustice in Ormus, who was called Aueador generall of that place, he had beene there three yeeres, so that now his time was expired: which Aueador is a great friend to the captaine of Ormus, who, certaine dayes after our comming from thence, sent for mee into his chamber, and there beganne to demaund of me many things, to the which I answered: and amongst the rest, he said, that Master Drake was sent out of England with many ships, and came to Maluco, and there laded cloues, and finding a gallion there of the kings of Portugall, hee caused two pieces of his greatest ordinance to be shot at the same: and so perceiuing that this did greatly griene them, I asked, if they would be reuenged of me for that which M. Drake had done: To the which he answered, No: although his meaning was to the contrary.

Two causes of our mens imprisonment at Ormus.

He said moreouer, that the cause why the captaine of Ormus did send me for Goa, was, for that the Viceroy would vnderstand of mee, what newes there was of Don Antonio, and whether he were in England, yea or no, and that it might be all for the best that I was sent hither, the which I trust in God wil so fall out, although contrary to his expectation: for had it not pleased God to put into the minds of the archbishop and other two Padres or Iesuits of S. Pauls college to stand our friends, we might haue rotted in prison. The archbishop is a very good man, who hath two yong men to his seruantes, the one of them was borne at Hamborough, and is called Bernard Borgers: and the other was borne at Enchuysen, whose name is John Linscot, who did vs great pleasure: for by them the archbishop was many times put in minde of vs. And the two good fathers of S. Paul, who trauelled very much for vs, the one of them is called Padre Marke, who was borne in Bruges in Flanders, and the other was borne in Wiltshire in England, and is called ‖Padre Thomas Stevens.

The author of the book of the East Indies.

Also I chanced to finde here a young man, who was borne in Antwerpe, but the most part of his bringing vp hath beene in London, his name is Francis de Rea, and with him it was my hap to be acquainted in Aleppo, who also hath done me great pleasure here.

‖ This is he whose letters to his father from Goa are before put downe, and he was sometimes of New colledge in Oxforde.

In the prison at Ormus we remained many dayes, also we lay a long time at sea comming hither, and forthwith at our arrival here were caried to prison, and the next day after were sent for before the Aueador, who is the chiefest iustice, to be examined: and when we were examined, he presently sent vs backe againe to prison.

Iames Storie their painter.

And after our being here in prison 13 daies, Iames Storie went into the monastery of S. Paul, where he remaineth, and is made one of the company, which life he liketh very well.

They arriued at Goa the 20 of Nouember 1583.

And vpon S. Thomas day (which was 22 dayes after our arriuall here) I came out of prison, and the next day after came out Ralph Fitch, and William Bets.

If these troubles had not chanced, I had beene in possibility to haue made as good a voyage as euer any man made with so much money. Many of our things I haue solde very well, both here and at Ormus in prison, notwithstanding the captaine willed me (if I would) to sell what I could before we imbarked: & so with officers I went diuers times out of the castle in the morning, and solde things, and at night returned againe to the prison, and all things that I solde they did write, and at our imbarking from thence, the captain gaue order that I should deliuer all my mony with the goods into the hands of the scriuano, or purser of the ship, which I did, and the scriuano made a remembrance, which he left there with the captaine, that my selfe and the rest with money & goods he should deliuer into the hands of the Aueador generall of India: but at our arriuall here, the Aueador would neither meddle with goods nor money, for that he could not proue any thing against vs: wherefore the goods remained in the ship 9 or 10 daies after our arrival, and then, for that the ship was to saile from thence, the scriuano sent the goods on shore, and here they remained a day and a night, and no body to receiue them. In the end they suffered this bringer to receiue them, who came with me from Ormus, and put them into an house which he had hired for me, where they remained foure or fiue daies. But afterward when they should deliuer the money, it was concluded by the iustice, that both the money and goods should be deliuered into the positors hands, where they remained fourteene dayes after my comming out of prison. At my being in Aleppo, I bought a fountaine of siluer and gilt, sixe kniues, sixe spoones, and one forke trimmed with corall for fiue and twentie chekins, which the captaine of Ormus did take, and payed for the same twentie pardaos, which is one hundred larines, and was worth there or here one hundred chekins. Also he had fiue emmaods set in golde, which were woorth fiue hundred or sixe hundred crownes, and payed for the same an hundred pardaos. Also he had nineteene and a halfe pikes of cloth, which cost in London twenty shillings the pike, and was worth 9 or 10 crownes the pike, and he payed for the same twelue larines a pike. Also he had two pieces of greene Kersies, which were worth foure and twentie pardaos the piece, and payd for them sixteene pardaos a piece: besides diuers other trifles, that the officers and others had in the like order, and some for nothing at all. But the cause of all this was Michael Stropene, which came to Ormus not woorth a penie, and now hath thirtie or fortie thousand crownes, and he grieueth that any other stranger should trade thither but himselfe. But that

shall

shall not skill, for I trust in God to goe both thither and hither, and to buy and sell as freely as he or any other. Here is very great good to be done in diuers of our commodities, and in like manner there is great profite to be made with commodities of this countrey, to be carried to Aleppo.

It were long for me to write, and tedious for you to read of all things that haue passed since my parting from you. But of all the troubles that haue chanced since mine arriual in Ormus, this bringer is able to certifie you. I mind to stay here: wherefore if you will write vnto me, you may send your letters to some friend at Lisbone, & frō thence by the ships they may be conueyed hither. Let the direction of your letters be either in Portuguise or Spanish, whereby they may come the better to my hands. From Goa this 20 day of Ianuarie. 1584.

A Letter written from Goa by Master Ralph Fitch to Master Leonard Poore abouesaid.

LOuing friend Master Poore, &c. Since my departure from Aleppo, I haue not written vnto you any letters, by reason that at Babylon I was sicke of the fluxe, and being sicke, I went from thence for Balsara, which was twelue dayes iourney downe the riuer Tygris, where we had extreame hot weather, which was good for my disease, ill fare, and worse lodging, by reason our boat was pestered with people. In eight daies, that which I did eate was very small, so that if we had stayed two dayes longer vpon the water, I thinke I had died: but comming to Balsara, presently I mended, I thanke God. There we stayed 14 dayes, and then we imbarked our selues for Ormuz, where we arriued the fifth of September, and were put in prison the ninth of the same moneth, where we continued vntill the 11 of October, and then were shipt for this citie of Goa in the captaines ship, with an 114 horses, and about 200 men: and passing by Diu & Chaul, where we went on land to water the 20 of Nouember, we arriued at Goa the 29 of the said moneth, where for our better intertainment we were presently put into a faire strong prison, where we continued vntill the 22 of December. It was the will of God that we found there 2 Padres, the one an Englishman, the other a Flemming. The Englishmans name is Padre Thomas Steuens, the others Padre Marco, of the order of S. Paul. These did sue for vs vnto the Viceroy and other officers, and stood vs in as much stead, as our liues and goods were woorth: for if they had not stucke to vs, if we had escaped with our liues, yet we had had long imprisonment. Diu, Chaul.

After 14 dayes imprisonment they offered vs, if we could put in sureties for 2000 duckats, we should goe abroad in the towne: which when we could not doe, the said Padres found sureties for vs, that we should not depart the countrey without the licence of the Viceroy. It doth spite the Italians to see vs abroad: and many maruell at our deliuery. The painter is in the cloister of S. Paul, and is of their order, and liketh there very well. While we were in prison, both at Ormuz and here, there was a great deale of our goods pilfered and lost, and we haue beene at great charges in gifts and otherwise, so that a great deale of our goods is consumed. There is much of our things which wil sell very well, & some we shall get nothing for. I hope in God that at the returne of the Viceroy, which is gone to Chaul and to Diu, they say, to winne a castle of the Moores, whose returne is thought will be about Easter, then we shall get our libertie, and our sureties discharged. Then I thinke it will be our best way, either one or both to returne, because our troubles haue bene so great, & so much of our goods spoyled and lost. But if it please God that I come into England, by Gods helpe, I will returne hither againe. It is a braue and pleasant countrey, and very fruitfull. The summer is almost all the yeere long, but the chiefest at Christmas. The Italians our great enemies for the trade in the East.

The day and the night are all of one length, very litle difference, and marueilous great store of fruits. For all our great troubles, yet are we fat and well liking, for victuals are here plentie and good cheape. And here I will passe ouer to certifie you of strange things, vntill our meeting, for it would be too long to write thereof. And thus I commit you to God, who euer preserue you and vs all. From Goa in the East Indies the 25 of Ianuarie 1584.

Yours to command, Ralph Fitch.

The

The voyage of M. Ralph Fitch marchant of London by the way of Tripolis in Syria, to Ormus, and so to Goa in the East India, to Cambaia, and all the kingdome of Zelabdim Echebar the great Mogor, to the mighty riuer Ganges, and downe to Bengala, to Bacola, and Chonderi, to Pegu, to Imahay in the kingdome of Siam, and backe to Pegu, and from thence to Malacca, Zeilan, Cochin, and all the coast of the East India: begunne in the yeere of our Lord 1583, and ended 1591, wherin the strange rites, maners, and customes of those people, and the exceeding rich trade and commodities of those countries are faithfully set downe and diligently described, by the aforesaid M. Ralph Fitch.

IN the yeere of our Lord 1583, I Ralph Fitch of London marchant being desirous to see the countreys of the East India, in the company of M. Iohn Newberie marchant (which had beene at Ormus once before) of William Leedes Iewseller, and Iames Story Painter, being chiefly set foorth by the right worshipful Sir Edward Osborne knight, and M. Richard Staper citizens and marchants of London, did ship my selfe in a ship of London called the Tyger, wherein we went for Tripolis in Syria: & from thence we tooke the way for Aleppo, which we went in seuen dayes with the Carouan. Being in Aleppo, and finding good company, we went from thence to Birra, which is two dayes and an haife trauaile with Camels.

Birra. Birra is a little towne, but very plentifull of victuals: and neere to the wall of the towne runneth the riuer of Euphrates. Here we bought a boate and agreed with a master and bargemen, for to go to Babylon. These boats be but for one voiage; for the streame doth runne so fast downewardes that they cannot returne. They carie you to a towne which they call Felugia, and there you sell the boate for a litle money, for that which cost you fiftie at Birra you sell there for seuen or eight. From Birra to Felugia is sixteene dayes iourney, it is not good that one boate goe alone, for if it should chance to breake, you should haue much a doe to saue your goods from the Arabians, which be alwayes there abouts robbing: and in the night when your boates be made fast, it is necessarie that you keepe good watch. For the Arabians that bee theeues, will come swimming and steale your goods and flee away, against which a gunne is very good, for they doe feare it very much. In the riuer of Euphrates from Birra to Felugia there be certaine places where you pay custome, so many Medines for a some or Camels lading, and certaine raysons and sope, which is for the sonnes of Aborise, which is Lord of the Arabians and all that great desert, and hath some villages vpon
Felugia. the riuer. Felugia where you vnlade your goods which come from Birra is a little village: from whence you goe to Babylon in a day.

Babylon. Babylon is a towne not very great but very populous, and of great traffike of strangers, for that it is the way to Persia, Turkia and Arabia: and from thence doe goe Carouans for these and other places. Here are great store of victuals, which come from Armenia downe the riuer of Tygris. They are brought vpon raftes made of goates skinnes blowne full of winde and bordes layde vpon them: and thereupon they lade their goods which are brought downe to Babylon, which being discharged they open their skinnes, and carry them backe by Camels, to serue another time. Babylon in times past did belong to the kingdome of Persia, but nowe is subiecte to the Turke. Ouer against Babylon there is a very faire village from whence you passe to Babylon vpon a long bridge made of boats, and tyed to a great chaine of yron, which is made fast on either side of the riuer. When any boates are to passe vp or downe the riuer, they take away certaine of the boates vntill they be past.

The tower of Babel. The Tower of Babel is built on this side the riuer Tygris, towardes Arabia from the towne about seuen or eight miles, which tower is ruinated on all sides, and with the fall thereof hath made as it were a litle mountaine, so that it hath no shape at all: it was made of brickes dried in the sonne, and certain canes and leaues of the palme tree layed betwixt the brickes. There is no entrance to be seene to goe into it. It doth stand vpon a great plaine betwixt the riuers of Euphrates and Tygris.

Boyling pitch continually issuing out of the earth. By the riuer Euphrates two dayes iourney from Babylon at a place called Ait, in a fielde neere vnto it, is a strange thing to see: a mouth that doth continually throwe foorth against the

the ayre boyling pitch with a filthy smoke: which pitch doth runne abroad into a great fielde which is alwayes full thereof. The Moores say that *it* is the mouth of hell. By reason of the great quantitie of *it*, the men of that countrey doe pitch their boates two or three inches thicke on the outside, so that no water doth enter into them. Their boates be called Danec. When there is great store of water in Tigris you may goe from Babylon to Basora in 8 or 9 dayes: if there be small store it will cost you the more dayes.

Basora in times past was vnder the Arabians, but now is subiecte to the Turke. But some of them the Turke cannot subdue, for that they holde certaine Ilandes in the riuer Euphrates which the Turke cannot winne of them. They be theeues all and haue no setled dwelling, but remoue from place to place with their Camels, goates, and horses, wiues and children and all. They haue large blew gownes, their wiues eares and noses are ringed very full of rings of copper and siluer, and they weare rings of copper about their legs.

Basora standeth neere the gulfe of Persia, and is a towne of great trade of spices and drugges which come from Ormus. Also there is great store of wheate, ryce, and dates growing thereabout, wherewith they serue Babylon and all the countrey, Ormus, and all the partes of India. I went from Bashra to Ormus downe the gulfe of Persia in a certaine shippe made of boordes, and sowed together with cayro, which is threede made of the huske of Cocoes, and certaine canes or strawe leaues sowed vpon the seames of the bordes which is the cause that they leake very much. And so hauing Persia alwayes on the left hande, and the coast of Arabia on the right hande we passed many Ilandes, and among others the famous Ilande Baharim from whence come the best pearles which be round and Orient.

Ormus is an Iland in circuit about fiue and twentie or thirtie miles, and is the driest Island in the world: for there is nothing growing in it but onely salte; for their water, wood, or victuals, and all things necessary come out of Persia, which is about twelue miles from thence. All the Ilands thereabout be very fruitful, from whence all kinde of victuals are sent vnto Ormus. The Portugales haue a castle here which standeth neere vnto the sea, wherein there is a Captaine for the king of Portugale hauing vnder him a conuenient number of souldiers, whereof some part remaine in the castle, and some in the towne. In this towne are marchants of all Nations, and many Moores and Gentiles. Here is very great trade of all sortes of spices, drugs, silke, cloth of silke, fine tapestrie of Persia, great store of pearles which come from the Isle of Baharim, and are the best pearles of all others, and many horses of Persia, which serue all India. They haue a Moore to their king, which is chosen and gouerned by the Portugales. Their women are very strangely attyred, wearing on their noses, eares, neckes, armes and legges many rings set with iewels, and lockes of siluer and golde in their eares, and a long barre of golde vpon the side of their noses. Their eares with the weight of their iewels be worne so wide, that a man may thrust three of his fingers into them. Here very shortly after our arriuall wee were put in prison, and had part of our goods taken from vs by the Captaine of the castle, whose name was Don Mathias de Albuquerque; and from hence the eleuenth of October he shipped vs and sent vs for Goa vnto the Viceroy, which at that time was Don Francisco de Mascarenhas. The shippe wherein we were imbarked for Goa belonged to the Captaine, and carried one hundred twentie and foure horses in it. All marchandise carried to Goa in a shippe wherein are horses pay no custome in Goa. The horses pay custome, the goods pay nothing; but if you come in a ship which bringeth no horses, you are then to pay eight in the hundred for your goods. The first citie of India that we arriued at vpon the fift of Nouember, after we had passed the coast of Zindi, is called Diu, which standeth in an Iland in the kingdome of Cambaia, and is the strongest towne that the Portugales haue in those partes. It is but litle, but well stored with marchandise; for here they lade many great shippes with diuerse commodities for the streits of Mecca, for Ormus, and other places, and these be shippes of the Moores and of Christians. But the Moores cannot passe, except they haue a passeport from the Portugales. Cambaietta is the chiefe citie of that prouince, which is great and very populous, and fairely builded for a towne of the Gentiles: but if there happen any famine, the people will sell their children for very little. The last king of Cambaia was Sultan Badu, which was killed at the siege of Diu, and

Ormus

shortly

shortly after his citie was taken by the great Mogor, which is the king of Agra and of Delli, which are fortie dayes iourney from the country of Cambaia. Here the women weare vpon their armes infinite numbers of rings made of Elephants teeth, wherein they take so much delight, that they had rather be without their meate then without their bracelets. Going
Daman. from Diu we come to Daman the second towne of the Portugales in the countrey of Cambaia which is distant from Diu fortie leagues. Here is no trade but of corne and rice. They haue many villages vnder them which they quietly possesse in time of peace, but in time of
Basaim. warre the enemie is maister of them. From thence we passed by Basaim, and from Basaim
Tana. to Tana, at both which places is small trade but only of corne and rice. The tenth of No-
Chaul. uember we arriued at Chaul which standeth in the firme land. There be two townes, the one belonging to the Portugales, and the other to the Moores. That of the Portugales is neerest to the sea, and commaundeth the bay, and is walled round about. A little aboue that is the towne of the Moores which is gouerned by a Moore king called Xa-Maluco. Here is great traffike for all sortes of spices and drugges, silke, and cloth of silke, sandales, Elephants teeth, and much China worke, and much sugar which is made of the nutte called Gagara: the tree is called the palmer: which is the profitablest tree in the worlde: it doth alwayes beare fruit, and doth yeeld wine, oyle, sugar, vineger, cordes, coles, of the leaues are made thatch for the houses, sayles for shippes, mats to sit or lie on: of the branches they make their houses, and broomes to sweepe, of the tree wood for shippes. The wine doeth issue out of the toppe of the tree. They cut a branch of a bowe and binde it hard, and hange an earthen pot vpon it, which they emptie euery morning and euery euening, and still it and put in certaine dried raysins, and it becommeth very strong wine in short time. Hither many shippes come from all partes of India, Ormus, and many from Mecca: heere be manie Moores and Gentiles. They haue a very strange order among them, they worshippe a cowe, and esteeme much of the cowes doung to paint the walles of their houses. They will kill nothing not so much as a louse: for they holde it a sinne to kill any thing. They eate no flesh, but liue by rootes, and ryce, and milke. And when the husbande dieth his wife is burned with him, if shee be aliue: if shee will not, her head is shauen, and then is neuer any account made of her after. They say if they should be buried, it were a great sinne, for of their bodies there would come many wormes and other vermine, and when their bodies were consumed, those wormes would lacke sustenance, which were a sinne, therefore they will be burned. In Cambaia they will kill nothing, nor haue any thing killed: in the towne they haue hospitals to keepe lame dogs and cats, and for birds. They will giue meat to the Ants.

Goa is the most principal citie which the Portugals haue in India, wherein the Viceroy remaineth with his court. It standeth in an Iland, which may be 25. or 30. miles about. It is a fine citie, and for an Indian towne very faire. The Iland is very faire, full of orchards and gardens, and many palmer trees, and hath some villages. Here bee many marchants of all nations. And the Fleete which commeth euery yeere from Portugal, which be foure, fiue, or sixe great shippes, commeth first hither. And they come for the most part in September, and remaine there fortie or fiftie dayes; and then goe to Cochin, where they lade their Pepper for Portugall. Oftentimes they lade one in Goa, the rest goe to Cochin which is from Goa an hundred leagues southward. Goa standeth in the countrey of Hidalcan, who lieth in the countrey sixe or seuen dayes iourney. His chiefe citie is called Bisapor. At our comming
This was the 20. of Nouember. we were cast into the prison, and examined before the Iustice and demanded for letters, and were charged to be spies, but they could prooue nothing by vs. We continued in prison vntill the two and twentie of December, and then we were set at libertie, putting in sureties for two thousand duckats not to depart the towne; which sureties father Steuens an English Iesuite which we found there, & another religious mā a friend of his procured for vs. Our sureties name was Andreas Taborer, to whom we paid 2150. duckats, and still he demaunded more: whereupon we made sute to the Viceroy and Iustice to haue our money againe, considering that they had had it in their hands neere fiue moneths and could prooue nothing against vs. The Viceroy made vs a very sharpe answere, and sayd we should be better sifted before it were long, and that they had further matter against vs. Whereupon we presently determined

mined rather to seeke our liberties, then to bee in danger for euer to be slaues in the country, for it was told vs we should haue ſ strapado. Wherupon presently, the fift day of April 1585. in the morning we ranne from thence. And being set ouer the riuer, we went two dayes on foote not without feare, not knowing the way nor hauing any guide, for we durst trust none. One of the first townes which we came vnto, is called Bellergan, where there is a great market kept of Diamants, Rubies, Saphires, and many other soft stones. From Bellergan we went to Bisapor which is a very great towne where the king doeth keepe his court. Hee hath many Gentiles in his court and they be great idolaters. And they haue their idols standing in the Woods, which they call Pagodes. Some bee like a Cowe, some like a Monkie, some like Buffles, some like peacockes, and some like the deuill. Here be very many elephants which they goe to warre withall. Here they haue good store of gold and siluer: their houses are of stone very faire and high. From hence wee went for Gulconda, the king whereof is called Cutup de Iashach. Here and in the kingdome of Hidalcan, and in the countrey of the king of Decan bee the Diamants found of the olde water. It is a very faire towne, pleasant, with faire houses of bricke and timber, it aboundeth with great store of fruites and fresh water. Here the men and the women do go with a cloth bound about their middles without any more apparell. We found it here very hote. Bellergah a towne. Bisapor. Gulconda.

The winter beginneth here about the last of May. In these partes is a porte or hauen called Masulipatan, which standeth eight dayes iourney from hence toward the gulfe of Bengala, whether come many shippes out of India, Pegu, and Sumatra, very richly laden with Pepper, spices, and other commodities. The countrie is very good and fruitfull. From thence I went to Seruidore which is a fine countrey, and the king is called, the king of Bread. The houses here bee all thatched and made of lome. Here be many Moores and Gentiles, but there is small religion among them. From thence I went to Bellapore, and so to Barrampore, which is in the country of Zelabdim Echebar. In this place their money is made of a kind of siluer round and thicke, to the value of twentie pence, which is very good siluer. It is marueilous great and a populous countrey. In their *winter* which is in Iune, Iuly, and *August*, there is no passing in the streetes but with horses, the waters be so high. The houses are made of lome and thatched. Here is great store of cotton cloth made, and painted clothes of cotton wooll: here groweth great store of corne and Rice. We found mariages great store both in townes and villages in many places where wee passed, of boyes of eight or ten yeeres, and girles of fiue or six yeeres old. They both do ride vpon one horse very trimly decked, and are caried through the towne with great piping and playing, and so returne home and eate of a banket made of Rice and fruits, and there they daunce the most part of the night and so make an ende of the marriage. They lie not together vntill they be ten yeeres old. They say they marry their children so yoong, because it is an order that when the man dieth, the woman must be burned with him: so that if the father die, yet they may haue a father in lawe to helpe to bring vp the children which bee maried: and also that they will not leaue their sonnes without wiues, nor their daughters without husbands. From thence we went to Mandoway, which is a very *strong towne*. It was besieged twelue yeeres by Zelabdim Echebar before he could winne it. It standeth vpon a very great high rocke as the most part of their castles doe, and was of a very great circuite. From hence wee went to Vgini and Serringe, where wee ouertooke the ambassadour of Zelabdim Echebar with a marueilous great company of men, elephants, and camels. Here is great trade of cotton and cloth made of cotton, and great store of drugs. From thence we went to Agra passing many riuers, which by reason of the raine were so swollen, that wee waded and swamme oftentimes for our liues. Agra is a very great citie and populous, built with stone, hauing faire and large streetes, with a faire riuer running by it, which falleth into the gulfe of Bengala. It hath a faire castle and a strong with a very faire ditch. Here bee many Moores and Gentiles, the king is called Zelabdim Echebar: the people for the most part call him The great Mogor. From thence we went for Fatepore, which is the place where the king kept his court. The towne is greater then Agra, but the houses and streetes be not so faire. Here dwell many people both Moores and Gentiles. The king hath in Agra and Fatepore as they doe credibly Masulipatan. Seruidore. Bellapore. Strange mariages. Mandoway a very strong towne. Vgini. Agra a great citie. The great Mogor.

report 1000. elephants, thirtie thousand horses, 1400. tame Deere, 800. concubines: such store of Ounces, Tigers, Buffles, Cocks & Haukes, that is very strange to see. He keepeth a great court, which they call Dericcan. Agra and Fatepore are two very great cities, either of them much greater then London and very populous. Betweene Agra and Fatepore are 12. miles, and all the way is a market of victuals & other things, as full as though a man were still in a towne, and so many people as if a man were in a market. They haue many fine cartes, and many of them caried and gilded with gold, with two wheeles which be drawen with two litle Buls about the bignesse of our great dogs in England, and they will runne with any horse, and carie two or three men in one of these cartes: they are couered with silke or very fine cloth, and be vsed here as our Coches be in England. Hither is great resort of marchants from Persia and out of India, and very much marchandise of silke and cloth, and of precious stones, both Rubies, Diamants, and Pearles. The king is apparelled in a white Cabie made like a shirt tied with strings on the one side, and a litle cloth on his head coloured oftentimes with red or yealow. None come into his house but his eunuches which keepe his women. Here in Fatepore we staied all three vntill the 28. of September 1585. and then master Iohn Newberie tooke his iourney toward the citie of Lahor, determining from thence to goe for Persia and then for Aleppo or Constantinople, whether hee could get soonest passage vnto, and directed me to goe for Bengala and for Pegu, and did promise me, if it pleased God, to meete me in Bengala within two yeeres with a shippe out of England. I left William Leades the ieweller in seruice with the king Zelabdim Echebar in Fatepore, who did entertaine him very well, and gaue him an house and fiue slaues, an horse, and euery day sixe S. S. in money. I went from Agra to Satagam in Bengala, in the companie of one hundred and fourescore boates laden with Salt, Opium, Hinge, Lead, Carpets, and diuers other commodities downe the riuer Iemena. The chiefe marchants are Moores and Gentiles. In these countries they haue many strange ceremonies. The Bramanes which are their priests, come to the water and haue a string about their necks made with great ceremonies, and lade vp water with both their hands, and turne the string first with both their hands within, and then one arme after the other out. Though it be neuer so cold, they will wash themselues in cold water or in warme. These Gentiles will eate no flesh nor kill any thing. They liue with rice, butter, milke, and fruits. They pray in the water naked, and dresse their meat & eate it naked, and for their penance they lie flat vpon the earth, and rise vp and turne themselues about 30. or 40. times, and vse to heaue vp their hands to the sunne, & to kisse the earth, with their armes and legs stretched along out, and their right leg alwayes before the left. Euery time they lie downe, they make a score on the ground with their finger to know when their stint is finished. The Bramanes marke themselues in the foreheads, eares and throates with a kind of yellow geare which they grind, & euery morning they do it. And they haue some old men which go in the streetes with a boxe of yellow pouder, and marke men on their heads & necks as they meet them. And their wiues do come by 10. 20. & 30. together to the water side singing, & there do wash themselues, & then vse their ceremonies, & marke themselues in their foreheds and faces, and cary some with them, and so depart singing. Their daughters be maried, at, or before the age of 10. yeres. The men may haue 7. wiues. They be a kind of craftie people, worse then the Iewes. When they salute one another, they heaue vp their hands to their heads, and say Rame, Rame. Frō Agra I came to Prage, where the riuer Iemena entreth into the mightie riuer Ganges, and Iemena looseth his name. Ganges commeth out of the Northwest, & runneth East into the gulfe of Bengala. In those parts there are many Tigers and many partriges & turtle-doues, and much other foule. Here be many beggers in these countries which goe naked, and the people make great account of them: they call them Schesche. Here I sawe one which was a monster among the rest. He would haue nothing vpon him, his beard was very long, and with the haire of his head he couered his priuities. The nailes of some of his fingers were two inches long, for he would cut nothing from him, neither would he speake. He was accompanied with eight or tenne, and they spake for him. When any man spake to him, he would lay his hand vpon his brest and bowe himselfe, but would not speake. Hee would not speake

The like is reported of the cities of China.

Wil. Leades serued the king of Cambaia.

The superstitious ceremonies of the Bramanes.

Ganges.

speake to the king. We went from Prage downe Ganges, the which is here very broad. Here is great store of fish of sundry sorts, & of wild foule, as of swannes, geese, cranes, and many other things. The countrey is very fruitfull and populous. The men for the most part haue their faces shauen, and their heads very long, except some which bee all shauen saue the crowne: and some of them are as though a man should set a dish on their heads, and shaue them round, all but the crowne. In this riuer of Ganges are many Ilands. His water is very sweete and pleasant, and the countrey adioyning very fruitfull. From thence wee went to Bannaras which is a great towne, and great store of cloth is made there of cotton, Bannaras.
and Shashes for the Moores. In this place they be all Gentiles, and be the greatest idolaters that euer I sawe. To this towne come the Gentiles on pilgrimage out of farre countreys. A pilgrimage of the Gentiles.
Here alongst the waters side bee very many faire houses, and in all of them, or for the most part they haue their images standing, which be euill fauoured, made of stone and wood, some like lions, leopards, and monkeis, some like men & women, and pecocks, and some like the deuil with foure armes and 4. hands." They sit crosse legged, some with one thing in their hands, & some another, & by breake of day and before, there are men & women which come out of the towne and wash theselues in Ganges. And there are diuers old men which vpon places of earth made for the purpose, sit praying, and they giue the people three or foure strawes, which they take & hold them betweene their fingers when they wash themselues: and some sit to marke them in the foreheads, and they haue in a cloth a litle Rice, Barlie, or money, which, when they haue washed themselues, they giue to the old men which sit there praying. Afterwards they go to diuers of their images, & giue them of their sacrifices. And when they giue, the old men say certaine prayers, and then is all holy. And in diuers places there standeth a kind of image which in their language they call Ada. And they haue diuers great stones carued, whereon they poure water, & throw thereupon some rice, wheate, barly, and some other things. This Ada hath foure hands with clawes. Moreouer, they haue a great place made of stone like to a well with steppes to goe downe; wherein the water standeth very foule and stinketh: for the great quantitie of flowers, which continually they throwe into it, doe make it stinke. There be alwayes many people in it: for they say when they wash themselues in it, that their sinnes be forgiuen them, because God, as they say, did wash himselfe in that place. They gather vp the sand in the bottome of it, and say it is holy. They neuer pray but in the water, and they wash themselues ouerhead, and lade vp water with both their handes, and turne themselues about, and then they drinke a litle of the water three times, and so goe to their gods which stand in those houses. Some of them will wash a place which is their length, and then will pray vpon the earth with their armes and legs at length out, and will rise vp and lie downe, and kisse the ground twentie or thirtie times, but they will not stirre their right foote. And some of them will make their ceremonies with fifteene or sixteene pots litle and great, and ring a litle bel when they make their mixtures tenne or twelue times: and they make a circle of water round about their pots and pray, and diuers sit by them, and one that reacheth them their pots: and they say diuers things ouer their pots many times, and when they haue done, they goe to their gods, and strowe their sacrifices which they thinke are very holy, and marke many of them which sit by, in the foreheads, which they take as a great gift. There come fiftie and sometime an hundred together, to wash them in this well, and to offer to these idols.

They haue in some of these houses their idoles standing, and one sitteth by them in warme weather with a fanne to blowe winde vpon them. And when they see any company comming, they ring a litle bell which hangeth by them, and many giue them their almes, but especially those which come out of the countrey. Many of them are blacke and haue clawes of brasse with long nayles, and some ride vpon peacocks and other foules which be euill fauoured, with long haukes bils, and some like one thing and some another, but none with a good face. Among the rest there is one which they make great account of: for they say hee giueth them all things both foode and apparell, and one sitteth alwayes by him with a fanne to make wind towards him. Here some bee burned to ashes, some scorched in the fire and thrown into the water, and dogges and foxes doe presently eate them. The wiues here doe burne

with their husbands when they die, if they will not their heads be shauen, and neuer any account is made of them afterward. The people goe all naked saue a litle cloth bound about their middle. Their women haue their necks, armes and eares decked with rings of siluer, copper, tinne, and with round hoopes made of luorie, adorned with amber stones, and with many agats, and they are marked with a great spot of red in their foreheads, and a stroke of red vp to the crowne, and so it runneth three maner of wayes. In their Winter, which is our May, the men weare quilted gownes of cotton like to our mattraces and quilted caps like to our great Grocers morters, with a slit to looke out at, and so tied downe beneath their eares. If a man or woman be sicke and like to die, they will lay him before their idols all night, and that shall helpe him or make an ende of him. And if he do not mend that night, his friends will come and sit with him a litle and cry, and afterwards will cary him to the waters side and set him vpon a litle raft made of reeds, and so let him goe downe the riuer. When they be maried the man and the woman come to the water side, and there is an olde man which they call a Bramane, that is a priest, a cowe and a calf, or a cowe with calfe. Then the man and the woman, cowe and calfe, and the olde man goe into the water together, and they giue the olde man a white cloth of foure yards long, and a basket crosse bound with diuers things in it: the cloth hee laieth vpon the backe of the cowe, and then he taketh the cowe by the ende of the taile, and saieth certaine wordes: and she bath a copper or a brasse pot full of water, and the man doeth hold his hand by the olde mans hand, and the wiues hand by her husbands, and all haue the cowe by the taile, and they poure water out of the pot vpon the cowes taile, and it runneth through all their hands, and they lade vp water with their handes, and then the olde man doeth tie him and her together by their clothes. Which done, they goe round about the cowe and calfe, and then they giue somewhat to the poore which be alwayes there, and to the Bramane or priest they giue the cowe and calfe, and afterward goe to diuers of their idoles and offer money, and lie downe flat vpon the ground and kisse it diuers times, and then goe their way. Their chiefe idoles bee blacke and euill fauoured, their mouthes monstrous, their eares gilded, and full of iewels, their teeth and eyes of gold, siluer, and glasse, some hauing one thing in their handes, and some another. You may not come into the houses where they stand, with your shooes on. They haue continually lampes burning before them. From Bannaras I went to Patenaw downe the riuer of Ganges: where in the way we passed many faire townes, and a countrey very fruitfull: and many very great riuers doe enter into Ganges, and some of them as great as Ganges, which cause Ganges to bee of a great breadth, and so broad that in the time of raine you cannot see from one side to the other. These Indians when they bee scorched and throwen into the water, the men swimme with their faces downewards, the women with their faces vpwards, I thought they tied something to them to cause them to doe so: but they say no. There be very many thieues in this countrey, which be like to the Arabians: for they haue no certaine abode, but are sometime in one place and sometime in another. Here the women bee so decked with siluer and copper, that it is strange to see, they use no shooes by reason of the rings of siluer and copper, which they weare on their toes. Here at Patanaw they finde gold in this maner. They digge deepe pits in the earth, and wash the earth in great holles, and therein they finde the gold, and they make the pits round about with bricke, that the earth fall not in. Patenaw is a very long and a great towne. In times past it was a kingdom, but now it is vnder Zelabdim Echebar, the great Mogor. The men are tall and slender, and haue many old folks among them: the houses are simple, made of earth and couered with strawe, the streetes are very large. In this towne there is a trade of cotton, & cloth of cotton, much sugar, which they cary from hence to Bengala and India, very much Opium and other commodities. He that is chiefe here vnder the king is called Tipperdas, and is of great account among the people. Here in Patenau I saw a dissembling prophet which sate vpon an horse in the market place, and made as though he slept, and many of the people came and touched his feete with their hands, and then kissed their hands. They tooke him for a great man, but sure he was a lasie lubber. I left him there sleeping. The people of these countries be much giuen to such prating and dissembling hypocrites.

This tying of new maried folke together by the clothes, was vsed by the Mexicans in old time.

Patenaw.

Gold found.

From

From Patanaw I went to Tanda which is in the land of Gouren. It hath in times past bene a kingdom, but now is subdued by Zelabdim Echebar. Great trade and traffique is here of cotton, and of cloth of cotton. The people goe naked with a litle cloth bound about their waste. It standeth in the countrey of Bengala. Here be many Tigers, wild Bufs, and great store of wilde foule: they are very great idolaters. Tanda standeth from the riuer Ganges a league, because in times past the riuer flowing ouer the bankes, in time of raine did drowne the countrey and many villages, and so they do remaine. And the old way which the riuer Ganges was woont to run, remaineth drie, which is the occasion that the citie doeth stand so farre from the water. From Agra downe the riuer Iemena, and downe the riuer Ganges, I was fiue moneths comming to Bengala, but it may be sailed in much shorter time. Tanda in Gouren.

I went from Bengala into the countrey of Couche, which lieth 25. dayes iourny Northwards from Tanda. The king is a Gentile, his name is Suckel Counse: his countrey is great, and lieth not far from Cauchin China: for they say they haue pepper from thence. The port is called Cacchegate. All the countrie is set with Bambos or Canes made sharpe at both the endes & driuen into the earth, and they can let in the water & drowne the ground aboue knee deepe, so that mē nor horses can passe. They poison all the waters if any wars be. Here they haue much silke & muske, and cloth made of cotton. The people haue eares which be marueilous great of a span long, which they draw out in length by deuises when they be yong. Here they be all Gentiles, and they will kil nothing. They haue hospitals for sheepe, goates, dogs, cats, birds, & for all other liuing creatures. When they be old & lame, they keepe them vntil they die. If a man catch or buy any quicke thing in other places & bring it thither, they wil giue him mony for it or other victuals, & keepe it in their hospitals or let it go. They wil giue meat to the Ants. Their smal mony is almonds, which oftentimes they vse to eat. From thence I returned to Hugeli, which is the place where the Portugals keep in the country of Bengala which standeth in 23. degrees of Northerly latitude, and standeth a league from Satagan: they cal it Porto Piqueno. We went through the wildernes, because the right way was full of thieues, where we passed the countrey of Gouren, where we found but few villages, but almost all wildernes, & saw many buffes, swine & deere, grasse longer then a mā, and very many Tigers. Not far from Porto Piqueno southwestward, standeth an hauen which is called Angeli, in the countrey of Orixa. It was a kingdom of it selfe, & the king was a great friend to strangers. Afterwards it was taken by the king of Patan which was their neighbour, but he did not enioy it long, but was taken by Zelabdim Echebar, which is king of Agra, Delli, & Cambaia. Orixa standeth 6 daies iourney from Satagan, southwestward. In this place is very much Rice, and cloth made of cotton, & great store of cloth which is made of grasse, which they call Yerua, it is like a silke. They make good cloth of it which they send for India & diuers other places. To this hauen of Angeli come euery yeere many ships out of India, Negapatan, Sumatra, Malacca, and diuers other places; & lade from thence great store of Rice, & much cloth of cotton wooll, much sugar, & long pepper, great store of butter & other victuals for India. Satagam is a faire citie for a citie of the Moores, and very plentifull of all things. Here in Bengala they haue euery day in one place or other a great market which they call Chandeau, and they haue many great boats which they cal pericose, wherewithall they go from place to place and buy Rice and many other things: these boates haue 24. or 26. oares to rowe them, they be great of burthen, but haue no couerture. Here the Gentiles haue the water of Ganges in great estimation, for hauing good water neere them, yet they will fetch the water of Ganges a great way off, and if they haue not sufficient to drinke, they will sprinkle a litle on them, and then they thinke themselues well. From Satagam I trauelled by the countrey of the king of Tippara or porto Grande, with whom the Mogores or Mogen haue almost continuall warres. The Mogen which be of the kingdom of Recon and Rame, be stronger then the king of Tippara, so that Chatigan or porto Grande is oftentimes vnder the king of Recon. Porto Piqueno. The like cloth may be made of the long grasse in Virginia. Satagam. Tippara or porto Grande.

There is a country 4. daies iourney from Couche or Quicheu before mentioned, which is called Bottanter and the citie Bottia, the king is called Dermain; the people whereof are very tall and strong, and there are marchants which come out of China, & they say out of Muscouia Couche: thus seemeth to be Quicheu, according to some among the prouinces of China. Pure Gentilisme. In Mexico they vse likewise for small money the fruit Cacao which are like almonds. Hug-ly. Bottanter a great Northern country. Marchants of China, Moscouie and Tartaria.

couia & Tartarie. And they come to buy muske, cambals, agats, silke, pepper and saffron like the saffron of Persia. The countrey is very great, 3. moneths iourney. There are very high mountains in this countrey, & one of them so steep that when a man is 6. daies iourney off it, he may see it perfectly. Vpon these mountains are people which haue eares of a spanne long: if their eares be not long, they call them apes. They say that when they be vpon the mountaines, they see ships in the Sea sayling to and fro; but they know not from whence they come, nor whether they go. There are marchants which come out of the East, they say, from vnder the sunne, which is from China, which haue no beards, and they say there it is something warme. But those which come from the other side of the mountains which is from the North, say there it is very cold. These Northern merchants are apparelled with woollen cloth and hats, white hosen close, and bootes which be of Moscouia or Tartarie. They report that in their countrey they haue very good horses, but they be litle: some men haue foure, fiue, or sixe hundred horses and kine: they liue with milke and fleshe. They cut the tailes of their kine, and sell them very deere, for they bee in great request, and much esteemed in those partes. The haire of them is a yard long, the rumpe is aboue a spanne long: they vse to hang them for brauerie vpon the heades of their Elephants: they bee much vsed in Pegu and China: they buie and sell by scores vpon the ground. The people be very swift on foote.

"These seeme to be the mountains of Imaus, called by the people Cumao.

The apparel of the Tartarie marchants.

Cowe tailes in great request.

Bacola. From Chatigan in Bengala, I came to Bacola; the king whereof is a Gentile, a man very well disposed and delighteth much to shoot in a gun. His countrey is very great and fruitful, and hath store of Rice, much cotton cloth, and cloth of silke. The houses be very faire and high builded, the streetes large, the people naked, except a litle cloth about their waste. The women weare great store of siluer hoopes about their neckes and armes, and their legs are ringed with siluer and copper, and rings made of elephants teeth.

Serrepore. From Bacola I went to Serrepore which standeth vpon the riuer of Ganges, the king is called Chondery. They be all hereabout rebels against their king Zelabdim Echebar: for here are so many riuers & Iands, that they flee from one to another, whereby his horsemen cannot preuaile against them. Great store of cotton cloth is made here.

Sinnergan. Sinnergan is a towne sixe leagues from Serrepore, where there is the best and finest cloth made of cotton that is in all India. The chiefe king of all these countries is called Isacan, and he is chiefe of all the other kings, and is a great friend to all Christians. The houses here, as they be in the most part of India, are very litle, and couered with strawe, and haue a fewe mats round about the wals, and the doore to keepe out the Tygers and the Foxes. Many of the people are very rich. Here they will eate no flesh, nor kill no beast: they liue of Rice, milke, and fruits. They goe with a litle cloth before them, and all the rest of their bodies is naked. Great store of Cotton cloth goeth from hence, and much Rice, wherewith they serue all India, Ceilon, Pegu, Malacca, Sumatra, and many other places.

Sundiua Island. I went from Serrepore the 28. of Nouember 1586. for Pegu in a small ship or foist of one Albert Carauallos, and so passing downe Ganges, and passing by the Island of Sundiua, porto Grande, or the countrie of Tippera, the kingdom of Recon and Mogen, leauing them on our left side with a faire wind at Northwest: our course was South and by East, which brought vs to the barre of Negrais in Pegu: if any contrary wind had come, we had thrown many of our things ouer-boord: for we were so pestered with people & goods, that there was scant place to lie in. From Bengala to Pegu is 90. leagues. We

Negrais. entred the barre of Negrais, which is a braue barre & hath 4. fadomes water where it

Cosmin. hath least. Three dayes after we came to Cosmin, which is a very pretie towne, and standeth very pleasantly, very well furnished with all things. The people be very tall & well disposed; the women white, round faced, with little eies: the houses are high built, set vpon great high postes, & they go vp to them with long ladders for feare of the Tygers which be very many. The countrey is very fruitful of all things. Here are very great Figs, Orenges, Cocoes, and other fruits. The land is very high that we fall withall, but after we be entred the barre, it is very lowe and full of riuers, for they goe all too and fro in boates, which they call paroes, and keepe their houses with wife and children in them.

Ladders red to auoyd the danger of wild beasts.

Dwelling in boats.

From

From the barre of Nigrais to the citie of Pegu is ten dayes iourney by the riuers. Wee went from Cosmin to Pegu in Paroes or boates, and passing vp the riuers wee came to Medon, which is a prety towne, where there be a wonderfull number of Paroes, for they keepe their houses and their markets in them all vpon the water. They rowe too and fro, and haue all their marchandizes in their boates with a great Sombrero or shadow ouer their heads to keepe the sunne from them, which is as broad as a great cart wheele made of the leaues of the Coco trees and fig trees, and is very light. Medon.

From Medon we went to Dela, which is a very faire towne, and hath a faire port into the sea, from whence go many ships to Malacca, Mecca, and many other places. Here are 18. or 20. very great and long houses, where they tame and keep many elephants of the kings: for thereabout in the wildernesse they catch the wilde elephants. It is a very fruitfull countrey. From Dela we went to Cirion, which is a good towne, and hath a faire porte into the sea, whither come many ships from Mecca, Malacca, Sumatra, and from diuers other places. And there the ships staie and discharge, & send vp their goods in Paroes to Pegu. From Cirion we went to Macao, which is a pretie towne, where we left our boats or Paroes, & in the morning taking Delingeges, which are a kind of Coches made of cords & cloth quilted, & caried vpon a stang betweene 3. or 4. men: we came to Pegu the same day. Pegu is a citie very great, strong, and very faire, with walles of stone, and great ditches round about it. There are two townes, the old towne and the newe. In the olde towne are all the marchants strangers, and very many marchants of the countrey. All the goods are sold in the olde towne which is very great, and hath many suburbes round about it, and all the houses are made of Canes which they call Bambos, and bee couered with strawe. In your house you haue a Warehouse which they call Godon, which is made of bricke to put your goods in, for oftentimes they take fire and burne in an houre foure or fiue hundred houses: so that if the Godon were not, you should bee in danger to haue all burned, if any winde should rise, at a trice. In the newe towne is the king, and all his Nobilitie and Gentrie. It is a citie very great and populous, and is made square and with very faire walles, and a great ditch round about it full of water, with many crocodiles in it: it hath twenty gates, and they bee made of stone, for euery square fiue gates. There are also many Turrets for Centinels to watch, made of wood, and gilded with golde very faire. The streets are the fairest that euer I saw, as straight as a line from one gate to the other, and so broad that tenne or twelue men may ride a front thorow them. On both sides of them at euery mans doore is set a palmer tree which is the nut tree: which make a very faire shew and a very commodious shadow, so that a man may walke in the shade all day. The houses be made of wood, and couered with tiles. The kings house is in the middle of the city, and is walled and ditched round about: and the buildings within are made of wood very sumptuously gilded, and great workmanship is vpon the forefront, which is likewise very costly gilded. And the house wherein his Pagode or idole standeth is couered with tiles of siluer, and all the walles are gilded with golde. Within the first gate of the kings house is a great large roome, on both sides whereof are houses made for the kings elephants, which be marueilous great and faire, and are brought vp to warres and in seruice of the king. And among the rest he hath foure white elephants, which are very strange and rare: for there is none other king which hath them but he: if any other king hath one, hee will send vnto him for it. When any of these white elephants is brought vnto the king, all the merchants in the city are commanded to see them, and to giue him a present of halfe a ducat, which doth come to a great summe: for that there are many merchants in the city. After that you haue giuen your present you may come and see them at your pleasure, although they stand in the kings house. This king in his title is called the king of the white elephants. If any other king haue one, and will not send it him, he will make warre with him for it: for he had rather lose a great part of his kingdome, then not to conquere him. They do very great seruice vnto these white elephants; euery one of them standeth in an house gilded with golde, and they doe feede in vessels of siluer and gilt. One of them when he doth go to the riuer to be washed, as euery day they do, goeth vnder a canopy of cloth of golde or of silke carried ouer him by sixe or eight men, and eight or ten men goe

Dela.

Cirion.

Macao.

Coches caried on mens shoulders.

Pegu.

Foure white elephants.

The king of the white elephants.

goe before him playing on drummes, shawmes, or other instruments: and when he is washed and commeth out of the riuer, there is a gentleman which doth wash his feet in a siluer basin: which is his office giuen him by the king. There is no such account made of any blacke elephant, be he neuer so great. And surely there be woonderfull faire and great, and some be nine cubites in height. And they do report that the king hath aboue fiue thousand elephants of warre, besides many other which be not taught to fight. This king hath a very large place wherein he taketh the wilde elephants. It standeth about a mile from Pegu, builded with a faire court within, and is in a great groue or wood: and there be many huntsmen, which go into the wildernesse with she elephants: for without the she they are not to be taken. And they be taught for that purpose: and euery hunter hath fiue or sixe of them: and they say that they annoint the she elephants with a certaine ointment, which when the wild elephant doth smell, he will not leaue her. When they haue brought the wilde elephant neere vnto the place, they send word vnto the towne, and many horsemen and footmen come out and cause the she elephant to enter into a strait way which doeth go to the palace, and the she and he do runne in: for it is like a wood: and when they be in, the gate doth shut. Afterward they get out the female: and when the male seeth that he is left alone, he weepeth and crieth, and runneth against the walles, which be made of so strong trees, that some of them doe breake their teeth with running against them. Then they pricke him with sharpe canes, & cause him to go into a strait house, and there they put a rope about his middle and about his feet, and let him stand there three or foure dayes without eating or drinking: and then they bring a female to him, with meat and drinke, and within few dayes he becommeth tame. The chiefe force of the king is in these elephants. And when they go into the warres they set a frame of wood vpon their backes, bound with great cordes, wherein sit foure or sixe men, which fight with gunnes, bowes and arrowes, darts and other weapons. And they say that their skinnes are so thicke that a pellet of an harquebush will scarse pearce them, except it be in some tender place. Their weapons be very badde. They haue gunnes, but shoot very badly in them, darts and swords short without points. The king keepeth a very great state: when he sitteth abroad as he doth euery day twise, all his noblemen which they call Shemines sit on ech side, a good distance off, and a great guard without them. The Court yard is very great. If any man will speake with the king, he is to kneele downe, to heaue vp his hands to his head, and to put his head to the ground three times, when he entreth, in the middle way, and when he commeth neere to the king: and then he sitteth downe and talketh with the king: if the king like well of him, he sitteth neere him within three or foure paces: if he thinke not well of him, he sitteth further off. When he goeth to warre, he goeth very strong. At my being

Odia a city in Siam.

there he went to Odia in the countrey of Siam with three hundred thousand men, and fiue thousand elephants. Thirty thousand men were his guard. These people do eate roots, herbs, leaues, dogs, cats, rats, serpents, and snakes; they refuse almost nothing. When the king rideth abroad, he rideth with a great guard, and many noblemen, oftentimes vpon an elephant with a fine castle vpon him very fairely gilded with gold: and sometimes vpon a great frame like an horsliter, which hath a little house vpon it conered ouer head, but open on the sides, which is all gilded with golde, & set with many rubies & saphires, whereof he hath infinite store in his country, and is caried vpon sixteene or eighteene mens shoulders. This coach in their language is called Serrion. Very great feasting and triumphing is many times before the king both of men and women. This king hath little force by sea, because he hath but very few ships. He hath houses full of golde and siluer, and bringeth in often, but spendeth very little, and hath the mines of rubies and saphires, and spinelles. Neere vnto the palace of the king, there is a treasure woonderfull rich; the which because it is so neere, he doth not account of it: and it standeth open for all men to see in a great walled court with two gates, which be alwayes open. There are foure houses gilded very richly, and couered with leade: in euery one of them are Pagodes or Images of huge stature and great value. In the first is the picture of a king in golde with a crowne of golde on his head full of great rubies and saphires, and about him there stand foure children of golde. In the second house is the picture of a man in siluer woonderfull great, as high as an house; his foot is as long as a man, and he is

This maner of cariage on mens shoulders is vsed in Peru, and in Florida.

is made sitting, with a crowne on his head very rich with stones. In the third house is the picture of a man greater then the other, made of brasse, with a rich crowne on his head. In the fourth and last house doth stand another, made of brasse, greater then the other, with a crowne also on his head very rich with stones. In another court not farre from this stand foure other Pagodes or idoles, maruellous great, of copper, made in the same place where they do stand; for they be so great that they be not to be remoued: they stand in foure houses gilded very faire, and are themselues gilded all ouer sane their heads, and they shew like a blacke Morian. Their expences in gilding of their images are wonderfull. The king hath one wife and aboue three hundred concubines, by which they say he hath fourescore or fourescore and ten children. He sitteth in iudgement almost euery day. They vse no speech, but giue vp their supplications written in the leaues of a tree with the point of an yron bigger then a bodkin. These leaues are an elle long, and about two inches broad; they are also double. He which giueth in his supplication, doth stand in a place a little distance off with a present. If his matter be liked of, the king accepteth of his present, and granteth his request: if his sute be not liked of, he returneth with his present; for the king will not take it.

Paper of the leaues of a tree.

In India there are few commodities which serue for Pegu, except Opium of Cambaia, painted cloth of S. Thome, or of Masulipatan, and white cloth of Bengala, which is spent there in great quantity. They bring thither also much cotton, yarne red coloured with a root which they call Saia, which will neuer lose his colour: it is very wel solde here, and very much of it commeth yerely to Pegu. By your money you lose much. The ships which come from Bengala, S. Thome, and Masulipatan, come to the bar of Nigrais and to Cosmin. To Martauan a port of the sea in the kingdome of Pegu come many ships from Malacca laden with Sandall, Porcelanes, and other wares of China, and with Camphora of Borneo, and Pepper from Achen in Sumatra. To Cirion a port of Pegu come ships from Mecca with woollen cloth, Scarlets, Veluets, Opium, and such like. There are in Pegu eight Brokers, whom they call Tareghe, which are bound to sell your goods at the price which they be woorth, and you giue them for their labour two in the hundred: and they be bound to make your debt good, because you sell your marchandises vpon their word. If the Broker pay you not at his day, you may take him home, and keepe him in your house: which is a great shame for him. And if he pay you not presently, you may take his wife and children and his slaues, and binde them at your doore, and set them in the Sunne; for that is the law of the countrey. Their current money in these parts is a kinde of brasse which they call Gansa, wherewith you may buy golde, siluer, rubies, muske, and all other things. The golde and siluer is marchandise, and is worth sometimes more, and sometimes lesse, as other wares be. This brazen money doeth goe by a weight which they call a biza; and commonly this biza after our account is worth about halfe a crowne or somewhat lesse. The marchandise which be in Pegu, are golde, siluer, rubies, saphires, spinelles, muske, beniamin or frankincense, long pepper, tinne, leade, copper, lacca whereof they make hard waxe, rice, and wine made of rice, and some sugar. The elephants doe eate the sugar canes, or els they would make very much. And they consume many canes likewise in making of their Varellaes or Idole Temples, which are in great number both great and small. They be made round like a sugar loafe, some are as high as a Church, very broad beneath, some a quarter of a mile in compasse: within they be all earth done about with stone. They consume in these Varellaes great quantity of golde; for that they be all gilded aloft: and many of them from the top to the bottome: and euery ten or twelue yeeres they must be new gilded, because the raine consumeth off the golde: for they stand open abroad. If they did not consume their golde in these vanities, it would be very plentifull and good cheape in Pegu. About two dayes iourney from Pegu there is a Varelle or Pagode, which is the pilgrimage of the Pegues: it is called Dogonne, and is of a wonderfull bignesse, and all gilded from the foot to the toppe. And there is an house by it wherein the Tallipoies which are their priests doe preach. This house is fiue and fifty paces in length, and hath three pawnes or walks in it, and forty great pillars gilded, which stand betweene the walks; and it is open on all sides with a number of small pillars, which be likewise gilded: it is gilded with golde within and without. There are houses very faire round about for the pilgrimes to lie in: and many goodly houses for the Tallipoies to preach in, which

An excellent colour with a root called Saia.

Woollen cloth and scarlets solde in Pegu.

The money of Pegu.

The seuerall marchandises of Pegu.

The forme of their Temples or Varellaes.

The Tallipoies or Priests of Pegu.

are full of images both of men and women, which are all gilded ouer with golde. It is the fairest place as I suppose, that is in the world: it standeth very high, and there are foure wayes to it, which all along are set with trees of fruits, in such wise that a man may goe in the shade aboue two miles in length. And when their feast day is, a man can hardly passe by water or by land for the great presse of people; for they come from all places of the kingdome of Pegu thither at their feast. In Pegu they haue many Tallipoies or priests, which preach against all abuses. Many men resort vnto them. When they enter into their kiack, that is to say, their holy place or temple, at the doore there is a great iarre of water with a cocke or a ladle in it, and there they wash their feet; and then they enter in, and lift vp their hands to their heads, first to their preacher, and then to the Sunne, and so sit downe. The Tallipoies go very strangely apparelled with one cambaline or thinne cloth next to their body of a browne colour, another of yellow doubled many times vpon their shoulder: and those two be girded to them with a broad girdle: and they haue a skinne of leather hanging on a string about their necks, whereupon they sit, bare headed & bare footed: for none of them weareth shoes; with their right armes bare and a great broad sombrero or shadow in their hands to defend them in the Summer from the Sunne, and in the Winter from the raine. When the Tallipoies or priests take their Orders, first they go to schoole vntill they be twenty yeres olde or more, and then they come before a Tallipoie appointed for that purpose, whom they call Rowli: he is of the chiefest or most learned, and he opposeth them, and afterward examineth them many times, whether they will leaue their friends, and the company of all women, and take vpon them the habit of a Tallipoie. If any be content, then he rideth vpon an horse about the streets very richly apparelled, with drummes and pipes, to shew that he leaueth the riches of the world to be a Tallipoie. In few dayes after, he is caried vpon a thing like an horsliter, which they call a serion, vpon ten or twelue mens shoulders in the apparell of a Tallipoie, with pipes and drummes, and many Tallipoies with him, and al his friends, and so they go with him to his house which standeth without the towne, and there they leaue him. Euery one of them hath his house, which is very little, set vpon six or eight posts, and they go vp to them with a ladder of twelue or foureteene staues. Their houses be for the most part by the hie wayes, side, and among the trees, and in the woods. And they go with a great pot made of wood, or fine earth, and couered, tied with a broad girdle vpon their shoulder, which cometh vnder their arme, wherewith they go to begge their victuals which they eate, which is rice, fish, and herbs. They demand nothing but come to the doore, and the people presently doe giue them, some one thing, and some another: and they put all together in their potte: for they say they must eate of their almes, and therewith content themselues. They keepe their feasts by the Moone: and when it is new Moone they keepe their greatest feast: and then the people send rice and other things to that kiack or church of which they be; and there all the Tallipoies doe meete which be of that Church, and eate the victuals which are sent them. When the Tallipoies do preach, many of the people cary them gifts into the pulpit where they sit and preach. And there is one which sitteth by them to take that which the people bring. It is diuided among them. They haue none other ceremonies nor seruice that I could see, but onely preaching.

The apparell of their priests.

Obseruation of new mooues.

I went from Pegu to Iamahey, which is in the countrey of the Langeiannes, whom we call Iangomes; it is fiue and twenty dayes iourney Northeast from Pegu. In which iourney I passed many fruitfull and pleasant countreys. The countrey is very lowe, and hath many faire riuers. The houses are very bad, made of canes, and couered with straw. Heere are many wilde buffes and elephants. Iamahey is a very faire and great towne, with faire houses of stone, well peopled, the streets are very large, the men very well set and strong, with a cloth about them, bare headed and bare footed: for in all these countreys they weare no shoes. The women be much fairer then those of Pegu. Heere in all these countreys they haue no wheat. They make some cakes of rice. Hither to Iamahey come many marchants out of China, and bring great store of muske, golde, siluer, and many other things of China worke. Here is great store of victuals: they haue such plenty that they will not milke the buffles, as they doe in all other places. Here is great store of copper and beniamin. In these countreys,

Iamahey fiue & twenty dayes iourney Northeastward from Pegu.

countreys when the people be sicke they make a vow to offer meat vnto the diuell, if they escape: and when they be recouered they make a banket with many pipes & drummes and other instruments, and dansing all the night, and their friends come and bring gifts, cocos, figges, arrecaes, and other fruits, and with great dauncing and reioycing they offer to the diuell, and say, they giue the diuel to eat, and driue him out. When they be dancing and playing they will cry & hallow very loud; and in this sort they say they driue him away. And when they be sicke a Tallipoy or two euery night doth sit by them & sing, to please the diuell that he should not hurt them. And if any die he is caried vpon a great frame made like a tower, with a couering all gilded with golde made of canes caried with foureteene or sixteene men, with drummes and pipes and other instruments playing before him to a place out of the towne and there is burned. He is accompanied with all his friends and neighbours, all men: and they giue to the tallipoies or priests many mats and cloth: and then they returne to the house and there make a feast for two dayes: and then the wife with all the neighbours wiues & her friends go to the place where he was burned, and there they sit a certaine time and cry and gather the pieces of bones which be left vnburned and bury them, and then returne to their houses and make an end of all mourning. And the men and women which be neere of kin do shaue their heads, which they do not vse except it be for the death of a friend: for they much esteeme of their haire.

They burne their dead.

Caplan is the place where they finde the rubies, saphires, and spinelles: it standeth sixe dayes iourney from Aua in the kingdome of Pegu. There are many great high hilles out of which they digge them. None may go to the pits but onely those which digge them.

Caplan is the place where the rubies and other precious stones are found.

In Pegu, and in all the countreys of Aua, Langeiannes, Siam, and the Bramas, the men weare bunches or little round balles in their priuy members: some of them weare two and some three. They cut the skin and so put them in, one into one side and another into the other side; which they do when they be 25 or 30 yeeres olde, and at their pleasure they take one or more of them out as they thinke good. When they be maried the husband is for euery child which his wife hath, to put in one vntill he come to three and then no more: for they say the women doe desire them. They were invented because they should not abuse the male sexe. For in times past all those countries were so giuen to that villany, that they were very scarse of people. It was also ordained that the women should not haue past three cubits of cloth in their nether clothes, which they binde about them; which are so strait, that when they go in the streets, they shew one side of the leg bare aboue the knee. The bunches aforesayd be of diuers sorts: the least be as big as a litle walnut, and very round: the greatest are as big as a litle hennes egge: some are of brasse and some of siluer: but those of siluer be for the king and his noble men. These are gilded and made with great cunning, and ring like a litle bell. There are some made of leade, which they call Selwy because they ring but litle: and these be of lesser price for the poorer sort. The king somefimes taketh his out, and giueth them to his noblemen as a great gift: and because he hath vsed them, they esteeme them greatly. They will put one in, and heale vp the place in seuen or eight dayes.

Anthony Galuano writeth of these bals.

The Bramas which be of the kings countrey (for the king is a Brama) haue their legs or bellies, or some part of their body, as they thinke good themselues, made black with certaine things which they haue: they vse to pricke the skinne, and to put on it a kinde of anile or blacking, which doth continue alwayes. And this is counted an honour among them: but none may haue it but the Bramas which are of the kings kinred.

The people of Pegu weare no beards.

These people weare no beards: they pull out the haire on their faces with little pinsons made for that purpose. Some of them will let 16 or 20 haires grow together, some in one place of his face and some in another, and pulleth out all the rest: for he carieth his pinsons alwayes with him to pull the haires out assoone as they appeare. If they see a man with a beard they wonder at him. They haue their teeth blacked both men and women, for they say a dogge hath his teeth white, therefore they will blacke theirs.

The Pegues if they haue a sute in the law which is so doubtfull that they cannot well determine it, put two long canes into the water where it is very deepe: and both the parties go

into the water by the poles, and there sit men to iudge, and they both do diue vnder the water, and he which remaineth longest vnder the water doth winne the sute.

Malacca. The 10 of Ianuary I went from Pegu to Malacca, passing by many of the ports of Pegu, as Martauan, the Iland of Taui, from whence commeth great store of tinne which serueth all India, the Ilands of Tanaseri, Iunsalaon, and many others; and so came to Malacca the 8 of February, where the Portugals haue a castle which standeth nere the sea. And the countrey fast without the towne belongeth to the Malayos, which is a kinde of proud people. They go naked with a cloth about their middle, and a litle roll of cloth about their heads. Hither come many ships from China & from the Malucos, Banda, Timor, and from many other Ilands of the Iauas, which bring great store of spices and drugs, and diamants and other iewels. The voyages into many of these Ilands belong vnto the captaine of Malacca: so that none may goe thither without his licence: which yeeld him great summes of money euery yeere. The Portugals heere haue often times warres with the king of Achem which standeth in the Iland of Sumatra: from whence commeth great store of pepper and other spices euery yeere to Pegu and Mecca within the Red sea, and other places.

The voyage to Iapan. When the Portugals go from Macao in China to Iapan, they carry much white silke, golde, muske, and porcelanes: and they bring from thence nothing but siluer. They haue a great caracke which goeth thither euery yere, and she bringeth from thence euery yere aboue sixe hundred thousand crusadoes: and all this siluer of Iapan, and two hundred thousand crusadoes more in siluer which they bring yeerely out of India, they imploy to their great aduantage in China: and they bring from thence golde, muske, silke, copper, porcelanes, and many other things very costly and gilded. When the Portugals come to Canton in China to traffike, they must remaine there but certaine dayes: and when they come in at the gate of the city, they must enter their names in a booke, and when they goe out at night they must put out their names. They may not lie in the towne all night, but must lie in their boats without the towne. And their dayes being expired, if any man remaine there, they are euill vsed and imprisoned. The Chinians are very suspitious, and doe not trust strangers. It is thought that the king doth not know that any strangers come into his countrey. And further it is credibly reported that the common people see their king very seldome or not at all, nor may not looke vp to that place where he sitteth. And when he rideth abroad he is caried vpon a great chaire or serrion gilded very faire, wherein there is made a little house with a latise to looke out at: so that he may see them, but they may not looke vp at him: and all the time that he passeth by them, they heaue vp their hands to their heads, & lay their heads on the ground, and looke not vp vntill he be passed. The order of China is when they mourne, that they weare white thread shoes, and hats of straw. The man doth mourne for his wife two yeeres, the wife for her husband three yeeres: the sonne for his father a yeere, and for his mother two yeres. And all the time which they mourne they keepe the dead in the house, the bowels being taken out and filled with chownam or lime, and coffined: and when the time is expired they carry them out playing and piping, and burne them. And when they returne they pull off their mourning weeds, and marry at their pleasure. A man may keepe as many concubines as he will, but one wife onely. All the Chineans, Iaponians, and Cauchin Chineans do write right downwards, and they do write with a fine pensill made of dogs or cats haire.

Eight hundred thousand crusadoes in siluer imployed yeerely by the Portugals in China.

The writing of the people of China &c.

Laban. Diamants. Laban is an Iland among the Iauas from whence come the diamants of the New water. And they finde them in the riuers: for the king will not suffer them to digge the rocke.

Iamba. Iamba is an Iland among the Iauas also, from whence come diamants. And the king hath a masse of earth which is golde; it groweth in the middle of a riuer: and when the king doth lacke gold, they cut part of the earth and melt it, whereof commeth golde. This masse of earth doth appeare but once in a yere; which is when the water is low: and this is in the moneth of April.

Golde.

Bima. Bima is another Iland among the Iauas, where the women trauell and labour as our men do in England, and the men keepe house and go where they will.

He returneth from Malacca. The 29 of March 1588, I returned from Malacca to Martauan, and so to Pegu, where I

remained

remained the second time vntill the 17 of September, and then I went to Cosmin, and there tooke shipping; and passing many dangers by reason of contrary windes, it pleased God that we arriued in Bengala in Nouember following: where I stayed for want of passage vntill the third of February 1589, and then I shipped my selfe for Cochin. In which voyage we endured great extremity for lacke of fresh water: for the weather was extreme hote, and we were many marchants and passengers, and we had very many calmes, and hote weather. Yet it pleased God that we arriued in Ceylon the sixth of March, where we stayed fiue dayes to water, and to furnish our selues with other necessary prouision. This Ceylon is a braue Iland, very fruitfull & faire; but by reason of continuall warres with the king thereof, all things are very deare: for he will not suffer any thing to be brought to the castle where the Portugals be: wherefore often times they haue great want of victuals. Their prouision of victuals commeth out of Bengala euery yere. The king is called Raia, and is of great force: for he commeth to Columbo, which is the place where the Portugals haue their fort, with an hundred thousand men, and many elephants. But they be naked people all of them; yet many of them be good with their pieces which be muskets. When the king talketh with any man, he standeth vpon one legge, and setteth the other foot vpon his knee with his sword in his hand: it is not their order for the king to sit but to stand. His apparell is a fine painted cloth made of cotton wooll about his middle: his haire is long and bound vp with a little fine cloth about his head: all the rest of his body is naked. His guard are a thousand men, which stand round about him, and he in the middle; and when he marcheth, many of them goe before him, and the rest come after him. They are of the race of the Chingalayes, which they say are the best kinde of all the Malabars. Their eares are very large; for the greater they are, the more honourable they are accounted. Some of them are a spanne long. The wood which they burne is Cinamom wood, and it smelleth very sweet. There is great store of rubies, saphires, and spinelles in this Iland: the best kinde of all be here; but the king will not suffer the inhabitants to digge for them, lest his enemies should know of them, and make warres against him, and so driue him out of his countrey for them. They haue no horses in all the countrey. The elephants be not so great as those of Pegu, which be monstrous huge: but they say all other elephants do feare them, and none dare fight with them, though they be very small. Their women haue a cloth bound about them from their middle to their knee: and all the rest is bare. All of them be blacke and but little, both men and women. Their houses are very little, made of the branches of the palmer or coco-tree, and couered with the leaues of the same tree.

Bengala.

Ceylon.

Blacke people.

The eleuenth of March we sailed from Ceylon, and so doubled the cape of Comori. Not far from thence, betweene Ceylon and the maine land of Negapatan, they fish for pearles. And there is fished euery yere very much; which doth serue all India, Cambaia, and Bengala, it is not so orient as the pearle of Baharim in the gulfe of Persia. From cape de Comori we passed by Coulam, which is a fort of the Portugals: from whence commeth great store of pepper, which commeth for Portugall: for oftentimes there ladeth one of the caracks of Portugall. Thus passing the coast we arriued in Cochin the 22 of March, where we found the weather warme, but scarsity of victuals: for here groweth neither corne nor rice: and the greatest part commeth from Bengala. They haue here very bad water, for the riuer is farre off. This bad water causeth many of the people to be like lepers, and many of them haue their legs swollen as bigge as a man in the waste, & many of them are scant able to go. These people here be Malabars, and of the race of the Naires of Calicut: and they differ much from the other Malabars. These haue their heads very full of haire, and bound vp with a string: and there doth appeare a bush without the band wherewith it is bound. The men be tall and strong, and good archers with a long bow and a long arrow, which is their best weapon: yet there be some caliuers among them, but they handle them badly.

Cape de Comori.

Coulam.

Cochin.

People with swollen legges mentioned also by Ioh. Huygen.

Heere groweth the pepper; and it springeth vp by a tree or a pole, and is like our iuy berry, but something longer like the wheat eare: and at the first the bunches are greene, and as they waxe ripe they cut them off and dry them. The leafe is much lesser then the iuy leafe and thinner. All the inhabitants here haue very little houses couered with the leaues of

How pepper groweth.

the

Blacke people. the coco-trees. The men be of a reasonable stature; the women little; all blacke, with a cloth bound about their middle hanging downe to their hammes; all the rest of their bodies be naked: they haue horrible great eares with many rings set with pearles and stones in them. The king goeth incached, as they do all; he doth not remaine in a place aboue fiue or sixe dayes: he hath many houses, but they be but litle: his guard is but small: he remooueth from one house to another according to their order. All the pepper of Calicut and course cinamom groweth here in this countrey. The best cinamom doth come from Ceylon, and is pilled from fine yoong trees. Here are very many palmer or coco trees, which is their chiefe food: for it is their meat and drinke: and yeeldeth many other necessary things, as I haue declared before.

‖ Or Calicut, or Cinamor. The Naires which be vnder the king of ‖ Samorin, which be Malabars, haue alwayes wars with the Portugals. The king hath alwayes peace with them; but his people goe to the sea to robbe & steale. Their chiefe captaine is called Cogi Alli; he hath three castles vnder him. When the Portugals complaine to the king, he sayth he doth not send them out: but he consenteth that they go. They range all the coast from Ceylon to Goa, and go by foure or fiue parowes or boats together: and haue in euery one of them fifty or threescore men, and boord presently. They do much harme on that coast, and take euery yere many foists and boats of the Portugals. Many of these people be Moores. This kings countrey beginneth twelue leagues from Cochin, and reacheth neere vnto Goa. I remained in Cochin vntill the second of Nouember, which was eight moneths; for that there was no passage that went away in all that time: if I had come two dayes sooner I had found a passage presently. From Goa. Cochin I went to Goa, where I remained three dayes. From Cochin to Goa is an hundred Chaul. leagues. From Goa I went to Chaul, which is threescore leagues, where I remained three and twenty dayes: and there making my prouision of things necessary for the shippe, from thence Ormus. I departed to Ormus; where I stayed for a passage to Balsara fifty dayes. From Goa to Ormus is foure hundred leagues.

Here I thought good, before I make an end of this my booke, to declare some things which India and the countrey farther Eastward do bring forth.

The pepper tree. The pepper groweth in many parts of India, especially about Cochin: and much of it doeth grow in the fields among the bushes without any labour: and when it is ripe they go and gather it. The shrubbe is like vnto our iuy tree: and if it did not run about some tree or pole, it would fall downe and rot. When they first gather it, it is greene; and then they lay it in the Sun, and it becommeth blacke.

Ginger. The ginger groweth like vnto our garlike, and the root is the ginger: it is to be found in many parts of India.

Cloues. The cloues doe come from the Iles of the Moluccoes, which be diuers Ilands: their tree is like to our bay tree.

Nutmegs and maces. The nutmegs and maces grow together, and come from the Ile of Banda: the tree is like to our walnut tree, but somewhat lesser.

The white sandol is wood very sweet & in great request among the Indians; for they grinde it with a litle water, and anoynt their bodies therewith: it commeth from the Isle of Timor.

Camphire. Camphora is a precious thing among the Indians, and is solde dearer then golde. I thinke none of it commeth for Christendome. That which is compounded commeth from China: but that which groweth in canes and is the best, commeth from the great Isle of Borneo.

Lignum Aloes. Lignum Aloes commeth from Cauchinchina.

The beniamin commeth out of the countreys of Siam and Iangomes.

Long pepper. The long pepper groweth in Bengala, in Pegu, and in the Ilands of the Iauas.

Muske. The muske commeth out of Tartarie, and is made after this order, by report of the marchants which bring it to Pegu to sell; In Tartarie there is a little beast like vnto a yong roe, which they take in snares, and beat him to death with the blood: after that they cut out the bones, and

and beat the flesh with the blood very small, and fill the skin with it: and hereof commeth the muske.

Of the amber they holde diuers opinions; but most men say it commeth out of the sea, and that they finde it vpon the shores side. Amber.

The rubies, saphires, and spinelles are found in Pegu. Rubies, saphires and spinels.

The diamants are found in diuers places, as in Bisnagar, in Agra, in Delli, and in the Ilands of the Iauas. Diamants.

The best pearles come from the Iland of Baharim in the Persian sea, the woorser from the Piscaria neere the Isle of Ceylon, and from Aynam a great Iland on the Southermost coast of China.

Spodium and many other kindes of druge come from Cambaia. Spodium.

Now to returne to my voyage; from Ormus I went to Balsara or Basora, and from Basora to Babylon: and we passed the most part of the way by the strength of men by halling the boat vp the riuer with a long cord. From Babylon I came by land to Mosul, which standeth nere to Niniue, which is all ruinated and destroyed: it standeth fast by the riuer of Tigris. From Mosul I went to Merdin, which is in the countrey of the Armenians; but now there dwell in that place a people which they call Cordies, or Curdi. From Merdin I went to Orfa, which is a very faire towne, and it hath a goodly fountaine full of fish; where the Moores hold many great ceremonies and opinions concerning Abraham: for they say he did once dwell there. From thence I went to Bir, & so passed the riuer of Euphrates. From Bir I went to Aleppo, where I stayed certaine moneths for company; and then I went to Tripolis; where finding English shipping, I came with a prosperous voyage to London, where by Gods assistance I safely arriued the 29 of April 1591, hauing bene eight yeeres out of my natiue countrey. Basora. Babylon. Mosul. Merdin. Orfa. Bir. Aleppo. Tripolis.

The report of Iohn Huighen van Linschoten concerning M. Newberies and M. Fitches imprisonment, and of their escape, which happened while he was in Goa.

IN the moneth of December, Anno 1583, there arriued in the towne and Iland of Ormus foure English men, which came from Aleppo in the countrey of Syria, hauing sailed out of England, & passed thorow the straights of Gibraltar to Tripoli a towne and hauen lying on the coast of Syria, where all the ships discharge their wares & marchandises, & from thence are caried by land vnto Aleppo, which is nine dayes iourney. In Aleppo there are resident diuers marchants & factours of all nations, as Italians, French men, English men, Armenians, Turks and Moores, euery man hauing his religion apart, paying tribute vnto the great Turke. In that towne there is great traffique, for that from thence euery yeere twise, there trauell two Caffyls, that is, companies of people and camels, which trauell vnto India, Persia, Arabia, and all the countreys bordering on the same, and deale in all sorts of marchandise, both to and from those countreys, as I in another place haue already declared. Three of the sayd English men aforesayd, were sent by the company of English men that are resident in Aleppo, to see if in Ormus they might keepe any factours, and so traffique in that place, like as also the Italians do, that is to say, the Venetians which in Ormus, Goa, and Malacca haue their factours, and traffique there, aswell for stones and pearles, as for other wares and spices of those countreyes, which from thence are caried ouer land into Venice. One of these English men had bene once before in the sayd towne of Ormus, and there had taken good information of the trade, and vpon his aduise and aduertisement, the other were as then come thither with him, bringing great store of marchandises with them, as Clothes, Saffron, all kindes of drinking glasses, and Haberdashers wares, as looking glasses, kniues, and such like stuffe: and to conclude, brought with them all kinde of small wares that may be deuised. And although those wares amounted vnto great summes of money, notwithstanding it was but onely a shadow or colour, thereby to giue no occasion to be mistrusted, or seen into: for that their principall intent was to buy great quantities of precious stones, as Diamants, Pearles, Rubies, &c. to the which end they brought with them Iohn Newbery had bene in Ormus before. Anno. 1582.

them a great summe of money and golde, and that very secretly, not to be deceiued or robbed thereof, or to runne into any danger for the same. They being thus arriued in Ormus, hired a shoppe, and beganne to sell their wares: which the Italians perceiuing, whose factours continue there (as I sayd before) and fearing that those English men finding good vent for their commodities in that place, would be resident therein, and so dayly increase, which would be no small losse and hinderance vnto them, did presently inuent all the subtile meanes they could to hinder them: and to that end they went vnto the Captaine of Ormus, as then called Don Gonsalo de Meneses, telling him that there were certaine English men come into Ormus, that were sent onely to spie the countrey; and sayd further, that they were heretikes: and therefore they sayd it was conuenient they should not be suffered so to depart, without being examined, and punished as enemies, to the example of others. The Captaine being a friend vnto the English men, by reason that one of them which had bene there before, had giuen him certaine presents, would not be perswaded to trouble them, but shipped them with all their wares in a shippe that was to saile for Goa, and sent them to the Viceroy, that he might examine and trie them, as he thought good: where when they were arriued, they were cast into prison, and first examined whether they were good Christians or no: and because they could speake but badde Portugall, onely two of them spake good Dutch, as hauing bene certaine yeres in the Low countreyes, and there traffiked, there was a Dutch Iesuite born in the towne of Bruges in Flanders, that had bene resident in the Indies for the space of thirty yers, sent vnto them, to vndermine and examine them: wherein they behaued themselues so well, that they were holden and esteemed for good and Catholicke Christians: yet still suspected, because they were strangers, and specially English men. The Iesuites still tolde them that they should be sent prisoners into Portugall, wishing them to leaue off their trade of marchandise, and to become Iesuites, promising them thereby to defend them from all trouble. The cause why they sayd so, and perswaded them in that earnest maner, was, for that the Dutch Iesuite had secretly bene aduertised of great summes of money which they had about them, and sought to get the same into their fingers, for that the first vowe and promise they make at their entrance into their Order, is, to procure the welfare of their sayd Order, by what meanes soeuer it be. But although the English men denied them, and refused the Order, saying, that they were vnfit for such places, neuerthelesse they proceeded so farre, that one of them, being a Painter (that came with the other three for company, to see the countreys, and to seeke his fortune, and was not sent thither by the English marchants) partly for feare, and partly for want of meanes to relieue himselfe, promised them to become a Iesuite: and although they knew and well perceiued he was not any of those that had the treasure, yet because he was a Painter, whereof there are but few in India, and that they had great need of him to paint their Church, which otherwise would cost them great charges, to bring one from Portugall, they were very glad thereof, hoping in time to get the rest of them with all their money into their felloship: so that to conclude, they made this Painter a Iesuite, where he continued certaine dayes, giuing him good store of worke to doe, and entertaining him with all the fauour and friendship they could deuise, and all to winne the rest, to be a pray for them: but the other three continued still in prison, being in great feare, because they vnderstood no man that came to them, nor any man almost knew what they sayd: till in the end it was tolde them that certaine Dutch men dwelt in the Archbishops house, and counsell giuen them to send vnto them, whereat they much reioyced, and sent to me and an other Dutch man, desiring vs once to come and speake with them, which we presently did, and they with teares in their eyes made complaint vnto vs of their hard vsage, shewing vs from point to point (as it is sayd before) why they were come into the countrey, withall desiring vs for Gods cause, if we might by any meanes, to helpe them, that they might be set at liberty vpon sureties, being ready to endure what iustice should ordaine for them, saying, that if it were found contrary, and that they were other then trauelling marchants, and sought to finde out further benefit by their wares, they would be content to be punished. With that we departed from them, promising them to do our best: and in the end we obtained so much of

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the Archbishop, that he went vnto the Viceroy to deliuer our petition, and perswaded him so well, that he was content to set them at libertie, and that their goods should be deliuered vnto them againe, vpon condition they should put in sureties for two thousand pardawes, not to depart the countrey before other order should be taken with them. Thereupon they presently found a Citizen of the towne that was their surety for two thousand pardawes, to whom they payed in hand one thousand and three hundred pardawes, and because they sayd they had no more ready money, he gaue them credit, seeing what store of marchandise they had, whereby at all times if need were, he might be satisfied: and by that meanes they were deliuered out of prison, and hired themselues an house, and beganne to set open shoppe: so that they vttered much ware, and were presently well knowen among all the marchants, because they alwayes respected gentlemen, specially such as bought their wares, shewing great courtesie and honour vnto them, whereby they woon much credit, and were beloued of all men, so that euery man fauoured them, and was willing to doe them pleasure. To vs they shewed great friendship, for whose sake the Archbishop fauoured them much, and shewed them very good countenance, which they knew well how to increase, by offering him many presents, although he would not receiue them, neither would euer take gift or present at any mans hands. Likewise they behaued themselues so discreetly that no man caried an euill eye, no, nor an euill thought towards them. Which liked not the Iesuites, because it hindered them from that they hoped for, so that they ceased not still by this Dutch Iesuite to put them in feare, that they should be sent into Portugall to the King, counselling them to yeeld themselues Iesuites into their Cloister, which if they did, he sayd they would defend them from all troubles, saying further, that he counselled them therein as a friend, & one that knew for certaine that it was so determined by the Viceroyes Priuy councell: which to effect he sayd they stayed but for shipping that should saile for Portugall, with diuers other perswasions, to put them in some feare, and so to effect their purpose. The English men to the contrary, durst not say any thing to them, but answered, that as yet they would stay a while, and consider thereof, thereby putting the Iesuites in comfort, as one among them, being the principall of them (called Iohn Newbery) complained vnto me often times, saying that he knew not what to say or thinke therein, or which way he might be ridde of those troubles: but in the end they determined with themselues to depart from thence, and secretly by meanes of other friendes they imployed their money in precious stones; which the better to effect, one of them was a Ieweller, and for the same purpose came with them. Which being concluded among them, they durst not make knowen to any man, neither did they credite vs so much, as to shew vs their mindes therein, although they tolde vs all whatsoeuer they knew. But on a Whitsunday they went abroad to sport themselues about three miles from Goa, in the mouth of the riuer in a countrey called Bardes, hauing with them good store of meate and drinke. And because they should not be suspected, they left their house and shoppe, with some wares therein vnsolde, in custody of a Dutch boy, by vs prouided for them, that looked vnto it. This boy was in the house not knowing their intent, and being in Bardes, they had with them a Patamar, which is one of the Indian postes, which in the Winter times carieth letters from one place to the other, whom they had hired to guide them: and because that betweene Bardes and the firme land there is but a little riuer, in a maner halfe drie, they passed ouer it on foot, and so trauelled by land, being neuer heard of againe: but it is thought they arriued in Aleppo, as some say, but they know not certainely. Their greatest hope was that Iohn Newbery could speake the Arabian tongue, which is vsed in all those countreys, or at the least vnderstood; for it is very common in all places there abouts, as French with vs. Newes being come to Goa, there was a great stirre and murmuring among the people, and we much woondered at it: for many were of opinion, that we had giuen them counsell so to do: and presently their surety seised vpon the goods remaining, which might amount vnto aboue two hundred pardawes: and with that and the money he had receiued of the English men, he went vnto the Viceroy, and deliuered it vnto him: which the Viceroy hauing receiued, forgaue him the rest. This flight of the English men grieued the Iesuites most, because they had lost such a

The Arabian tongue generall in the East.

praye, which they made sure account of: whereupon the Dutch Iesuite came to vs to aske vs if we knew thereof, saying, that if he had suspected so much, he would haue dealt otherwise, for that he sayd, he once had in his hands of theirs a bagge wherein was forty thousand veneseanders (ech veneseander being two pardawes) which was when they were in prison. And that they had alwayes put him in comfort to accomplish his desire: vpon the which promise he gaue them their money againe, which otherwise they should not so lightly haue come by, or peraduenture neuer, as he openly sayd: and in the ende he called them hereticks, and spies, with a thousand other railing speeches, which he vttered against them. The English man that was become a Iesuite, hearing that his companions were gone, and perceiuing that the Iesuites shewed him not so great fauour, neither vsed him so well as they did at the first, repented himselfe; *and seeing* he had not as then made any solemne promise, and being counselled to leaue the house, and tolde that he could not want a liuing in the towne, as also that the Iesuites could not keepe him there without he were willing to stay, so they could not accuse him of any thing, he tolde them flatly that he had no desire to stay within the Cloister. And although they vsed all the meanes they could to keepe him there, yet he would not stay, but hired an house without the Cloister, and opened shoppe, where he had good store of worke: and in the end married a Mestizos daughter of the towne, so that he made his account to stay there while he liued. By this English man I was instructed of all the wayes, trades, and voyages of the countrey, betweene Aleppo and Ormus, and *of all* the ordinances and *common* customes which they vsually holde during their voyage ouer the land, as also of the places and townes where they passed. And since those English mens departures from Goa, there neuer arriued any strangers, either English or others, by land, in the sayd countreys, but onely Italians which dayly traffique ouer land, and vse continuall trade going and comming that way.

The voyage of M. Iohn Eldred to Trypolis in Syria by sea, and from thence by land and riuer to Babylon and Balsara. 1583.

I Departed out of London in the ship called the Tiger, in the company of M. Iohn Newbery, M. Ralph Fitch, and sixe or seuen other honest marchants vpon Shroue munday 1583, and arriued in Tripolis of Syria the first day of May next insuing: at our landing we went on Maying vpon S. Georges Iland, a place where Christians dying aboord the ships, are woont to be buried. In this city our English marchants haue a Consull, and our nation abide together in one house with him, called Fondeghi Ingles, builded of stone, square, in maner like a Cloister, & euery man hath his seuerall chamber, as it is the vse of all other Christians of seuerall nations. This towne standeth vnder a part of the mountaine of Libanus two English miles distant from the port: on the side of which port, trending in forme of an halfe Moone, stand fiue blocke houses or small forts, wherein is some very good artillery, and the forts are kept with about an hundred Ianisaries. Right before this towne from the seaward is a banke of mouing sand, which gathereth and increaseth with the Westerne winds, in such sort, that, according to an olde prophesie among them, this banke is like to swallow vp & ouerwhelme the towne: for euery yere it increaseth and eateth vp many gardens, although they vse all policy to diminish the same, and to make it firme ground. The city is about the bignesse of Bristow, and walled about, though the walles be of no great force. The chiefe strength of the place is in a Citadell, which standeth on the South side within the walles, and ouerlooketh the whole towne, and is strongly kept with two hundred Ianisaries and good artillery. A riuer passeth thorow the midst of the city, wherewith they water their gardens and mulbery trees, on which there grow abundance of silke wormes, wherewith they make great quantity of very white silke, which is the chiefest naturall commodity to be found in and about this place. This rode is more frequented with Christian marchants, to wit, Venetians, Genouois, Florentines, Marsilians, Sicilians, Raguses, and lately with English men, then any other port of the Turks dominions. From Tripolis I departed the 14 of May with a carauan, passing three dayes ouer the ridge of mount Libanus, at the end whereof we arriued in a city called Hammah, which standeth on a goodly plaine replenished with

The description of Tripolis in Syria.

Store of white silke.

The city of Hammah.

with corne and cotton wooll. On these mountaines which we passed grow great quantity of gall trees, which are somewhat like our okes, but lesser and more crooked: on the best tree a man shall not finde aboue a pound of galles. This towne of Hammah is fallen and falleth more and more to decay, and at this day there is scarse one halfe of the wall standing, which hath bene very strong and faire: but because it cost many mens liues to win it, the Turke will not haue it repaired; and hath written in the Arabian tongue ouer the castle gate, which standeth in the midst of the towne, these words: Cursed be the father and the sonne that shall lay their hands to the repairing hereof. Refreshing our selues one day here, we passed forward with camels three dayes more vntill we came to Aleppo, where we arriued the 21 of May. This is the greatest place of traffique for a dry towne that is in all those parts: for hither resort Iewes, Tartarians, Persians, Armenians, Egyptians, Indians, and many sorts of Christians, and enioy freedome of their consciences, and bring thither many kinds of rich marchandises. In the middest of this towne also standeth a goodly castle raised on high, with a garison of foure or fiue hundred Ianisaries. Within foure miles round about are goodly gardens and vineyards and trees, which beare goodly fruit neere vnto the riuers side, which is but small; the walles are about three English miles in compasse, but the suburbs are almost as much more. The towne is greatly peopled. We departed from thence with our camels the last of May with M. Iohn Newbery and his company, and came to Birrah in three dayes, being a small towne situated vpon the riuer Euphrates, where it beginneth first to take his name, being here gathered into one chanell, whereas before it commeth downe in manifolde branches, and therefore is called by the people of the countrey by a name which signifieth a thousand heads. Here is plenty of victuals, whereof we all furnished our selues for a long iourney downe the aforesayd riuer. And according to the maner of those that trauell downe by water, we prepared a small barke for the conueyance of our selues and of our goods. These boates are flat bottomed, because the riuer is shallow in many places: and when men trauell in the moneth of Iuly, August, and September, the water being then at the lowest, they are constrained to cary with them a spare boat or two to lighten their owne boates, if they chance to fall on the shelds. We were eight and twenty dayes vpon the water betweene Birrah and Felugia, where we disimbarked our selues and our goods. Euery night after the Sun setteth, we tie our barke to a stake, go on land to gather sticks, and set on our pot with rice or brused wheat, and hauing supped, the marchants lie aboord the barke, and the mariners vpon the shores side as nere as they can vnto the same. In many places vpon the riuers side we met with troops of Arabians, of whom we bought milke, butter, egges, and lambs, and gaue them in barter, (for they care not for money) glasses, combes, corall, amber, to hang about their armes and necks, and for churned milke we gaue them bread and pomgranat peeles, wherewith they vse to tanne their goats skinnes which they churne withall. Their haire, apparell, and colour are altogether like to those vagabond Egyptians, which heretofore haue gone about in England. Their women all without exception weare a great round ring in one of their nostrels, of golde, siluer, or yron, according to their ability, and about their armes and smalles of their legs they haue hoops of golde, siluer or yron. All of them as wel women and children as men, are very great swimmers, and often times swimming they brought vs milke to our barke in vessels vpon their heads. These people are very theeuish, which I proued to my cost: for they stole a casket of mine, with things of good value in the same, from vnder my mans head as he was asleepe: and therefore trauellers keepe good watch as they passe downe the riuer. Euphrates at Birrah is about the breadth of the Thames at Lambeth, and in some places narrower, in some broader: it runneth very swiftly, almost as fast as the riuer of Trent: it hath diuers sorts of fish in it, but all are scaled, some as bigge as salmons, like barbils. We landed at Felugia the eight and twentieth of Iune, where we made our abode seuen dayes, for lacke of camels to cary our goods to Babylon: the heat at that time of the yere is such in those parts, that men are loth to let out their camels to trauell. This Felugia is a village of some hundred houses, and a place appointed for discharging of such goods as come downe the riuer: the inhabitants are Arabians. Not finding camels here, we were constrained to vnlade our goods, and hired

Cotton Wooll.

Gall Trees.

Aleppo.

Birrah.

Euphrates shallow.

Eight & twenty dayes iourney by riuer.

Arabians vpon the riuer of Euphrates.

The Arabian women weare golde rings in their nostrels.

Euphrates described.

Felugia.

an hundred asses to cary our English marchandises onely to New Babylon ouer a short desert, in crossing whereof we spent eighteene houres trauelling by night, and part of the morning, to auoid the great heat.

The ruines of olde Babylon.

In this place which we crossed ouer, stood the olde mighty city of Babylon, many olde ruines whereof are easily to be seene by day-light, which I Iohn Eldred haue often beheld at my good leasure, hauing made three voyages betweene the new city of Babylon and Aleppo ouer this desert. Here also are yet standing the ruines of the olde tower of Babel, which being vpon a plaine groūd seemeth a farre off very great, but the nerer you come to it, the lesser and lesser it appeareth; sundry times I haue gone thither to see it, and found the remnants yet standing aboue a quarter of a mile in compasse, and almost as high as the stone worke of Pauls steeple in London, but it sheweth much bigger. The bricks remaining in this most ancient monument be halfe a yard thicke, and three quarters of a yard long, being dried in the Sunne onely, and betweene euery course of bricks there lieth a course of mattes made of canes, which remaine sound and not perished, as though they had bene layed within one yeere.

New Babylon. The city of New Babylon ioineth vpon the aforsayd small desert where the Olde city was,

The riuer Tigris. and the riuer of Tigris runneth close vnder the wall, and they may if they will open a sluce, and let the water of the same runne round about the towne. It is aboue two English miles in compasse, and the inhabitants generally speake three languages, to wit, the Persian, Arabian and Turkish tongues: the people are of the Spaniards complexion: and the women generally weare in one of the gristles of their noses a ring like a wedding ring, but somewhat greater, with a pearle and a Turkish stone set therein: and this they do be they neuer so poore.

This is a place of very great traffique, and a very great thorowfare from the East Indies to Aleppo. The towne is very well furnished with victuals which come downe the riuer of Tigris from Mosul which was called Niniue in olde time. They bring these victuals and diuers

Rafts borne vpon bladders of goats skins. sorts of marchandises vpon rafts borne vpon goats skins blowen vp full of wind in maner of bladders. And when they haue discharged their goods, they sel the rafts for fire, and let the wind out of their goats skins, and cary them home againe vpon their asses by land, to make other voyages downe the riuer. The building here is most of bricke dried in the Sun, and very litle or no stone is to be found: their houses are all flat-roofed and low. They haue no

Seldome rain. raine for eight moneths together, nor almost any clouds in the skie night nor day. Their Winter is in Nouember, December, Ianuary and February, which is as warme as our Summer in England in a maner. This I know by good experience, because my abode at seuerall times in this city of Babylon hath bene at the least the space of two yeeres. As we come to the city, we passe ouer the riuer of Tigris on a great bridge made with boats chained together with two mighty chaines of yron. From thence we departed in flat bottomed barks more strong & greater

Eight & twenty dayes iourney from Babylon to Balsara. then those of Euphrates, and were eight and twenty dayes also in passing downe this riuer to Balsara, but we might haue done it in eighteene or lesse, if the water had bene higher. Vpon the waters side stand by the way diuers townes resembling much the names of the olde prophets: the first towne they call Ozeah, & another Zecchiah. Before we come to Balsara by one dayes iourney, the two riuers of Tigris and Euphrates meet, and there standeth a cas-

Curna castle. tle called Curna, kept by the Turks, where all marchants pay a small custome. Here the two riuers ioyned together begin to be eight or nine miles broad: here also it beginneth to ebbe

Balsara. and flow, and the water ouerflowing maketh the countrey all about very fertile of corne, rice, pulse, and dates. The towne of Balsara is a mile and an halfe in circuit: all the buildings, castle and wals, are made of bricke dried in the Sun. The Turke hath here fiue hundred Ianisaries, besides other souldiers continually in garison and pay, but his chiefe strength is of gallies which are about fiue and twenty or thirty very faire and furnished with goodly ordinance. To this port of Balsara come monethly diuers ships from Ormuz, laden with all sorts of Indian marchandise, as spices, drugs, Indico and Calecut cloth. These ships are vsually from forty to threescore tunnes, hauing their planks sowed together with corde made of the barke of Date trees, and in stead of Occam they vse the shauerings of the barke of the sayd trees, and of the

same

same they also make their tackling. They haue no kind of yron worke belonging to these vessels, saue only their ankers. From this place six dayes sailing downe the gulfe, they g e to a place called Baharem in the mid way to Ormus: there they fish for pearles foure mone.hs in the yeere, to wit, in Iune, Iuly, August, and September. My abode in Balsara was iust sixe moneths, during which time I receiued diuers letters from M. Iohn Newberry from Ormus, who as he passed that way with her Maiesties letters to Zelabdim Echebar king of Cambaia, & vnto the mighty emperour of China, was traiterously there arrested, and all his company, by the Portugals, and afterward sent prisoner to Goa; where after a long and cruell imprisonment, he and his companions were deliuered vpon sureties, not to depart the towne without leaue, at the sute of one father Thomas Steuens an English religious man, which they found there: but shortly after three of them escaped, whereof one, to wit, M. Ralph Fitch, is since come into England. The fourth, which was a painter called Iohn Story, became religious in the college of S. Paul in Goa, as we vnderstood by their letters. I and my companion William Shales hauing dispatched our businesse at Balsara, imbarked our selues in company of seuenty barks ll laden with marchandise, hauing euery barke 14. men to draw them, like our Westerne bargemen on the Thames, and we were forty foure dayes comming vp against the streame to Babylon, where arriuing and paying our custome, we with all other sorts of marchants bought vs camels, hired vs men to lade and driue them, furnished our selues with rice, butter, bisket, hony made of dates, onions and dates: and euery marchant bought a proportion of liue muttons, and hired certaine shepheards to driue them with vs: we also bought vs tents to lie in, and to put our goods vnder: and in this our caruaan were foure thousand camels laden with spices, and other rich marchandises. These camels will liue very well two or three dayes without water: their feeding is on thistles, wormewood, magdalene, and other strong weeds which they finde vpon the way. The gouernment and deciding of all quarels and dueties to be payed, the whole caruaan committeth to one speciall rich marchant of the company, of whose honesty they conceiue best. In passing from Babylon to Aleppo, we spent forty dayes, trauelling twenty, or foure and twenty miles a day, resting ourselues cómonly from two of the clocke in the afternoone, vntill three in the morning, at which time we begin to take our iourney. Eight dayes iourney from Babylon toward Aleppo, neere vnto a towne called Heit, as we crosse the riuer Euphrates by boates, about 3. miles from the town there is a valley wherein are many springs throwing out abundantly at great mouths, a kind of blacke substance like vnto tarre, which serueth all the countrey to make stanch their barkes and boates: for euery one of these springs maketh a noise like vnto a Smiths forge in the blowing & puffing out of this matter, which neuer ceaseth night nor day, and the noise may be heard a mile off continually. This vale swaloweth vp all heauie things that come vpon it. The people of the countrey cal it in their language Babil gehenham, that is to say, Hell doore. As we passed through these deserts, we saw certaine wild beasts, as wild asses all white, Roebucks, wolfes, leopards, foxes, and many hares, whereof we chased and killed many. Aborise the king of the wandring Arabians in these deserts, hath a dutie of 40.s. sterling, vpon euery Camels lode, which he sendeth his officers to receiue of the Caruaans, and in consideration hereof, he taketh vpon him to conduct the sayd Caruaans if they need his helpe, and to defend them against certaine prowling thieues. I and my companion William Shales came to Aleppo with the Caruaan the eleuenth of Iune, 1584. where we were ioyfully receiued 20. miles distant from the towne by M. William Barret our Consull, accompanied with his people and Ianissaries, who fell sicke immediately and departed this life within 8. dayes after, and elected before his death M. Anthonie Bate Consul of our English nation in his place, who laudably supplied the same roome 3. yeeres. In which meane time, I made two voyages more vnto Babylon, and returned by the way aforesayd, ouer the deserts of Arabia. And afterwards, as one desirous to see other parts of the country, I went from Aleppo to Antioch, which is thence 60. English miles, and from thence went downe to Tripolis, where going aboord a small vessell, I arriued at Ioppe, and trauelled to Rama, Lycia, Gaza, Ierusalem, Bethleem, to the riuer of Iordan, and the sea or lake of Zodome, and returned backe to Ioppe, & from thence by sea to Tripolis, of which places because many others haue published

Ships made without yron in the Persian gulfe.

Zelabdim Echebar king of Cambaia.

He returneth from Balsara to Aleppo.

Their prouision of victuals.

A Caruaan of foure thousand Camels.

William Barret Consul in Aleppo.

M. Wil. Barret.

Two voyages more made to Babylon.

published large discourses, I surcease to write. Within few dayes after imbarking my selfe at Tripolis the 22. of December, I arriued (God be thanked) in safety here in the riuer of Thames with diuers English marchãts, the 26. of March, 1588, in the Hercules of London, which was the richest ship of English marchants goods that euer was knowen to come into this realme.

The money and measures of Babylon, Balsara, and the Indies, with the customes, &c. written from Aleppo in Syria, An. 1584. by M. Will. Barret.

BABYLON:

The weight, measure, and money currant there, and the customes of merchandize.

A Mana of Babylon is of Aleppo 1 roue 5 ounces and a halfe: and 68 manas and three seuenth parts, make a quintall of Aleppo, which is 494 li. 8 ounces of London: and 100 manas is a quintall of Babylon, which maketh in Aleppo 146 roues, and of London 722 li. and so much is the sayd quintall: but the marchants accord is by so much the mana, and in the sayd place they bate the tare in all sorts of commodities, according to the order of Aleppo touching the tare.

The measure of Babylon is greater then that of Aleppo 21 in ŷ 100. For bringing 100 pikes of any measurable ware from Aleppo thither, there is found but 82 pikes in Babylon, so that the 100 pikes of Babylon is of Aleppo 121 pikes, very litle lesse.

The currant mony of Babylon are Saies, which Say is 5 medines, as in Aleppo, and 40 medines being 8 Saies make a duckat currant, and 47 medines passe in value as the duckat of gold of Venice, and the dollars of the best sort are worth 33 medines. The roials of plate are sold by the 100 drams at prise, according as they be in request: but amongst the marchants they bargaine by the 100 metrals, which are 150 drams of Aleppo, which 150 drams are 135 single roials of plate: but in the mint or castle, they take the by the 100 drams, which is 90 roials of plate, and those of the mint giue 5 medines lesse in each 100 drams then they are woorth to be sold among the marchants, and make paiment at the terme of 40 dayes in Sayes.

The custome in Babylon, as wel inward as outward, is in this maner: Small wares at 6 per 100, Coral and amber at 5 and a halfe per 100, Venice cloth, English cloth, Kersies, Mockairs, Chamblets, Silks, Veluets, Damasks, Sattins & such like at 5 per 100: & they rate the goods without reason as they lust themselues. The Toafo, Boabo, and other exactions 6 medines per bale, all which they pay presently in ready mony, according to the custome and vse of the emperor.

To the Ermin of the mint ŷ ordinarie vse is to giue 30 Saies in curtesie, otherwise he would by authoritie of his office come aboord, & for despight make such search in the barke, that he would turne all things topsie turuie.

BALSARA:

The weight, measure, and money in the citie of Balsara.

A Mana of Balsara answereth 5 roues 2 ounces & a halfe of Aleppo weight, & 19 manas and one 4 part of Balsara, answereth the quintall of Aleppo, which is 494 roues, 8 ounces English, and 20 manas is the quintall of Balsara, which is 104 Alepine, and of London 514 li. 8. ounces, and so much is the sayd quintall, but the marchants bargaine at so much the mana or wolsene (which is all one) and they abate the tare in euery mana, as the sort of spice is, and the order taken therefore in that place.

The measure of Balsara is called a pike, which is iust as the measure of Babylon, to say, 100 pikes of Balsara make of Aleppo 121 pikes, vt supra in the rate of Babylon.

The currant mony of Balsara is as foloweth. There is a sort of flusses of copper called Estiui, whereof 12 make a mamedine, which is the value of one medine Aleppine, the said mamedine

mamedine is of siluer, hauing the Moresco stampe on both sides, and two of these make a danine, which is 2 medines Aleppine.

The said danine is of siluer, hauing the Turkesco stampe on both sides, & 2 and a halfe of these make a Saie, which is in value as the Saie of Aleppo.

The said Saie is of the similitude and stampe of Aleppo, being (as appeares) 60 estiues. Also one Say and 20 estiues make a larine, which is of Aleppo money 6 medines and a halfe.

The sayd larine is a strange piece of money, not being round as all other currant money in Christianitie, but is a small rod of siluer of the greatnesse of the pen of a goose feather, wherewith we vse to write, and in length about one eight part thereof, which is wrested, so that the two ends meet at the iust halfe part, and in the head thereof is a stampe Turkesco, and these be the best currant money in all the Indias, and 6 of these larines make a duckat, which is 40 medines or eight Saies of Aleppo.

The duckat of gold is woorth there 7 larines, and one danine, which is of Aleppo money 48 medines and a halfe.

The Venetian money is worth larines 88 per 100 meticals, which is 150 drams of Aleppo, vt supra.

The roials of plate are worth 88 larines by the 100 meticals, & albeit among the marchants they sel by the 100 meticals, yet in the mint or castle, they sel by the 100 drams, hauing there lesse then the worth 5 medines in each hundred drams, and haue their paiment in 40 dayes made them in Saies or larines.

The custome of the said places, aswell inward as outward, are alike of all sorts of goods, to say 6 by the 100, and Toafo, Boabo, & scriuan medines 6 by the bale inward & outward, to say, 3 inward, and as much outward: but who so leaueth his goods in the custome house paieth nothing, where otherwise at the taking thereof away, he should pay 3 med. by the bale, and of the said goods there is no other duty to pay, and this commeth to passe whe the customers esteeme the goods too high. For in such a case they may be driuen to take so much commoditie as the custome amounteth to, and not to pay them in money, for such is the order from the Grand Signior.

Hauing paid the custome, it behoueth to haue a quittance or cocket sealed and firmed with the customers hand, in confirmatiõ of the dispatch and clearing, and before departure thence, to cause the sayd customer to cause search to be made, to the end that at the voiages returne there be no cauillation made, as it oftentimes happeneth.

Note that 100 meticals of Balsara weigh 17 ounces and a halfe sottile Venetian, and of Aleppo drams 150, vt supra.

The fraight of the barkes from Ormuz to Balsara, I would say from Balsara to Ormuz, they pay according to the greatnesse thereof. To say, for cariage of 10 cares 180 larines, those of 15 cares 270 larines, those of 20 cares 360 larines, those of 30 cares 540 larines. Note that a cara is 4 quintals of Balsara. They pay also to the pilot of the barke for his owne cariage one care, and to all the rest of the mariners amongst them 3 cares fraight, which is in the whole 4 cares, and paying the aboue sayd prises and fraights, they are at no charges of victuals with them, but it is requisite that the same be declared in the charter partie, with the condition that they lade not aboord one rotilo more then the fraight, vnder paines that finding more in Ormuz, it is forfeit, and besides that to pay the fraight of that which they haue laden.

And in this accord it behoueth to deale warilie, and in the presence of the Ermin or some other honest man (whereof there are but few) for they are the worst people in all Arabia. And this diligence must be put in executiõ, to the end the barks may not be ouerladen, because they are to passe many sands betwixt Balsara and Ormuz.

ORMVZ:

The weight, measure, and money currant in the kingdom of Ormuz:

SPices and drugs they weigh by the bar, and of euery sort of goods the weight is different.

To

To say, of some drugs 3 quintals, and 3 erubi or roues, and other some 4 quintals 25 rotiloes, and yet both is called a barre, which barre, as well as great as litle, is 20 frasoli, and euery frasoli is 10 manas, and euery mana 23 chiansi, and euery chianso 10 meticals and a halfe. Note that euery quintall maketh 4 erubi or roues, and euery roue 32 rotiloes, & euery ro-

What a rotile is. tilo 16 ounces, and euery ounce 7 meticals, so that the quintall commeth to be 128 rotiloes, which is Aleppine 26 rotiloes and one third part, which is 132 li. English weight. And contrarywise 5 quintal of Aleppo (which is 494 rotiloes 8 ounces English) maketh 477 rotiloes and a halfe of Ormuz, which is 3 quintals 2 roues, 29 rotiloes and a halfe.

Note that there are bars of diuers weights, vt supra, of which they bargaine simply, according to the sort of commoditie, but if they bargaine of the great barre, the same is 7 quintals and 24 rotiloes, which is 958 li. 9 ounces of London weight, and of Aleppo 193 rotiloes and a halfe.

Touching the money of Ormuz, they bargaine in marchandize at so many leches by the barre, which lech is 100 Asaries, and maketh larines 100 & a halfe, which maketh pardaos 38. & larines one halfe, at larines 5 by the pardao. One asarie is sadines 10, and euery sadine is 100. danarie.

The larine is worth 5 sadines and one fourth part, so that the sadine is worth of Aleppo mony 1 medine and 1 fourth part, & the larine as in Balsara worth of Aleppo mony 6 medines & a half.

The pardao is 5 larines of Balsara.

There is also stamped in Ormuz a seraphine of gold, which is litle and round, and is worth 24 sadines, which maketh 30 medines of Aleppo.

The Venetian mony is worth in Ormuz larines 88 per 100 meticals, & the roials are worth larines 86 lesse one sadine, which is euery thousand meticals, 382 asures: but those that will not sel them, vse to melt them, and make them so many larines in the king of Ormuz his mint, whereby they cleare 2 per 100, and somewhat more: and this they doe because neither Venetian money nor roials run as currant in Ormuz, per aduise.

The measure of Ormuz is of two sorts, the one called codo which increaseth vpon the measure of Aleppo 3 per 100, for bringing 100 pikes of any measurable wares from Aleppo to Ormuz, it is found in Ormuz to be 103 codes. Also these measures of Ormuz increase vpon those of Balsara and Babylon 25 and two third parts per 100: for bringing 100 pikes of any measurable wares from Balsara or Babylon, there is found in Ormuz 125 codes and two third parts.

The other measure is called a vare, which was sent from the king of Portugall to the India, by which they sell things of small value, which measure is of 5 palmes or spans, and is one code and two third parts, so that buying 100 codes of any measurable wares, and returning to measure it by the sayd vare, there are found but 60 vares, contrarywise 100 vares make 166 codes and two third parts.

Note that al such ships as lade horses in Ormuz for Goa or any other place of India, lading 10 horses or vpwards, in what places soeuer the said horses be taken a shore in the India, the marchādize which is to be discharged out of that ship wherein the said horses come, are bound to pay no custome at all, but if they lade one horse lesse then ten, then the goods are bound to pay the whole custome. And this law was made by Don Emanuel king of Portugall, but it is to be diligently foreseene, whither all those horses laden be bound to pay the king his custome: for many times by the king of Portugall his commandement, there is fauour shewed to the king of Cochin his brother in armes, so that his horses that come in the same ship, are not to answere custome. As for example: If there were 4 horses laden in one ship, all which were to pay custome to the king, and one other of the king of Cochins which were not to pay any custome, the same causeth all the marchandize of that ship to be subiect to pay custome, per aduise. But if they lade ten horses vpon purpose to pay the king his custome in Goa, and in the voyage any of them should die in that case, if they bring the taile of the dead horse to the custome in Goa, then the marchandize is free from all custome, because they were laden in Ormuz to pay custome in Goa. Moreouer, if the horses should die before the midst-

midst of the voyage, they pay no custome at all, and if they die in the mids of the voyage, then they pay halfe custome, but if any horse die after the mid voiage, they pay custome no lesse then if they arriue safe. Notwithstanding, the merchandize (whether the said horses die before or in the mid voyage or after the mid voiage) are free from all custome.

The custome of Ormuz is eleuen in the 100, to say, 10 for the king, and 1 for the arming of the foists: but for small wares as glasses, and looking glasses of all sorts, and such like, made for apparell, pay no custome. But cloth of Woull, Karsies, Mockaires, Chamlets, and all sortes of Silke, Saffron, and such like, pay custome, being esteemed reasonably.

There is also another custome, which they call caida, which is, that one bringing his goods into Ormuz, with purpose to send ỹ same further into India, the same are boūd to pay 3 by the 100, but none other are bound to pay this custome, except the Armenians, Moores, and Iewes: for the Portugals and Venetians pay nothing thereof.

Note ỹ in Ormuz they abate tare of all sorts of commodities, by an order obserued of custome.

The fraight from Ormuz to Chaul, Goa, and Cochin, is as foloweth: Mokaires larines 6 per table of 60 pikes. Aquariosa 8 larines by ordinarie chist, raisins 10 by chist, which is a quintall of roues 128. Ruuia of Chalangi larines 10 per quintall, glasses larines 8 per chist, of 4 foote and a halfe, glasses in great chists 14 & 15 larines by chist. Small wares larines 12 by chist of fiue foot. Tamari for Maschat sadines 2 and a half, and 3 by the fardle. Tamarie for Diu and Chaul 4 sadines, and 4 and a halfe by bale. Other drugs and things which come from Persia pay according to the greatnesse of the bales.

The fraight mentioned, they pay as appeareth, when they ship the sayd goods in ships where horses goe: otherwise not hauing horses, they pay somewhat lesse, because of the custom which they are to pay.

The vse of the India ships is, that the patrones thereof are not at any charge neither with any passenger, nor yet with any mariner in the ship, but that euery one at the beginning of the voyage doe furnish to maintaine his owne table (if he will eate) and for drinke they haue a great iarre of water, which is garded with great custodie.

GOA.

The weight, measure, and mony currant in Goa.

THe quintall of Goa is 5 manas, and 8 larines, & the mana is 24 rotilos, so that the quintall of Goa is 128 rot. and euery rot. is 16 ounces, which is of Venice weight 1 li. and a halfe, so that the quintall of Goa is 192 li. sotile Venice, which is 26 rotiloes 8 ounces Aleppine, and of London weight 132 li. English, as the weight of Ormuz.

All the marchandize, spices and drugs, are sold by this quintal, except some drugs, as lignū de China, Galanga, & others, whereof they bargaine at so much per candill, aduertising that there be two sorts of candill, one of 16 manas, the other of 20 manas, that of 16 manas commeth to be iust 3 quintals, and that of 20 manas, 3 quintals, 3 roues. Note that 4 roues make a quintall, and the roue is 32 rotiloes, as in Ormuz. Note that 4 roues mak a quintall.

There is also another weight which they call Marco, which is eight ounces or halfe a rotilo of Goa, & 9 ounces of Venice sotile: with this they weigh amber, corall, muske, ambracan, ciuet, and other fine wares.

There is also another sort of weight called Mangiallino, which is 5 graines of Venice weight and therewith they weigh diamants and other iewels.

Note that in Goa they vse not to abate any tare of any goods, except of sacks or wraps, & therfore it requireth great aduisement in buying of the goods, especially in the muske of Tartaria which commeth by way of China in bladders, and so weigh it without any tare rebating. Muske of Tartarie by ye way of China.

The measure of Goa is called a tode, which encreaseth vpon the measure of Babylon & Balsara after the rate of 17 & one eight part by the 100, so that bringing 100 pikes of any measurable ware from thence to Goa, it is found 117 pikes 7 eight parts, and bringing 100 codes from Ormuz to Goa, there is found but 93 codes and one fourth part.

There is also the vare in Goa, which is iust as the vare of Ormuz, and therewith they measure onely things that are of small value.

For the mony of Goa, there is a kind of mony made of lead and tin mingled, being thicke and round, and stamped on the one side with the spheare or globe of the world, and on the other side two arrowes & 5 rounds: and this kind of mony is called Basaruchi, and 15 of these make a vinton of naughty mony, and 5 vintons make a tanga, and 4 vintenas make a tanga of base money: so that the tanga of base mony is 60 basaruchies, and the tanga of good mony 75 basaruchies, & 5 tangas make a seraphine of gold, which in marchandize is worth 5 tangas good money: but if one would change them into basaruchies, he may haue 5 tangas, and 16 basaruchies, which ouerplus they cal serafagio, & when they bargain of the pardaw of gold, each pardaw is ment to be 6 tangas good mony, but in marchandize they vse not to demaund pardawes of gold in Goa, except it be for iewels and horses, for all the rest they take of seraphins of siluer, per aduiso.

The roials of plate, I say, the roial of 8 are worth per custome & commandement of the king of Portugall 400 reies, and euery rey is one basaruchie & one fourth part, which maketh tangas 6, and 53 basaruchies as their iust value, but for that the said roials are excellent siluer and currant in diuers places of the India, and chiefly in Malacca, whē the ships are to depart at their due times (called Monsons) euery one to haue the said roials pay more then they are worth, & the ouerplus, as is abouesaid they call serafagio. And first they giue y iust value of the 100 roials of 8, at 5 tangas 50 basaruchies a piece, which done, they giue seraphins 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 15, vntill 22 by the 100, according as they are in request.

The duckat of gold is worth 9 tangas and a halfe good money, and yet not stable in price, for that when the ships depart from Goa to Cochin, they pay them at 9 tangas and 3 fourth partes, and 10 tangas, and that is the most that they are woorth.

The larines are woorth by iust value basaruchies 93 and 3 fourth parts, and 4 larines make a seraphine of siluer, which is 5 tangas of good money, and these also haue serafagion of 6, 7, 8, 10, vntil 16, by the 100, for when the ships depart for the North, to say, for Chaul, Diu, Cambaia, or Bassaim, all cary of the same, because it is money more currant then any other.

There is also a sort of seraphins of gold of the stampe of Ormuz, whereof there are but fewe in Goa, but being there, they are woorth fiue larines and somewhat more, according as they are in request.

There is also another litle sort of mony, round, hauing on the one side a crosse, and on the other side a crowne, which is woorth one halfe a tanga of good money, and another of the same stampe lesse than that which they call Imitiuo de buona moneda, which is worth 18 basaruches 3 fourth parts a piece.

Note that if a man bargaine in marchandize, it behooueth to demaund tangas of good money: for by nominating tangas onely, is vnderstood to be base money of 60 basaruches, which wanteth of the good money vt supra.

The custome of Goa is 8 in the 100 inward, and as much outward, and the goods are esteemed iustly rather to the marchants aduantage then the kings. The custome they pay in this order. Comming with a ship from Ormuz to Goa without horses, they pay 8 in the 100 whether they sell part or all, but if they would carie of the sayd marchandise to any other place, they pay none other custome, except others buy it and carie it foorth of the countrey, and then they pay it 8 in the 100. And if one hauing paied the custome should sell to another with composition to passe it forth as for his proper accounts to saue the custome, this may not be, because the seller is put to his oth, whether he send the goods for his owne account, or for the account of any others that haue bought the same, and being found to the contrary, they pay custome as abouesaid. And in this order the marchants pay of all the goods which come from any part of the Indies. But if they come from Ormuz to Goa with horses, they are not subiect to pay any custome inward, notwithstanding if they send all or any part thereof for any other place, or returne it to Ormuz, they pay the custome outward, although they could not sell.

They

They vse also in Goa amongst the common sort to bargaine for coales, wood, lime & such like, at so many braganines, accounting 24 basaruches for one braganine, albeit there is no such mony stamped. The custome of the Portugals is, that any Moore or Gentile, of what condition or state soeuer he be, may not depart from Goa to go within the land, without licence of certaine deputies deputed for that office, who (if they be Moores or Gentiles) doe set a seale vpon the arme, hauing thereon the armes of Portugal, to be knowen of the porters of the citie, whether they haue the said licence or no.

COCHIN.

The weight, measure, and money, currant in Cochin.

ALl the marchandise which they sell or buy within the sayd citie, they bargaine for it at so many serafines per quintal, which is 128. rotilos of iust weight with ȳ quintall & rotilo of Goa and Ormuz: aduertising that there are diuers sorts of bars according to the sorts of commodities, and in traffiquing, they reason at so much the bar. Note that there are bars of 3 quintals & 3 quintals and halfe, and 4 quintals. They abate a vsed tare of all marchandize, according to the sort of goods, and order taken for the same.

The measure of Goa and Cochin are all one.

The money of Cochin are all the same sorts which are currant in Goa, but the duckat of gold in value is 10 tangas of good money.

The custome of Cochin as wel inward as outward for all strangers, is eight in the hundred, but those that haue bene married foure yeere in the countrey pay but foure in the hundred, per aduiso.

MALACCA.

The weight, measure and money of Malacca.

FOr the marchandise bought and sold in the citie they reckon at so much the barre, which barre is of diuers sorts, great and small, according to the ancient custome of the said citie, & diuersitie of the goods. But for the cloues they bargaine at so much the barre, which barre is 3 quintals, 2 roues and 10 rotilos. As I haue abouesaid, all kind of drugs haue their sorts of barres limited. Note that euery quintal is 4 roues, and euery roue 32 rotilos, which is 128 rotilos the quintall, the which answereth to Aleppo 95 rotilos, and to London 472 li. per quintal.

The measures of Malacca are as the measures of Goa. In Malacca they abate tare according to their distinction and agreement, for that there is no iust tare limited.

For the money of Malacca, the least money currant is of tinne stamped with the armes of Portugall, and 12 of these make a Chazza.

The Chazza is also of tinne with the said armes, and 2. of these make a challaine.

The Challaine is of tinne with the said armes, and 40 of these make a tanga of Goa good money, but not stamped in Malacca.

There is also a sort of siluer money which they call Patachines, and is worth 6 tangas of good money, which is 360 reyes, and is stamped with two letters, S. T. which is S. Thomas on the one side, and the armes of Portugall on the other side.

There is also a kind of mony called Cruzados stamped with the armes of Portugall, & is worth 6 tangas good mony, the larines are euery 9 of them worth 2 cruzados, which is 12 tangas good money, and these larines be of those which are stamped in Balsara and Ormuz.

The roials of 8 they call Pardaos de Reales, and are worth 7 tangas of good money.

The custome of Malacca is 10 in the 100 as wel inward as outward, and those which pay the custome inwards, if in case they send the same goods for any other place within terme of a yeere and a day, pay no custome for the same.

A note of charges from Aleppo to Goa, as foloweth.

FOr camels from Aleppo to Birrha.	Medines 60 per * somme.
For mules from Aleppo to Birrha,	med. 45. per somme.
For custome at Birrha,	med. 10. per somme.
For Auania of the Cady at Birrha,	med. 200.
For 4 dishes raisins, and 20 pounds sope,	med. 35.
For a present to the Ermine the summe of	med. 400.
For a barke of 30 or 35 sommes. Duc. 60 is	med. 2400. per barke.
For meat for the men the summe of	med. 200.
For custome at Racca the summe of	med. 5. per somme.
For 3 platters of raisins, and 15 pounds of sope,	med. 25.
For custome to king Aborissei, Duc. 20. is	med. 800.
For custome at Dea the summe of	med. 230. per barke.
For 4 dishes raisins, and 20. pounds of sope.	med. 35.
For custome at Bosara, the summe of	med. 10. per barke.
For 2 dishes raisins, and 10 pound of sope,	med. 17.
For custome in Anna, in 10 per summe,	med. 10. per somme.
For 4 dishes of raisins, and 20 pound of sope,	med. 35.
For custome in Adite, medines 10 per barke,	med. 10. per barke.
For 2 dishes raisins, and 10 pound of sope,	med. 17.
For custome at Gweke,	med. 10. per barke.
For 2 dishes raisins, and 20 pound of sope,	med. 17.
For custome in Ist,	med. 10. per somme.
For 4 platters raisins, and 20 pound of sope,	med. 35.
Charges of presents at Felugia,	med. 30.
For camels from Felugia to Babylon,	med. 30. per somme.
For custome in Babylon, as in the booke appeareth.	
For a barke from Babylon to Balsara,	med. 900.
For custome of small wares, at Corno,	med. 20. per somme.
For custome of clothes at Corno, the summe of	med. per somme.
For 3 dishes raisins, and 20 pound of sope,	med. 26.

* Or, by the Camels burden.

For fraight from Balsara to Ormus, according to the greatnesse, as in this booke appeareth.
For custome in Ormus, as is abouesaid in this booke.
For fraight from Ormus to Goa, as is in this booke shewed.
For custome in Goa, as is abouesaid.

A declaration of the places from whence the goods subscribed doe come.

CLoues, from Maluco, Tarenate, Amboina, by way of Iaua.	Ginger Belledin, from the Countrie within Cambaia.
Nutmegs, from Banda.	Ginger Sorattin, from Sorat within Cambaia.
Maces from Banda, Iaua, and Malacca.	Ginger Mordassi, frō Mordas within Cambaia.
Pepper Gawrie, from Cochin.	Ginger Meckin, from Mecca.
Pepper common from Malabar.	Mirabolans of all sorts, from Cambaia.
Sinnamon, from Seilan.	White sucket from Zindi, Cambaia and China.
Tinne, from Malacca.	Corcunia, from diuers places of India.
Sandals wilde, from Cochin.	Corall of Leuant, from Malabar.
Sandales domestick, from Malacca.	Chomin, from Balsara.
Verzini, from S. Thomas, and from China.	Requittria, from Arabia Felix.
Spicknard, from Zindi, and Labor.	Garble of Nutmegs from Banda.
Quicksiluer, from China.	Sal Armoniacke, from Zindi and Cambaia.
Galls, from Cambaia, Bengala, Istria & Syria.	Zedoari, from diuers places of India.
Ginger Dabulin, from Dabul.	Cubeb, from China.

Amomum,

Amomum, from China.
Camphora, from Brimeo neere to China.
Myrrha, from Arabia Felix.
Costo dulce, from Zindi, and Cambaia.
Borazo, from Cambaia, and Lahor.
Asa fetida, from Lahor.
Waxe, from Bengala.
Seragni, from Persia.
Cassia, from Cambaia, and from Gran Cayro.
Storax calamita, from Rhodes, to say, from Aneda, and Canemarie within Caramania.
Storax liquida, from Rhodes.
Tutia, from Persia.
Cagiers, from Malabar, and Maldiua.
Ruuia to die withall, from Chalangi.
Alumme di Rocca, from China, and Constantinople.
Chopra, from Cochin and Malabar.
Oppopanax, from Persia.
Lignum Aloes, from Cochin, China, and Malacca.
Demnar, from Siacca and Blinton.
Galangæ, from China, Chaul, Goa, & Cochin.
Laccha, from Pegu, and Balaguate.
Carabbe, from Almanie.
Coloquintida, from Cyprus.
Agaricum, from Alemania.
Scamonea, from Syria, and Persia.
Bdellium, from Arabia felix, and Mecca.
Cardamomum small, from Barcelona.
Cardamomum great. from Bengala.
Tamarinda, from Balsara.
Aloe Secutrina, from Secutra.
Aloe Epatica, from Pat.
Safran, from Balsara, and Persia.
Lignum de China, from China.
Rhaponticum, from Persia, and Pugia.
Thus, from Secutra.
Turbith, from Diu, and Cambaia.
Nuts of India, from Goa, and other places of India.
Nux vomica, from Malabar.
Sanguis Draconis, from Secutra.
Armoniago, from Persia.
Spodio di Cana, from Cochin.
Margaratina, from Balaguate.
Muske from Tartarie, by way of China.
Ambrachan, from Melinde, and Mosambique.
Indico, from Zindi and Cambaia.
Silkes fine, from China.
Long pepper, from Bengala and Malacca.
Latton, from China.
Momia, from the great Cayro.
Belzuinum Mandolalo, from Sian, and Baros.
Belzuinum burned, from Bonnia.
Castorium, from Almania.
Corallina, from the red sea.
Masticke, from Sio.
Mella, from Romania.
Oppium, from Pugia, and Cambaia.
Calamus Aromaticus, from Constantinople.
Capari, from Alexandria and other places.
Dates, from Arabia felix, and Alexandria.
Dictamnum album, from Lombardia.
Draganti, from Morea.
Euphorbium, from Barbaria.
Epithymum, from Candia.
Sena, from Mecca.
Gumme Arabike, from Zaffo.
Grana, from Coronto.
Ladanum, from Cyprus and Candia.
Lapis lazzudis, from Persia.
Lapis Zudassi, from Zaffetto.
Lapis Spongij is found in sponges.
Lapis Hæmatites, from Almanie.
Manna, from Persia.
Auripigmentum, from manie places of Turkie.
Pilatro, from Barbaria.
Pistaches, from Doria.
Worme-seede, from Persia.
Sumack, from Cyprus.
Sebesten, from Cyprus.
Galbanum from Persia.
Dente d'Abolio, from Melinde, and Mosambique.
Folium Indicum, from Goa, and Cochin.
Diasprum viride, from Cambaia.
Petra Bezzuar, from Tartaria.
Sarcacolla, from Persia.
Melleghete, from the West parts.
Sugo di Requillicie, from Arabia felix.
Chochenillo, from the West India.
Rubarbe, from Persia, and China.

The times or seasonable windes called Monsons, wherein the ships depart from place to place in the East Indies.

NOte, that the Citie of Goa is the principall place of all the Orientall India, and the winter there beginneth the 15 of May with very great raine, and so continueth till the first of August, so that during that space, no shippe can passe ouer the barre of Goa, because through the

the continuall shoures of raine all the sandes ioyne together neere vnto a mountaine called Oghane, and all these sandes being ioyned together, runne into the shoales of the barre and port of Goa, and can haue no other issue, but to remaine in that port, and therefore it is shut vp vntill the first of August, but at the 10 of August it openeth by reason of the raine which ceaseth, and the sea doeth then scoure the sands away againe.

The monson from Goa to the Northward, to say, for Chaul, Diu, Cambaia, Daman, Basaim, and other places.

The ships depart betwixt the tenth and 24 of August, for the Northward places abouesayde, and to these places they may saile all times of the yeere, except in the winter, which beginneth and endeth at the times abouesaid.

The monson from the North parts, for Goa.

The ships depart from Chaul, Diu, Cambaia, and other places Northwards for Goa, betwixt the 8 and 15 of Ianuarie, and come to Goa about the end of Februarie.

The first monson from Diu for the straight of Mecca.

The ships depart from Diu about the 15 of Ianuarie, and returne from the straights to Diu in the moneth of August.

The second monson from Diu for the straight of Mecca.

The ships depart betwixt the 25 and first of September, and returne from the straights to Diu, the first and 15 of May.

The monson from Secutra for Ormus.

The ships depart about the tenth of August for Ormus: albeit Secutra is an Iland and hath but few ships, which depart as abouesaid.

The monson wherein the Moores of the firme land come to Goa.

About the fifteenth of September the Moores of the firme lande beginne to come to Goa, and they come from all parts, as well from Balaguate, Bezenegar, as also from Sudalcan, and other places.

The monson wherein the Moores of the firme land depart from Goa.

They depart from Goa betwixt the 10 and 15 day of Nouember. Note that by going for the North is ment the departing from Goa, for Chaul, Diu, Cambaia, Daman, Basaim, Ghassain, and other places vnto Zindi: and by the South is vnderstood, departing from Goa, for Cochin, and all that coast vnto Cape Comori.

The first monson from Goa for Ormus.

The shippes depart in the moneth of October from Goa, for Ormus, passing with Easterly windes along the coast of Persia.

The second monson from Goa to Ormus.

The ships depart about the 20 of Ianuarie passing by the like nauigation and windes as in the first monson, and this is called of the Portugals and Indians Entremonson.

The third monson from Goa to Ormus.

The ships depart betwixt the 25 of March, and 6 of Aprill, hauing Easterly windes, till they passe Secutra, and then they find Westerly windes, and therefore they set their course ouer for the coast of Arabia, till they come to Cape Rasalgate and the Straight of Ormus, and this monson is most troublesome of all: for they make two nauigations in the heigth of Seylan, which is 6 degrees and somewhat lower.

The first monson from Ormus for Chaul and Goa.

The ships depart from Ormus for Chaul, and Goa in the moneth of September, with North and Northeast windes.

The second monson from Ormus for Chaul and Goa.

The second monson is betwixt the fiue and twentie and last of December, with like winds as the former monson.

The third monson from Ormus for Chaul and Goa.

The third monson the ships depart from Ormus, for Chaul and Goa, betwixt the first and 15. of April, and they saile with Southeast windes, East and Northeast windes, coasting vpon the

the Arabia side from Cape Mosandon vnto Cape Rasalgate, and hauing lost the sight of Cape Rasalgate, they haue Westerly windes, and so come for Chaul and Goa, and if the said ships depart not before the 25 of April, they are not then to depart that monson, but to winter in Ormus because of the winter.

The first monson from Ormus for Zindi.

The ships depart for Ormus betwixt the 15 and 20 of Aprill.

The second monson from Ormus for Zindi.

The ships depart betwixt the 10 and 20 of October for Zindi from Ormus.

The monson from Ormus for the red sea.

The ships depart from Ormus betwixt the first and last of Ianuarie.

Hitherto I haue noted the monsons of the ships departing from Goa to the Northward: Now follow the monsons wherein the ships depart from Goa to the Southward.

The monson from Goa for Calicut, Cochin, Seilan, and all that coast.

THe ships depart from those places betwixt the 1 and 15 of August, and there they find it nauigable all the yeere except in the winter, which continueth as is aforesayd, from the 15 of May till the 10 of August. In like maner the ships come from these places for Goa at euery time in the yeere except in the winter, but of all other the best time is to come in Nouember, December and Ianuary. Note.

The first monson from Goa for Pegu.

The ships depart from Goa, betwixt the 15 and 20 of April, and winter at S. Thomas, and after the 5 of August, they depart from S. Thomas for Pegu.

The second monson from Goa for Pegu.

The ships depart from Goa betwixt the 8 and 24 of August, going straight for Pegu, and if they passe the 24 of August, they cannot passe that monson, neither is there any more monsons till April as is aforesaid. Note that the chiefest trade is to take money of S. Thomas for rials, and patechoni, and to goe to S. Thomas, and there to buy Tellami, which is fine cloth of India, whereof there is great quantitie made in Coromandel, and brought thither, and other marchandise are not good for that place except some dozen of very faire Emeraulds orientall. For of golde, siluer, and Rubies, there is sufficient store in Pegu. Marchandize good for Pegu.

The monson from Pegu for the Indies.

The ships depart from Pegu betwixt the 15 and 25 of Ianuarie, and come to Goa about the 25 of March, or in the beginning of April. Note, that if it passe the 10 of May before the sayde ships be arriued in Goa, they cannot come thither that monson, and if they haue not then fet the coast of India, they shall with great perill fetch S. Thomas.

The first monson from Goa for Malacca.

The ships depart betwixt the 15 and last of September, and arriue in Malacca about the end of October.

The second monson from Goa to Malacca.

The ships depart about the 5 of May from Goa, and arriue in Malacca about the 15 of Iune.

The first monson from Malacca to Goa.

The ships depart about the 10 of September, and come to Goa about the end of October.

The second monson from Malacca to Goa.

The ships depart from Malacca about the 10 of February, and come to Goa about the end of March. But if the said ships should stay till the 10 of May, they cannot enter into Goa, and if at that time also they should not be arriued at Cochin, they are forced to returne to Malacca, because the winter and contrary windes then come vpon them.

The monson from Goa for China.

The ships depart from Goa in the moneth of April.

The

The monson from China for Goa.

The ships depart to be the 10 of May in Goa, and being not then arriued, they turne backe to Cochin, and if they cannot fetch Cochin, they returne to Malacca.

The monson from Goa to the Moluccaes.

The ships depart about the 10 or 15 of May, which time being past, the shippes can not passe ouer the barre of Goa for the cause abouesaid.

The monson of the ships of the Moluccaes arriuall in Goa.

The ships which come from the Moluccaes arriue vpon the bar of Goa about the 15. of April.

The monsons of the Portingall ships for the Indies.

The ships which come from Portugall depart thence ordinarily betwixt the tenth & fifteenth of March, comming the straight way during the moneth of Iuly to the coast of Me-
Note. linde, and Mosambique, and from thence goe straight for Goa, and if in the moneth of Iuly they should not be at the coast of Melinde, they can in no wise that yeere fetch Melinde, but returne to the Isle of Saint Helena, and so are not able, that time being past, to fetch the coast of India, and to come straight for Goa. Therefore (as is abouesaid) they returne to the Island of Saint Helena, and if they cannot make the said Island, then they runne as lost vpon the coast of Guinea: but if the said ships be arriued in time vpon the coast of Melinde, they set forwardes for Goa, and if by the fifteenth of September they cannot fetch Goa, they then goe for Cochin, but if they see they cannot fetch Cochin, they returne to
Note. Mosambique to winter there vpon the sayd coast. Albeit in the yeere of our Lord 1580 there arriued the ship called San Lorenzo, being wonderfull sore sea-beaten, the eight of October, which was accounted as a myracle for that the like had not beene seene before.

The monson from India for Portugall.

The shippes depart from Cochin betweene the fifteenth and last of Ianuary, going on till they haue sight of Capo de buona speranza, and the Isle of Saint Helena, which Islande is about the midway, being in sixteene degrees to the South. And it is a litle Island being fruitfull of all things which a man can imagine, with great store of fruit: and this Island is a great succour to the shipping which returne for Portugall. And not long since the said Island was found by the Portugales, and was discouered by a shippe that came from the Indies in a great storme, in which they found such abundance of wilde beastes, and boares, and all sort of fruite, that by meanes thereof that poore ship which had beene foure moneths at sea, refreshed themselues both with water and meate very well, and this Island they called S. Helena, because it was discouered vpon S. Helens day. And vndoubtedly this Island is a great succour, and so great an ayde to the ships of Portugall, that many would surely perish if that helpe wanted. And therefore the king of Portugall caused a Church to be made there for deuotion of S. Helena: where there are onely resident Eremits, and all other are forbidden to inhabite there by the kings commaundement, to the ende that the ships may be the more sufficiently furnished with victuals, because the ships which come frō India come
Note. but slenderly victualled, because there groweth no corne there, neither make they any wine: but the ships which come from Portugall to the Indies touch not in the sayd Island, because they set out being sufficiently furnished with bread and water from Portugall for eight moneths voyage. Any other people then the two Eremites abouesaid, cannot inhabite this Island, except some sicke man that may be set there a shore to remaine in the Eremites companie, for his helpe and recouery.

The monson from Goa to Mosambique.

The ships depart betwixt the 10 and 15 of Ianuarie.

The monson from Mosambique to Goa.

The ships depart betweene the 8 and last of August, and arriue in Chaul or Goa in the moneth of October, till the 15 of Nouember.

The monson from Ormus to Bengala.

The ships depart betwixt the 15 and 20 of Iune, and goe to winter at Teue and depart thence about the 15 of August for Bengala.

The

The voyage passed by sea into Aegypt, by Iohn Euesham Gentleman. Anno 1586.

THe 5 of December 1586 we departed from Grauesend in the Tiger of London, wherein was Master vnder God for the voyage Robert Rickman, and the 21. day at night we came to the Isle of Wight: departing from thence in the morning following we had a faire winde, so that on the 27 day wee came in sight of the rocke of Lisbone, and so sayling along we came in sight of the South Cape, the 29 of the same, and on the morrowe with a Westerly winde we entred the straights: and the second of Ianuary being as high as Cape de Gate, we departed from our fleete towards Argier. And the 4 day we arriued at the port of Argier aforesaid, where we staied till the first of March. At which time we set saile towardes a place called Tunis, to the Eastward of Argier 100 leagues, where we arriued the 8 of the same. This Tunis. Tunis is a small citie vp 12 miles from the sea, and at the port or rode where shipping doe ride, is a castle or fort called Goletta, sometimes in the handes of the Christians, but now of the Turkes; at which place we remained till the third of Aprill: at which time wee set saile towardes Alexandria, and hauing sometime faire windes, sometime contrary, we passed on the 12 day betweene Sicilia and Malta (where neere adioyning hath beene the fort and holde of the knights of the Rhodes) and so the 19 day we fell with the Isle of Candy, and from thence to Alexandria, where we arriued the 27 of April, and there continued till the 5 of October.

The said citie of Alexandria is an old thing decayed or ruinated, hauing bene a faire and great citie neere two miles in length, being all vauted vnderneath for prouision of fresh water, which water commeth thither but once euery yeere out of one of the foure riuers of paradise (as it is termed) called Nilus, which in September floweth neere eighteene foote vpright higher then his accustomed manner, and so the banke being cut, as it were a sluce, about thirty miles from Alexandria, at a towne called Rossetto, it doth so come to the saide Citie, with such aboundance, that barkes of twelue tunne doe come vpon the same water, which water doth fill all the vauts, cesternes, and wels in the said Citie, with very good water, and doth so continue good, till the next yeere following: for they haue there very litle raine or none at all, yet haue they exceeding great dewes. Also they haue very good corne, and very plentifull: all the Countrey is very hot, especially in the moneths of August, September, and October. Also within the saide Citie there is a pillar of Marble, called by the Turkes, King Pharaoes needle, & it is foure square, euery square is twelue foote, and it is in height 90 foote. Also there is without the wals of the said Citie, about twentie score paces, another marble pillar, being round, called Pompey his pillar: this pillar standeth vpon a great square stone, euery square is fifteene foote, and the same stone is fifteene foote high, and the compasse of the pillar is 37 foote, and the heigth of it is 101 feete, which is a wonder to thinke how euer it was possible to set the said pillar vpon the said square stone. The port of the said Citie is strongly fortified with two strong Castles, and one other Castle within the citie, being all very well planted with munition: and there is to the Eastward of this Citie, about three dayes iourney the citie of Grand Cayro, otherwise called Memphis: it hath in it by Cayro. report of the registers bookes which we did see, to the number of 2400 Churches, and is wonderfully populous, and is one dayes iourney about the wals, which was iourneyed by one of our Marriners for triall thereof. Also neere to the saide citie there is a place called the Pyramides, being as I may well terme it, one of the nine wonders of the world: that is, seuen seuerall places of flint and marble stone, foure square, the wals thereof are seuen yards thicke in those places that we did see: the squarenes is in length about twentie score euery square, being built as it were a pointed diamond, broad at the foote, and small or narrow at the toppe: the heigth of them, to our iudgement, doth surmount twise the heigth of Paules steeple: within the saide Pyramides, no man doth know what there is, for that they haue no entrance but in the one of them, there is a hole where the wall is broken, and so we went in there, hauing torch-light with vs, for that it hath no light to it, and within the same, is as it were a great hall, in the which there is a costly tombe, which tombe they say, was made for king Pharao in his life time, but he was not buried there, being drowned

The description of Alexandria.

in the red sea: also there are certaine vauts or dungeons, which goe downe verie deepe vnder those Pyramides with faire staires, but no man dare venter to goe downe into them, by reason that they can cary no light with them, for the dampe of the earth doth put out the light: the red sea is but three dayes iourney from this place, and Ierusalem about seuen dayes iourney from thence: but to returne to Cayro. There is a Castle wherein is the house that Pharaoes wiues were kept in, and in the Pallace or Court thereof stande 55 marble pillars, in such order, as our Exchange standeth in London: the said pillars are in heigth 60 foote, and in compasse 14 foote: also in the said Citie is the castle were Ioseph was in prison, where to this day they put in rich men, when the king would haue any summe of money of them: there are seuen gates to the sayd prison, and it goeth neere fiftie yardes downe right: also, the water that serueth this castle, commeth out of the foresaide riuer of Nilus, vpon a wall made with arches, fiue miles long, and it is twelue foote thicke. Also there are in old Cayro two Monasteries, the one called S. Georges, the other S. Maries: & in the Courts where the Churches be, was the house of king Pharao. In this Citie is great store of marchandize, especially pepper, and nutmegs, which come thither by land, out of the East India: and it is very plentifull of all maner of victuals, especially of bread, rootes, and hearbes: to the Eastwards of Cayro, there is a Well, fiue miles off, called Matria, and as they say, when the Virgin Marie fled from Bethleem, and came into Ægypt, and being there, had neither water, nor any other thing to sustaine them, by the prouidence of God, an Angell came from heauen, and strake the ground with his wings, where presently issued out a fountaine of water: and the wall did open where the Israelites did hide themselues, which fountaine or well is walled foure square till this day. Also we were at an old Citie, all ruinated and destroyed, called in olde time, the great Citie of Carthage where Hannibal and Queene Dido dwelt: this Citie was but narrow, but was very long: for there was, and is yet to bee seene, one streete three mile long, to which Citie fresh water was brought vpon arches (as afore) aboue 25 miles, of which arches some are standing to this day. Also we were at diuers other places on the coast, as we came from Cayro, but of other antiquities we saw but few. The towne of Argier which was our first and last port, within the streights standeth vpon the side of an hill, close vpon the sea shore: it is very strong both by sea and land, and it is very well victualed with all manner of fruites, bread and fish good store, and very cheape. It is inhabited with Turkes, Moores, and Iewes, and so are Alexandria and Cayro. In this towne are a great number of Christian captiues, wherof there are of Englishmen onely fifteene, from which port we set sayle towardes England, the seuenth of Ianuarie, Anno 1587, and the 30 day of the sayd moneth, we arriued at Dartmouth on the coast of England.

Carthage.

Argier.

The second voyage of M. Laurence Aldersey, to the Cities of Alexandria, and Cayro in Aegypt. Anno 1586.

I Embarked my selfe at Bristoll, in the Hercules, a good ship of London, and set saile the 21 day of Februarie, about ten of the clocke in the morning, hauing a merry winde: but the 23 day, there arose a very great storme, and in the mids of it we descried a small boate of the burden of ten tunnes, with foure men in her, in very great danger, who called a maine for our helpe. Whereupon our Master made towardes them, and tooke them into our ship, and let the boate, which was laden with timber, and appertained to Chepetow, to runne a drift. The same night about midnight arose another great storme, but the winde was large with vs, vntill the 27 of the same moneth, which then grew somewhat contrary: yet notwithstanding we held on our course, and the tenth day of March, we described a saile about Cape Sprat, which is a litle on this side the streight of Gibraltare, but we spake not with her. The next day we described twelue saile more, with whom we thought to haue spoken, to haue learned what they were, but they made very fast away, and we gaue them ouer.

Thursday the 16 of March, we had sight of the streights, and of the coast of Barbary. The 18 day we passed them, and sailed towards Patras. Vpon the 23 of March, we met

met with the Centurion of London which came from Genoa, by whom we sent letters to England, and the foure men also which we tooke in, vpon the coast of England, before-mentioned.

The 29 of March we came to Goleta a small Iland, and had sight of two shippes, which we iudged to be of England. Goleta.

Tuesday the fourth of April, we were before Malta, and being there becalmed, our Maister caused the two ship boates to be had out, and they towed the ship, till we were out of sight of the Castle of Malta. The 9 day of April we came to Zante, and being before the towne, William Aldridge, seruant to Master Thomas Cordall of London, came aboord us, with whom our Master and twelue more of our company, thought to haue gone on shoare, but they could not be permitted: so we all came aboard againe, and went to Patras, where we arriued vpon good Friday, and lay there with good entertainement at the English house, where was the Consull Master Grimes, Ralph Ashley, and Iohn Doddington, who very kindly went with vs, and shewed vs the pleasures of the towne. Malta. Zante. Patras.

They brought vs to the house of the Cady, who was made then to vnderstand of the 20 Turks that wee had aboard, which were to goe to Constantinople, being redeemed out of captiuitie, by sir Francis Drake in the West Indies, and brought with him into England, and by order of the Queenes Maiestie sent now into their Countrey. Whereupon the Cady commaunded them to be brought before him, that he might see them: and when he had talked with them, and vnderstood howe strangely they were deliuered, he marueiled much, and admired the Queenes Maiestie of England, who being but a woman, is notwithstanding of such power and renowne amongst all the princes of Christendome, with many other honourable wordes of commending her Maiestie. So he tooke the names of those 20. Turkes, and recorded them in their great bookes, to remaine in perpetuall memory. After this, our foresaid countreymen brought mee to the Chappel of S. Andrew where his tombe or sepulchre is, and the boord vpon which he was beheaded, which boord is now so rotten, that if any man offer to cut it, it falleth to powder, yet I brought some of it away with me.

Vpon Tuesday in Easter weeke, wee set out towards Zante againe, and the 24. of April with much adoe, wee were all permitted to come on shoare, and I was caried to the English house in Zante, where I was very well entertained. The commodities of Zante are Currants and oyle: the situation of the Towne is vnder a very great hill, vpon which standeth a very strong Castle, which commaundeth the Towne. At Zante we tooke in a Captaine and 16. souldiers, with other passengers. Wee departed from Zante vpon Tuesday the 15. of April, and the next day we ankered at a small Iland, called Strivalia, which is desolate of people, sauing a fewe religious men, who entertained vs well, without taking any money: but of courtesie we bestowed somewhat vpon them for their maintenance, and then they gaue vs a couple of leane sheepe, which we caried aboord. The last day of Aprill, wee arriued at Candie, at a Castle, called Sowday, where wee set the Captaine, Souldiers, and Mariners ashoare, which wee tooke in at Zante, with all their carriage. Zante. Strivalia. Candie.

The second day of May wee set saile againe, and the fourth day came to the Islands of Milo, where we ankered, and found the people there very courteous, and tooke in such necessaries as we wanted. The Islands are in my iudgement a hundred in number, and all within the compasse of a hundred miles. May. The Islands of Milo, in olde time called Sporades.

The 11. day, the Chaus, which is the greatest man there in authoritie, for certaine offences done in a litle Chappell by the water side, which they saide one of our shippe had done, and imputed it to mee, because I was seene goe into it three dayes before, came to vs, and made much a doe, so that we were faine to come out of our shippe armed: but by three pieces of golde the brabling was ended, and we came to our shippe. This day wee also set saile, and the next day passed by the Castle of Serpeto, which is an old ruinated thing, and standeth vnder a hils side.

The 13. day we passed by the Island of Paris, and the Island of the bankes of Helicon, and the Island called Ditter, where are many boares, and the women bee witches. The same day also

also wee passed by the Castle of Tino, standing vpon a very high mountaine, and neere vnto it is the Island of Diana.

Sio. The 15. of May, wee came to Sio, where I stayed thirtie and three dayes. In it is a very proper Towne, after the building of that Countrey, and the people are ciuil: and while we were here, there came in sixe Gallies, which had bene at Alexandria, and one of them which was the Admiral, had a Prince of the Moores prisoner, whom they tooke about Alexandria, and they meant to present him to the Turke. The towne standeth in a valley, and a long the water side pleasantly. There are about 26. winde-mils about it, and the commodities of it are cotton wooll, cotton yarne, mastike, and some other drugs.

As we remained at Sio, there grew a great controuersie betweene the mariners of the Hercules, and the Greekes of the Towne of Sio, about the bringing home of the Turkes, which the Greekes tooke in ill part, and the boyes cried out, Viue el Re Philippe: whereupon our men beate the boyes, and threwe stones, and so a broile beganne, and some of our men were hurt: but the Greekes were fetcht out of their houses, and manacled together with yrons, and threatned to the Gallies: about fourtie of them were sent to the prison, and what became of them when we were gone, we know not, for we went thence within two dayes after, which was the 19. of Iune.

Singonina. The 20. day wee passed by the Island of Singonina, an Island risen by the casting of stones in that place: the substance of the ground there is brimstone, and burneth sometimes so much that it bloweth vp the rockes.

The 24. of Iune wee came to Cyprus, and had sight in the way of the aforesaide sixe Gallies, that came from Alexandria, one whereof came vnto vs, and required a present for himselfe, and for two of the other Gallies, which we for quietnesse sake gaue them.

The 27. of Iune, wee came to Tripolie, where I stayed till the fift of Iuly, and then tooke passage in a smal barke called a Caramusalin, which was a passage boat, and was bound for Bichieri, thirteene miles on this side Alexandria, which boate was fraighted with Turkes, Moores, and Iewes.

The 20. day of Iuly, this barke which I passed in ranne vpon a rocke, and was in very great danger, so that we all began some to be ready to swimme, some to leape into the shippe boate, but it pleased God to set vs quickly off the rocke, and without much harme.

Bichieri. The 28. of Iuly I came to Bichieri, where I was well entertained of a Iewe which was the Customer there, giuing me Muskadine, and drinking water himselfe: hauing broken my fast with him, he prouided mee a Camell for my carriage, and a Mule for mee to ride vpon, and a Moore to runne by me to the City of Alexandria, who had charge to see mee safe in the English house, whither I came, but found no Englishmen there: but then my guide brought mee aboord a ship of Alderman Martins, called the Tyger of London, where I was well receiued of the Master of the said ship, whose name was Thomas Rickman, and of all the company.

The English house in Alexandria.

The said Master hauing made me good cheere, and made me also to drinke of the water of Nilus, hauing the keyes of the English house, went thither with me himselfe, & appointed mee a faire chamber, and left a man with me to prouide me all things that I needed, and euery day came himselfe to me, and caried me into the City, and shewed me the monuments thereof, which be these.

The monuments of Alexandria. Hee brought mee first to Pompey his pillar, which is a mighty thing of gray marble, and all of one stone, in height by estimation aboue 52. yards, and the compasse about sixe fadome.

The City hath three gates, one called the gate of Barbaria, the other of Merina, and the thirde of Rossetto.

He brought me to a stone in the streete of the Citie, whereupon S. Marke was beheaded: to the place where S. Katherine died, hauing there hid herselfe, because she would not marry: also to the Bath of S. Katherine.

I sawe there also Pharaos needle, which is a thing in height almost equall with Pompeys pillar, and is in compasse fiue fadome, and a halfe, and all of one stone.

I was

I was brought also to a most braue and daintie Bath, where we washed our selues: the Bath being of marble, and of very curious workemanship.

The Citie standeth vpon great arches, or vawtes, like vnto Churches, with mightie pillars of marble, to holde vp the foundation: which arches are built to receiue the water of the riuer of Nilus, which is for the vse of the Citie. It hath three Castles, and a hundred Churches: but the part that is destroyed of it, is sixe times more then that part which standeth.

The last day of Iuly, I departed from Alexandria towards Cayro in a passage boate, wherein first I went to Rossetto, standing by the riuer side, hauing 13. or 14. great churches in it, their building there is of stone and bricke, but as for lodging, there is litle, except we bring it with vs. Rossetto.

From Rossetto wee passed along the riuer of Nilus, which is so famous in the world, twise as broad as the Thames at London: on both sides grow date trees in great abundance. The people be rude, insomuch that a man cannot traueile without a Ianizary to conduct him.

The time that I stayed in Ægypt was the Turkes and Moores Lent, in all which time they burne lamps in their churches, as many as may hang in them: their Lent endureth 40. dayes, and they haue three Lents in the yere: during which time they neither eate nor drinke in the day time, but all the night they do nothing else. The Turkes Lent.

Betwixt Rossetto and Cayro there are along the water side three hundred cities and townes, and the length of the way is not aboue three hundred miles.

To this famous Citie of Cayro I came the fift day of August, where I found M. William Alday, and William Cæsar, who intertained me in very good sort. M. Cæsar brought mee to see the Pyramides which are three in number, one whereof king Pharao made for his owne tombe, the tombe it selfe is almost in the top of it: the monuments bee high and in forme 4. square, and euery of the squares is as long as a man may shoote a rouing arrowe, and as high as a Church, I sawe also the ruines of the Citie of Memphis hard by those Pyramides. Cayro.

The house of Ioseph is yet standing in Cayro, which is a sumptuous thing, hauing a place to walke in of 56. mighty pillars, all gilt with gold, but I saw it not, being then lame.

The 11. day of August the lande was cut at Cayro, to let in the water of the riuer of Nilus, which was done with great ioy and triumph.

The 12. of August I set from Cayro towards Alexandria againe, and came thither the 14. of August. The 26. day there was kept a great feast of the Turkes and Moores, which lasted two dayes, and for a day they neuer ceased shooting off of great Ordinance.

From Alexandria I sailed to Argier, where I lay with M. Typton Consull of the English nation, who vsed me most kindly, and at his owne charge. Hee brought mee to the kings Court, and into the presence of the King, to see him, and the maners of the Court: the King doeth onely beare the name of a king, but the greatest gouernment is in the hands of the souldiers. The English Consul at Argier.

The king of Potanca is prisoner in Argier, who comming to Constantinople, to acknowledge a duety to the great Turke, was betrayed by his owne nephew, who wrote to the Turke, that hee went onely as a spy, by that meanes to get his kingdome. I heard at Argier of seuen Gallies that were at that time cast away at a towne called Formentera: three of them were of Argier, the other foure were the Christians.

We found here also 13. Englishmen, which were by force of weather put into the bay of Tunis, where they were very ill vsed by the Moores, who forced them to leaue their barke: whereupon they went to the Councell of Argier, to require a redresse and remedy for the iniurie. They were all belonging to the shippe called the Golden Noble of London, whereof Master Birde is owner. The Master was Stephen Haselwood, and the Captaine Edmond Bence.

The thirde day of December, the pinnesse called the Mooneshine of London, came to Argier with a prize, which they tooke vpon the coast of Spaine, laden with sugar, hides, and ginger: the pinnesse also belonging to the Golden Noble: and at Argier they made sale both of shippe and goods, where wee left them at our comming away, which was the seuenth day of Ianuarie, and

and the first day of February, I landed at Dartmouth, and the seuenth day came to London, with humble thankes to Almightie God, for my safe arriuall.

A true report of a worthy fight, performed in the voyage from Turkie, by fiue Ships of London, against 11. Gallies, and two frigats of the King of Spaines, at Pantalarea within the Streights. Anno, 1586. Written by Philip Iones.

THe Marchants of London, being of the incorporation of the Turkey trade, hauing reciued intelligencies, and aduertisements, from time to time, that the King of Spaine grudging at the prosperitie of this kingdome, had not onely of late arrested al English ships, bodies, and goods in Spaine, but also maligning the quiet trafique which they vsed to and in the dominions, and prouinces, vnder the obedience of the Great Turke, had giuen order to the Captaines of his gallies in the Leuant, to hinder the passage of all English ships, and to endeuour by their best meanes, to intercept, take, and spoile them, their persons, and goods: they hereupon thought it their best course to set out their fleete for Turkie, in such strength and abilitie for their defence, that the purpose of their Spanish enemie might the better be preuented, and the voyage acomplished with greater securitie to the men and shippes. For which cause, fiue tall, and stoute shippes, appertaining to London, and intending onely a Marchants voyage, were prouided and furnished with all things belonging to the Seas; the names whereof were these:

1. The Marchant Royal, a very braue and good shippe, and of great report.
2. The Tobie.
3. The Edward Bonauenture.
4. The William, and Iohn.
5. The Susan.

These fiue departing from the coast of England, in the moneth of Nouember 1585. kept together as one fleete, til they came as high as the Isle of Sicile, within the Leuant. And there, according to the order and direction of the voyage, each shippe began to take leaue of the rest, and to separate himselfe, setting his course for the particular port, whereunto hee was bounde: one for Tripolie in Syria, another for Constantinople, the chiefe Citie of the Turkes Empire, situated vpon the coast of Romania, called of olde, Thracia, and the rest to those places, whereunto they were priuatly appointed. But before they deuided themselues, they altogether consulted, of and about a certaine and speciall place for their meeting againe after the lading of their goods at their seuerall portes. And in conclusion, the generall agreement was to meete at Zante, an Island neere to the maine continent of the West part of Morea, well knowen of all the Pilots, & thought to be the fittest place of their Rendeuous. Concerning which meeting, it was also couenanted on eche side, and promised, that whatsoeuer ship of these 5. should first arriue at Zante, should there stay and expect the comming of the rest of the fleete, for the space of twentie dayes. This being done, ech man made his best hast according as winde and wether woulde serue him to fulfill his course, and to dispatch his businesse; and no neede was there to admonish or incourage any man, seeing no time was ill spent, nor opportunitie omitted on any side, in the performance of ech mans duetie, according to his place.

It fell out that the Tobie which was bound for Constantinople had made such good speede, and gotten such good weather, that she first of al the rest came back to the appointed place of Zante, and not forgetting the former conclusion, did there cast ancre, attending the arriuall of the rest of the fleete, which accordingly (their busines first performed) failed not to keepe promise. The first next after the Tobie was the Royal Marchant, which together with the William and Iohn came from Tripolie in Syria, and arriued at Zante within the compasse of the foresaide time limitted. These ships in token of the ioy on all parts conceiued for their happy meeting, spared not the discharging of their Ordinance, the sounding of drums & trumpets, the spreading of Ensignes with other warlike and ioyfull behauiours, expressing by these outward signes, the inward gladnesse of their mindes, being all as ready to ioyne together in mutuall consent to resist the cruel enemie, as now in sporting maner they made

myrth

myrth and pastyme among themselues. These three had not bene long in the hauen, but the Edward Bonauenture also, together with the Susan her consort, were come from Venice with their lading, the sight of whom increased the ioy of the rest, and they no lesse glad of the presence of the others, saluted them in most friendly and kinde sort, according to the maner of the Seas: and whereas some of these ships stoode at that instant in some want of victuals, they were all content to stay in the port, till the necessities of ech shippe were supplied, and nothing wanted to set out for their returne.

In this port of Zante, the newes was fresh and currant, of two seuerall armies and fleetes prouided by the king of Spaine, and lying in waite to intercept them: the one consisting of 30. strong Gallies, so well appointed in all respects for the warre, that no necessary thing wanted: and this fleete houered about the Streights of Gibraltar. The other armie had in it 20 Gallies, whereof some were of Sicilie, and some of the Island of Malta, vnder the charge and gouernment of Iohn Andrea Dorea, a Captaine of name seruing the king of Spaine. These two diuers and strong fleetes waited and attended in the Seas for none, but the English shippes, and no doubt made their accompt and sure reckoning that not a shippe should escape their furie. And the opinion also of the inhabitants of the Isle of Zante was, that in respect of the number of Gallies in both these armies, hauing receiued such streight commandement from the king, our ships and men being but few, and little in comparison of them, it was a thing in humane reason impossible, that wee should passe either without spoiling, if we resisted, or without composition at the least, and acknowledgement of duetie to the Spanish king.

But it was neither the report of the attendance of these armies, nor the opinions of the people, nor any thing else, that could daunt or dismay the courages of our men, who grounding themselues vpon the goodnesse of their cause, and the promise of God, to bee deliuered from such as without reason sought their destruction, caried resolute mindes, notwithstanding all impediments to aduenture through the Seas, and to finish their Nauigation, maugre the beards of the Spanish souldiers. But least they should seeme too carelesse, and too secure of their estate, and by laying the whole and entire burden of their safetie vpon Gods prouidence, should foolishly presume altogether of his helpe, and neglect the meanes which was put into their handes, they failed not to enter into counsell among themselues, and to deliberate aduisedly for their best defence. And in the end with generall consent, the Marchant Royall was appointed Admirall of the fleete, and the Tobie Viceadmiral, by whose orders the rest promised to be directed, and ech shippe vowed not to breake from another, whatsoeuer extremitie should fall out, but to stand to it to the death, for the honour of their Countrey, and the frustrating of the hope of the ambitious and proud enemie.

Thus in good order they left Zante and the Castle of Græcia, and committed themselues againe to the Seas, and proceeded in their course and voyage in quietnes, without sight of any enemie, till they came neere to Pantalarea, an Island so called, betwixt Sicilie, and the coast of Africke: into sight whereof they came the 18. day of July 1586. And the same day in the morning about 7. of the clocke they descried 19. sailes in number, which were of the Gallies, lying in waite of purpose for them, in and about that place. As soone as the English ships had spied them, they by and by according to a common order, made themselues ready for a fight, layed out their Ordinance, scoured, charged, and primed them, displayed their ensignes, and left nothing vndone to arme themselues throughly. In the meane time, the Gallies more and more approched the ships, and in their banners there appeared the armes of the Isles of Sicilia, and Malta, being all as then in the seruice and pay of the Spaniard. Immediatly, both the Admirals of the Gallies sent from ech of them a frigate, to the Admiral of our English ships, which being come neere them, the Sicilian frigat first hailed them, and demanded of them whence they were? They answered that they were of England, the armes whereof appeared in their colours. Whereupon the saide frigat expostulated with them, and asked why they delayed to sende or come with their Captaines and pursers to Don Pedro de Leiua their Generall, to acknowledge their duty and obedience to him in the name of the Spanish king, Lord of those seas? Our men replied, and said, that they owed no such duetie nor obedience to him, and therefore would acknowledge none, but commanded

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the frigat to depart with that answere, and not to stay longer a brabling, vpon her perill. With that away she went, and vp comes towards them the other frigat of Malta, and shee in like sort hailed the Admiral, and would needs know whence they were, and where they had bene. Our Englishmen in the Admirall, not disdaining an answere, tolde them that they were of England, Marchants of London, had bene at Turkie, and were now returning home: and to be requited in this case, they also demaunded of the frigat whence she and the rest of the gallies were: the messenger answered, we are of Malta, and for mine owne part my name is Caullero. These gallies are in seruice and pay to the king of Spaine, vnder the conduct of Don Pedro de Leiua a noble man of Spaine, who hath bene commanded hither by the King with this present force and armie, of purpose to intercept you. You shall therefore (quoth he) do well to repaire to him to know his pleasure, he is a noble man of good behauiour and courtesie, and meanes you no ill. The Captaine of the English Admiral, whose name was M. Edward Wilkinson, replied and said. We purpose not at this time to make triall of Don Pedro his courtesie, whereof we are suspitious and doubtful, and not without good cause: vsing withall good words to the messenger, and willing him to come aboord him, promising securitie and good vsage, that thereby he might the better knowe the Spaniards minde: whereupon hee in deed left his frigat, and came aboord him, whom hee intertained in friendly sort, and caused a cuppe of wine to be drawne for him, which he tooke and beganne, with his cap in his hand, and with reuerend termes to drinke to the health of the Queene of England, speaking very honourably of her Maiestie, and giuing good speeches of the courteous vsage and interteinement that he himselfe had receiued in London, at the time that the duke of Alenson, brother to the late French king was last in England: and after he had well drunke, hee tooke his leaue, speaking well of the sufficiencie and goodnesse of our shippes, and especially of the Marchant Royal, which he confessed to haue seene before, riding in the Thames neere London. He was no sooner come to Don Pedro de Leiua the Spanish general, but he was sent off againe, and returned to the English Admirall, saying that the pleasure of the Generall was this, that either their Captaines, Masters and Pursers should come to him with speed, or else hee would set vpon them, and either take them or sinke them. The reply was made by M. Wilkinson aforesaid, that not a man should come to him; and for the bragge and threat of Don Pedro, it was not that Spanish brauado that should make them yeeld a iot to their hinderance, but they were as ready to make resistance, as he to offer an iniurie. Whereupon Caullero the messenger left bragging, and began to persuade them in quiet sort and with many wordes, but all his labour was to no purpose, and as his threat did nothing terrifie them, so his perswasion did nothing mooue them to doe that which hee required. At the last he intreated to haue the Marchant of the Admirall caried by him as a messenger to the Generall, that so he might be satisfied, and assured of their mindes by one of their owne company. But M. Wilkinson would agree to no such thing, although Richard Rowit the marchant himselfe seemed willing to bee imployed in that message, and laboured by reasonable perswasions to induce M. Wilkinson to graunt it, as hoping to be an occasion by his presence and discreet answeres to satisfie the Generall, and thereby to saue the effusion of Christian blood, if it should grow to a battel. And he seemed so much the more willing to be sent, by how much deeper the othes and protestations of this Caullero were, that he would (as hee was a true knight and a souldier) deliuer him backe againe in safetie to his company. Albeit, M. Wilkinson, which by his long experience had receiued sufficient triall of Spanish inconstancie and periurie, wished him in no case to put his life and libertie in hazard vpon a Spaniards othe. But at last, vpon much intreatie, hee yeelded to let him go to the General, thinking in deed, that good speeches and answeres of reason would haue contented him, whereas otherwise refusall to do so, might peraduenture haue prouoked the more discontentment.

M. Rowit therefore passing to the Spanish Generall, the rest of the Gallies hauing espied him, thought in deed that the English were rather determined to yeelde, then to fight, and therefore came flocking about the frigat, euery man crying out, Que nueuas, que nueuas, Haue these Englishmen yeelded? the frigate answered, Not so, they neither haue, nor purpose

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to yeeld, onely they haue sent a man of their company to speake with our Generall: and being come to the Gallie wherein he was, he shewed himselfe to M. Rowit in his armour, his guard of souldiers attending vpon him in armour also, and began to speake very proudly in this sort: Thou Englishman, from whence is your fleete, why stand ye aloofe off, knowe ye not your duetie to the Catholique King, whose person I here represent? Where are your billes of lading, your letters, pasports, and the chiefe of your men? Thinke ye my attendance in these seas to be in vaine, or my person to no purpose? Let al these things be done out of hand as I command, vpon paine of my further displeasure and the spoyle of you all: These wordes of the Spanish Generall were not so outragiously pronounced as they were mildly answered by M. Rowit, who tolde him that they were al Marchantmen, vsing trafique in honest sort, and seeking to passe quietly, if they were not vrged further then reason. As for the king of Spaine, he thought (for his part) that there was amitie betwixt him and his Souereigne the Queene of England, so that neither he nor his officers should goe about to offer any such iniurie to English Marthants, who as they were farre from giuing offence to any man, so they would be loath to take an abuse at the handes of any, or sit downe to their losse, where their abilitie was able to make defence. And as touching his commandement aforesaide, for the acknowledging of duetie, in such particular sort, he told him, that were there was no duetie owing, there none should be performed, assuring him that their whole company and shippes in generall stood resolutely vpon the negatiue, and would not yeeld to any such vnreasonable demaund, ioyned with such imperious and absolute maner of commanding. Why then, said he, if they wil neither come to yeeld, nor shew obedience to me in the name of my king, I wil either sinke them or bring them to harbor, and so tell them from me. With that the frigat came away with M. Rowit, and brought him aboord the English Admiral againe according to promise: who was no sooner entred in, but by and by defiance was sounded on both sides: the Spaniards hewed off the noses of the Gallies, that nothing might hinder the leuell of the shot, and the English on the other side courragiously prepared themselues to the combat, euery man according to his roome, bent to performe his office with alacritie and diligence. In the meane time a Cannon was discharged from the Admirall of the gallies, which being the onset of the fight, was presently answered by the English Admirall with a Culuering: so the skirmish began, and grew hot and terrible, there was no powder nor shot spared: ech English ship matched it selfe in good order against two Spanish Gallies, besides the inequalitie of the frigats on the Spaniards side: and although our men performed their parts with singular valure according to their strength, insomuch that the enemie as amased therewith would oftentimes pause and stay, and consult what was best to be done, yet they ceased not in the midst of their businesse to make prayer to Almighty God the reuenger of al euils, and the giuer of victories, that it would please him to assist them in that good quarell of theirs, in defending themselues against so proud a tyrant, to teach their handes to warre, and their fingers to fight, that the glory of the victory might redound to his Name, and to the honor of true Religion which the insolent enemie sought so much to ouerthrowe. Contrarily, the foolish Spaniardes cried out according to their maner, not to God, but to our Lady (as they terme the virgin Mary) saying O Lady helpe, O blessed Lady giue vs the victory, and the honor thereof shalbe thine. Thus with blowes & prayers on both sides the fight continued furious and sharpe, and doubtfull a long time to which part the victorie would incline: til at the last the Admiral of the Gallies of Sicilie began to warpe from the fight, and to holde vp her side for feare of sinking, and after her went also two others in like case, whom al the sort of them inclosed, labouring by all their meanes to keepe them aboue water, being ready by the force of English shot which they had receiued to perish in the seas: & what slaughter was done among the Spaniards themselues, the English were vncertaine, but by a probable coniecture apparant afar off, they supposed their losse was so great, that they wanted men to continue the charging of their pieces: whereupon with shame and dishonor, after 5. houres spent in the battel, they withdrew themselues: and the English contented in respect of their deepe lading, rather to continue their voyage then to follow the chase, ceased from farther blowes: with the losse onely of two men slaine amongst them all, and another

A fight of fiue houres.

hurt in his arme, whom M. Wilkinson with his good words and friendly promises did so comfort, that he nothing esteemed the smart of his wound in respect of the honour of the victory, and the shameful repulse of the enemy.

Thus with duetiful thankes to the mercy of God for his gracious assistance in that danger, the English ships proceeded in their Nauigation, and comming as high as Alger, a port towne vpon the coast of Barbary, they fell with it, of purpose to refresh themselues after their wearinesse, and to take in such supply of fresh water & victuals, as they needed: they were no sooner entred into the port, but immediatly the king thereof sent a messenger to the ships to knowe what they were, with which messenger the chiefe master of ech shippe repaired to the king, and acquainted him not onely with the state of their ships in respect of marchandize, but with the late fight which they had passed with the Spanish Gallies, reporting euery particular circumstance in word as it fell out in action: whereof the said king shewed himselfe marueilous glad, interteining them in the best sort, and promising abundant reliefe of all their wants, making generall proclamation in the city vpon paine of death, that no man of what degree or state soeuer he were, should presume either to hinder them in their affaires, or to offer them any maner of iniurie in body or goods. By vertue whereof they dispatched al things in excellent good sort, with al fauor & peaceablenesse: only such prisoners and captiues of the Spaniards as were in the Citie, seeing the good vsage which they receiued, and hearing also what seruice they had performed against the foresaide Gallies, grudged exceedingly against them, and sought as much as they could to practise some mischiefe against them: and one amongst the rest seeing an Englishman alone in a certaine lane of the Citie, came vpon him suddenly, and with his knife thrust him in the side, yet made no such great wound, but that it was easily recouered. The English company hearing of it, acquainted the king with the fact, who immediatly sent both for the party that had receiued the wound and the offender also, and caused an executioner in the presence of himselfe and the English, to chastise the slaue euen to death, which was performed to the ende that no man should presume to commit the like part, or to doe any thing in contempt of his royal commandement.

The English hauing receiued this good iustice at the kings hands, and al other things that they wanted, or could craue for the furnishing of their shippes, tooke their leane of him, and of the rest of their friendes, that were resident in Alger, and put out to Sea, looking to meete with the second army of the Spanish king, which waited for them about the mouth of the Straights of Gibraltar, which they were of necessitie to passe. But comming neere to the said Streight, it pleased God to raise at that instant a very darke and mistie fogge, so that one ship coulde not discerne another, if it were 40. paces off: by meanes whereof, together with the notable faire Easterne winds that then blewe most fit for their course, they passed with great speed through the Streight, and might haue passed with that good gale, had there bene 500. Gallies to withstand them, and the aire neuer so cleare for euery ship to be seene.

The second Spanish fleete lying in waite for the English.

But yet the Spanish Gallies had a sight of them when they were come within 3. English miles of the towne, and made after them in all possible haste, and although they saw that they were farre out of their reach, yet in a vaine fury and foolish pride, they shot off their Ordipance, and made a stirre in the Sea as if they had bene in the midst of them, which vanitie of theirs ministred to our men notable matter of pleasure and mirth, seeing men to fight with shadowes, and to take so great paines to so small purpose.

But thus it pleased God to deride, and delude all the forces of that proud Spanish king, which he had prouided of purpose to distresse the English, who notwithstanding passed through both his Armies, in the one, little hurt, and in the other nothing touched, to the glory of his immortall Name, the honour of our Prince and Countrey, and the iust commendation of ech mans seruice performed in that voyage.

The returne of Master William Harborne from Constantinople ouer land to London 1588.

I Departed from Constantinople with 30. persons of my suit and family the 3. of August. Passing through the Countries of Thracia, now called Romania the great, Valachia & Moldauia,

dauia, where ariuing the 5. of September I was according to the Grand Signior his commandement very courteously interteined by Peter his positiue prince, a Greeke by profession, with whom was concluded that her Maiesties subiects there trafiquing should pay but three vpon the hundreth, which as well his owne Subiects as all other nations answere: whose letters to her Maiestie be extant. Whence I proceeded into Poland, where the high Chancelor sent for mee the 27. of the same moneth. And after most honorable intertainment imparted with me in secret maner the late passed and present occurrents of that kingdome, & also he writ to her Maiestie.

The letters of the Prince of Moldauia to the Queene. Letters of the Chancelor of Poland to the Queene.

Thence I hasted vnto Elbing, where the 12. of October I was most friendly welcomed by the Senate of that City, whom I finde and iudge to be faithfully deuoted to her Maiesties seruice, whose letters likewise vnto the same were presented me. No lesse at Dantzik the 27. of that moneth I was courteously receiued by one of the Buroughmasters accompanied with two others of the Senate, & a Ciuil doctor their Secretarie. After going through the land of Pomer I rested one day at Stetin, where, for that ỹ duke was absent, nothing ensued. At Rostoke I passed through the Citie without any stay, and at Wismar receiued like friendly greeting as in the other places: but at Lubeck, for that I came late and departed early in the morning, I was not visited. At Hamburg the 19. of Nouember, and at Stoad the ninth of December in like maner I was saluted by a Boroughmaster and the Secretarie, and in all these places they presented mee sundry sorts of their best wine and fresh fish, euery of them with a long discourse, congratulating, in the names of their whole Senate, her Maiesties victory ouer the Spaniard, and my safe returne, concluding with offer of their ready seruice to her future disposing. Yet the Dantziks after my departure thence caused the Marchants to pay custome for the goods they brought with them in my company, which none other towne neither Infidels nor Christians on ỹ way euer demanded. And notwithstanding the premisses, I was most certainly informed of sundry of our nation there resident that most of the Hansetowns vpon the sea coasts, especially Dantzik, Lubeck, and Hamborough haue laden and were shipping for Spaine, great prouision of corne, cables, ropes, powder, saltpeter, hargubusses, armour, iron, leade, copper, and all other munition seruing for the warre. Whereupon I gather their fained courtesie proceeded rather for feare then of any good affection vnto her Maiesties seruice, Elbing and Stoad onely excepted, which of duetie for their commoditie ỹ esteemed well affected.

The priuilege of Peter the Prince of Moldauia graunted to the English Marchants.

PEtrus Dei gratia princeps Valachiæ & Moldauiæ; significamus præsentibus, vniuersis & singulis quorum interest ac intererit, quòd cum magnifico domino Guilielmo Hareborne oratore Serenissimæ ac potentissimæ dominæ, dominæ Elizabethæ Dei gratia Angliæ, Franciæ, ac Hiberniæ Reginæ apud Serenissimum ac potentissimum Turcarum Imperatorem hanc constitutionem feccrimus: Nimirùm vt dehinc suæ Serenitatis subditis, omnibúsque mercatoribus integrum sit hîc in prouincia nostra commorandi, conuersandi, mercandi, vendendi, contrahendique, imo omnia exercendi, quæ mercaturæ ac vitæ humanæ societas vsúsque requirit, sine vlla alicuius contradictione, aut inhibitione: saluo ac integro tamen iure Telonij nostri; hoc est, vt a singulis rebus centum ducatorum pretij, tres numerent. Quod ratum ac firmum constitutione nostra haberi volumus. In cuius rei firmius testimonium, sigillum nostrum appressum est. Actum in castris nostris die 27. mensis Augusti, anno Domini 1588.

The same in English.

PEter by the grace of God prince of Valachia and Moldauia; we signifie by these presents to all and singuler persons, whom it doth or shall concerne, that we haue made this agreement with the worthy gentleman William Hareborne Ambassador of the right high and mighty prince, the Lady Elizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England, France and Ireland, with the most puissant and mightie Emperour of the Turkes: To witte, that from henceforth it shalbe lawfull for her highnesse subiects and all her Marchants, to remaine, conuerse, buy, sel,

sel, bargaine and exercise all such things, as the trade of marchandise, and humane societie and vse requireth, without any hinderance or let: the right of our Custome alwayes reserued; That is, that they pay three ducats vpon all such things as amount to the price of one hundred ducats. Which by this our ordinance we command to be surely and firmely obserued; For the more assured testimony whereof, our seale is hereunto annexed. Giuen in our Campe the 27. of the moneth of August in the yeere of our Lord 1588.

A briefe extract specifying the certaine dayly paiments, answered quarterly in time of peace, by the Grand Signior, out of his Treasurie, to the Officers of his Seraglio or Court, successiuely in degrees: collected in a yeerely totall summe, as followeth.

FOr his owne diet euery day, one thousand and one aspers, according to a former custome receiued from his auncestors: notwithstanding that otherwise his diurnall expence is very much, and not certainly knowen, which summe maketh sterling money by the yere, two thousand, one hundred, 92. pounds, three shillings, eight pence.

The fiue and fourtie thousand Ianizaries dispersed in sundry places of his dominions, at sixe aspers the day, amounteth by the yeere to fiue hundreth, fourescore and eleuen thousand, and three hundreth pounds.

The Azamoglans, tribute children, farre surmount that number, for that they are collected from among the Christians, from whom betweene the yeeres of sixe and twelue, they are pulled away yeerely perforce: whereof I suppose those in seruice may be equall in number with the Ianizaries abouesayd, at three aspers a day, one with another, which is two hundred fourescore and fifteene thousand, sixe hundred and fiftie pounds.

The fiue Bassas, whereof the Viceroy is supreme, at one thousand aspers the day, besides their yerely reuenues, amounteth sterling by the yeere to ten thousand, nine hundred and fiftie pounds.

The fiue Beglerbegs, chiefe presidents of Greece, Hungary and Sclauonia, being in Europe, in Natolia, and Caramania of Asia, at one thousande aspers the day: as also to eighteene other gouernours of Prouinces, at fiue hundred aspers the day, amounteth by the yeere, to thirtie thousand sixe hundred, and threescore pounds.

The Bassa, Admirall of the Sea, one thousand aspers the day, two thousand, one hundred foure score and ten pounds.

The Aga of the Ianizaries, generall of the footemen, fiue hundred aspers the day, and maketh by the yeere in sterling money, one thousand, fourescore and fifteene pounds.

The Imbrahur Bassa, Master of his horse, one hundred and fiftie aspers the day, is sterling money, three hundred and eight and twenty pounds.

The chiefe Esquire vnder him, one hundred and fiftie aspers, is three hundred and eight and twenty pounds.

The Agas of the Spahi, Captaines of the horsemen, sixe, at one hundred and fiftie aspers to either of them, maketh sterling, one thousand, nine hundred, three score and eleuen pounds.

The Capagi Bassas head porters foure, one hundred and fiftie aspers to ech, and maketh out in sterling money by the yeere, one thousand, three hundred, and foureteene pounds.

The Sisinghir Bassa, Controller of the housholde, one hundred and twentie aspers the day, and maketh out in sterling money by the yeere, two hundred, threescore and two poundes, sixteene shillings.

The Chaus Bassa, Captaine of the Pensioners, one hundred and twentie aspers the day, and amounteth to by the yeere in sterling money, two hundred, threescore and two pounds, sixteene shillings.

The Capigilar Caiasi, Captaine of his Barge, one hundreth and twentie aspers the day, and maketh out by the yeere in sterling money, two hundred, threescore and two poundes, sixteene shillings.

The

The Solach Bassi, Captaine of his guard, one hundred and twentie aspers, two hundred, three score and two pounds, sixteene shillings.

The Giebrigi Bassi, master of the armoury, one hundred and twentie aspers, two hundred, three score and two pounds, sixteene shillings.

The Topagi Bassi, Master of the artillerie, one hundred and twentie aspers, two hundred, three score and two pounds, sixteene shillings.

The Echim Bassi, Phisition to his person, one hundred and twentie aspers, two hundred, three score and two pounds, sixteene shillings.

To fourtle Phisitions vnder him, to ech fourtie aspers, is three thousand, eight hundred, three score and sixe pounds, sixteene shillings.

The Mustafaracas spearemen, attending on his person, in number fiue hundred, to either three score aspers, and maketh sterling, threescore and fiue thousand, and seuen hundred pounds.

The Cisingeri gentlemen, attending vpon his diet, fourtie, at fourtie aspers ech of them, and amounteth to sterling by the yeere, three thousand, fiue hundred and foure pounds.

The Chausi Pensioners, foure hundred and fourtie, at thirtie aspers, twenty eight thousand, nine hundred, and eight pounds.

The Capagi porters of the Court and City, foure hundred, at eight aspers, and maketh sterling money by the yeere, seuen thousand, and eight pounds.

The Solachi, archers of his guard, three hundreth and twenty, at nine aspers, and commeth vnto in English money, the summe of sixe thousand, three hundred and sixe pounds.

The Spahi, men of Armes of the Court and the City, ten thousand, at twenty fiue aspers, and maketh of English money, fiue hundred, forty and seuen thousand, and fiue hundred pounds.

The Ianizaires sixteene thousand, at six aspers, is two hundred and ten thousand, and two hundred and forty pounds.

The Giebegi furbushers of armor, one thousand, fiue hundred, at sixe aspers, and amounteth to sterling money, nineteene thousand, seuen hundred, and fourescore pounds.

The Seiesir, scruitors in his Equier or stable, fiue hundred, at two aspers, and maketh sterling money, two thousand, one hundred, fourescore and ten pounds.

The Sacsi, Sadlers and bit makers, fiue hundred, at seuen aspers, seuen thousand, six hundred, threescore and fiue pounds.

The Catergi, Carriers vpon Mules, two hundred, at fiue aspers, two thousand, one hundred, fourescore and ten pounds.

The Cinegi, Carriers vpon Camels, one thousand, fiue hundred, at eight aspers, and amounteth in sterling money, to twenty sixe thousand, two hundred, and fourescore pounds.

The Reiz, or Captaines of the Gallies, three hundred, at ten aspers, and amounteth in English money by the yeere, the summe of sixe thousand, fiue hundred, threescore and ten pounds.

The Alechingi, Masters of the said Gallies, three hundred, at seuen aspers, foure thousand, fiue hundred, fourescore and nineteene pounds.

The Getti, Boateswaines thereof, three hundred, at sixe aspers, is three thousande, nine hundred, fourty and two pounds.

The Oda Basi, Pursers, three hundred, at fiue aspers, maketh three thousand two hundred, and fourescore pounds.

The Azappi souldiers two thousand sixe hundred at foure Aspers, whereof the six hundred do continually keepe the gallies, two and twentie thousand, seuen hundred fourscore and six pounds.

The Mariers Bassi masters ouer the shipwrights and kalkers of the nauie, nine, at 20. Aspers the piece, amounteth to three thousand fourescore and foure pound, foure shillings.

The Master Dassi shipwrights & kalkers, one thousand at fourteene aspers, which amounteth by the yeere, to thirtie thousand, sixe hundred threescore pound.

Summa

Summa totalis of dayly paiments amounteth by the yeere sterling, one million, nine hundred threescore eight thousand, seuen hundred thirty fiue pounds, nineteene shillings eight pence, answered quarterly without default, with the summe of foure hundred fourescore twelue thousand, one hundred fourescore and foure pounds foure shillings eleuen pence, and is for euery day fiue thousand three hundred fourescore and thirteene pounds, fifteene shillings ten pence.

Annuities of lands neuer improued, fiue times more in value then their summes mentioned, giuen by the saide Grand Signior, as followeth.

TO the Viceroy for his Timar or annuitie 60. thousand golde ducats.
To the second Bassa for his annuitie 50. thousand ducats.
To the third Bassa for his annuitie 40. thousand ducats.
To the fourth Bassa for his annuitie 30. thousand ducats.
To the fifth Bassa for his annuitie 20. thousand ducats.
To the Captaine of the Ianizaries 20. thousand ducats.
To the Ieu Merhorbassi master of his horse 15. thousand ducats.
To the Captaine of the pensioners 10. thousand ducats.
To the Captaine of his guard 5. thousand ducats.

Summa totalis 90. thousand li. sterling.

Beside these aboue specified, be sundry other annuities giuen to diuers others of his aforesaid officers, as also to certaine called Sahims, diminishing from three thousand to two hundreth ducats, esteemed treble to surmount the annuitie abouesaid.

The Turkes chiefe officers.

THe Viceroy is high Treasurer, notwithstanding that vnder him be three subtreasurers called Teftadars, which bee accomptable to him of the receipts out of Europe, Asia and Africa, saue their yeerely annuitie of lands.

The Lord Chancellor is called Nissangi Bassa, who sealeth with a certaine proper character such licences, safe conducts, passeports, especiall graunts, &c. as proceed from the Grand Signior: notwithstanding all letters to forreine princes so firmed be after inclosed in a bagge, and sealed by the Grand Signior, with a signet which he ordinarily weareth about his necke, credited of them to haue bene of ancient appertayning to king Salomon the wise.

The Admirall giueth his voyce in the election of all Begs, Captaines of Islandes, to whom hee giueth their charge, as also appointeth the Subbassas, Bayliffes or Constables ouer Cities and Townes vpon the Sea coastes about Constantinople, and in the Archipelago, whereof hee reapeth great profit.

The Subbassi of Pera payeth him yeerely fifteene thousande ducats, and so likewise either of the others according as they are placed.

The Ressistop serueth in office to the Viceroy and Chancellor, as Secretary, and so likewise doeth the Cogie Master of the Rolls, before which two, passe all writings presented to, or granted by the said Viceroy and Chancellor, offices of especiall credite and like profite, moreouer rewarded with annuities of lands.

There are also two chiefe Iudges named Cadi Lesker, the one ouer Europe, and the other ouer Asia and Africa, which in Court doe sit on the Bench at the left hand of the Bassas. These sell all offices to the vnder Iudges of the land called Cadies, whereof is one in euery Citie or towne, before whom all matters in controuersie are by iudgement decided, as also penalties and corrections for crimes ordained to be executed vpon the offenders by the Subbassi.

The

The number of Souldiers continually attending vpon the Beglerbegs the gouernours of Prouinces and Saniacks, and their petie Captaines mainteined of these Prouinces.

The Beglerbegs of
- GRæcia, fourtie thousand
- Buda, fifteene thousand
- Sclauonia, fifteene thousand
- Natolia, fifteene thousand
- Caramania, fifteene thousand
- Armenia, eighteene thousand
- Persia, twentie thousand
- Vsdrum, fifteene thousand
- Chirusta, fifteene thousand
- Caraemiti, thirtie thousand
- Giersul, two and thirtie thousand

} persons,

The Beglerbegs of
- Bagdat, fiue and twentie thousand
- Balsara, two and twenty thousand
- Lassaija, seuenteene thousand
- Alepo, fiue and twentie thousand
- Damasco, seuenteene thousand
- Cayro, twelue thousand
- Abes, twelue thousand
- Mecca, eight thousand
- Cyprus, eighteene thousand
- Tunis in Barbary, eight thousand
- Tripolis in Syria, eight thousand
- Alger, fourtie thousand

} persons.

Whose Sangiacks and petie Captaines be three hundred sixtie eight, euery of which retaining continually in pay from fiue hundreth to two hundreth Souldiers, may be one with another at the least, three hundreth thousand persons.

Chiefe officers in his Seraglio about his person.

Be these
- CApiaga, High Porter.
- Alnader Bassi, Treasurer.
- Oda Bassi, Chamberlaine.
- Killergi Bassi, Steward.
- Saraiaga, Comptroller.
- Peskerolen, Groome of the chamber.
- Edostoglan, Gentleman of the Ewer.
- Sehetaraga, Armour bearer.
- Choataraga, he that carieth his riding cloake.
- Ebietaraga, Groome of the stoole.

There be many other maner Officers, which I esteeme superfluous to write.

The Turkes yeerely reuenue.

THE Grand Signiors annual reuenue is said to be fourteene Millions and an halfe of golden ducats, which is sterling fiue millions, eight score thousand pounds.

The tribute payd by the Christians his Subiects is one gold ducat yeerely for the redemption of euery head, which may amount vnto not so litle as one Million of golden ducats, which is sterling three hundred threescore thousand pounds.

Moreouer, in time of warre he exacteth manifolde summes for maintenance of his Armie and Nauie of the said Christians.

The

The Emperour payeth him yeerely tribute for Hungary, threescore thousand dollers, which is sterling thirteene thousand pound, besides presents to the Viceroy and Bassas, which are said to surmount to twentie thousand dollers.

Ambassadors Allowances.

THe Ambassadour of the Emperor is allowed one thousand Aspers the day.

The Ambassadour of the French king heretofore enioyed the like: but of late yeeres by meanes of displeasure conceiued by Mahumet then Viceroy, it was reduced to sixe crownes the day, beside the prouision of his Esquier of his stable.

The Ambassadours of Poland, and for the state of Venice are not Ligiers as these two abouesaid. The said Polack is allowed 12. French crownes the day during his abode, which may be for a moneth. Very seldome do the state of Venice send any Ambassador otherwise, then enforced of vrgent necessity: but in stead thereof keepe their Agent, president ouer other Marchants of them termed a bailife, who hath none allowance of the Grand Signior, although his port and state is in maner as magnifical as the other aforesaid ambassadors. The Spanish Ambassador was equall with others in Ianizaries: but for so much as he would not according to custome folow the list of other Ambassadors in making presents to ỹ Grand Signior, he had none alowance. His abode there was 3. yeres, at the end whereof, hauing cõcluded a truce for 6. yeres, taking place frõ his first comming in Nouember last past 1580. he was not admitted to the presençe of the Grand Signior.

The letters of Sinan Bassa chiefe counsellour to Sultan Murad Can the Grand Signior, to the sacred Maiestie of Elizabeth Queene of England, shewing that vpon her request, and for her sake especially, hee graunted peace vnto the King and kingdome of Poland.

GLoriosissima & splendore fulgidissima fœminarum, selectissima Princeps magnanimorum Iasvm sectantium, regni inclyti Angliæ Regina Serenissima Elizabetha, moderatrix rerum & negotiorum omnium plebis & familiæ Nazarenorum sapientissima; Origo splendoris & gloriæ dulcissima; nubes pluuiarum gratissima, heres & domina beatitudinis & gloriæ regni inclyti Angliæ; ad quàm omnes supplices confugiunt, incrementum omnium rerum & actionum Serenitatis vestræ beatissimum, exitusque fœlicissimos à Creatore omnipotente optantes, mutuáque & perpetua familiaritate nostra digna vota & laudes sempiternas offerentes: Significamus Ser. vestræ amicissimè; Quia sunt anni aliquot, à quibus annis potentis-ima Cæsarea celsitudo bella ineffabilia cũ Casul-bas, Principe nempe Persarum gessit; ratione quorum bellorum in partes alias bellũ mouere noluit, ob eamque causam in partibus Poloniæ latrones quidam Cosaci numcupati, & alij facinorosi in partibus illis existentes, subditos Cæsaris potentissimi turbare & infestare non desierunt. Nunc autem partibus Persicis compositis & absolutis, in partibus Poloniæ & alijs partibus exurgentes facinorosos punire constituens, Beglerbego Græciæ exercitu aliquo adiuncto, & Principi Tartarorum mandato Cæsaris misso, anno proximè præterito pars aliqua Regni Poloniæ infestata, turbata & deuastata fuit, & Cosaci alijq; facinorosi iuxta merita sua puniti fuerunt. Quo rex Poloniæ viso duos legatos ad Cæsareã celsitudinẽ mittens, quòd facinorosos exquirere, & pœna perfecta punire, & ab annis multis ad portam Cæsareæ celsitudinis missum munus augere vellet, significauit. Cæsarea autem celsitudo (cui Creator omnipotens tantam suppeditauit potentiam, & quæ omnes supplices exaudire dignata est) supplicatione Regis Poloniæ non accepta, iterùm in regem Poloniæ exercitum suum mittere, & Creatoris omnipotentis auxilio regnum eiùs subuertere constituerat. Verum Legato Serenitatis vestræ in porta beata & fulgida Cæsareæ celsitudinis residente sese interponente, Et quòd Serenitati vestræ ex partibus Poloniæ, fruges, puluis, arboresnauiũ, tormenta, & alia necessaria suppeditarentur significante, & pacem pro regno & rege Poloniæ petente, neuè regnum Poloniæ ex parte Cæsareæ celsitudinis turbaretur vel infestaretur intercedente, Serenitatisque vestræ hanc singularem esse voluntatem exponente, Legati serenitatis vestræ significatio & intercessio cùm Cæsareæ celsitudini significata fuisset, In fauorem serenitatis vestræ, cui omnis honos & gratia debetur, iuxta modum prædictum, vt Cosaci facinorosi exquirantur & pœna perfecta puniantur, aut ratione muneris

muneris aliquantuli eorum delicta cõdonentur, hac inquam conditione literæ Cæsareæ celsitudinis ad Regem Poloniæ sunt datæ. Si autem ex parte Serenitatis vestræ fœdus & pax sollicitata non fuisset, nulla ratione Cæsarea celsitudo fœdus cum regno Poloniæ inijsset. In fauorem autem Serenitatis vestræ regno & Regi Poloniæ singularem gratiam Cæsarea celsitudo exhibuit. Quod tàm Serenitas vestra, quàm etiam Rex & regnum Poloniæ sibi certò persuadere debent. Serenitatem vestram benè fœlicissimèque valere cupimus. Datum Constantinopoli in fine mensis Sabaum nuncupati, Anno prophetæ nostri sacrati Mahumeddi nongentesimo, nonagesimo, octauo. Iesv vero Anno millesimo quingentesimo nonagesimo, die duodecimo mensis Iunij.

The same in English.

MOst glorious, and the most resplendent of women, most select Princesse, most gratious Elizabeth Queene of the valiant followers of Iesus in the famous kingdom of England, most wise gouernesse of all the affaires and businesses of the people and family of the Nazarens, most sweet fountaine of brightnesse and glory, most acceptable cloud of raine, inheritresse & Ladie of the blessednesse and glory of the renowmed kingdome of England, to whom in humble wise all men offer their petitions: wishing of the almightie Creator most happie increase and prosperous successe vnto all your Maiesties affaires and actions, and offering vp mutuall & perpetuall vowes worthy of our familiarity, with eternall prayses: In most friendly manner we signifie vnto your princely Highnesse, that certaine yeeres past the most mightie Cesarlike maiestie of the Grand Signor waged vnspeakeable warres with Casut-bas the Prince of the Persians, in regarde of which warres he would not goe in battell against any other places; and for that cause certaine theeues in the partes of Polonia called Cosacks, and other notorious persons liuing in the same partes ceased not to trouble and molest the subiects of our most mightie Emperour. But now hauing finished and brought to some good issue his affaires in Persia, determining to punish the saide malefactors of Poland, and for that purpose committing an army vnto the Beglerbeg of Grecia, and the yeere last past, sending his imperiall commaundement vnto the Prince of the Tartars, he hath for raged, molested, and layed waste some part of the kingdome of Poland, and the Cosacks and other notorious offenders haue receiued condigne punishment. Which the king of Poland perceiuing sent two Embassadours to his imperiall Highnesse signifying, that he would hunt out the said malefactors, and inflict most seuere punishments vpon them, and also that he would better his gift, which he hath for many yeeres heretofore ordinarily sent vnto the porch of his imperiall Highnesse. Howbeit his imperiall maiestie (vpon whom the almightie creator hath bestowed so great power, and who vouchsafeth to giue eare vnto all humble suppliants) reiecting the supplication of the King of Poland, determined againe to send his armie against the said king, and by the helpe of the Almightie creator, vtterly to subuert and ouerthrowe his kingdome. But your Maiesties Embassadour resident in the blessed and glorious porch of his imperiall Highnesse interposing himselfe as a mediatour, signifying that from the partes of Poland you were furnished with corne, gun-powder, masters of ships, guns, and other necessaries, and craning peace on the behalfe of the kingdome and king of Poland, and making intercession, that the said king might not be molested nor troubled by the meanes of the Grand Signor, & declaring that this was your Maiesties most earnest desire; so soone as the report and intercession of your Maiesties Embassadour was signified vnto the Grand Signor, for your sake, vnto whom all honour and fauourable regard is due, vpon the condition aforesaid, namely, that the wicked Cosacks might be sought out and grieuously punished, or that their offences might be remitted for the value of some small gift, vpon this condition (I say) the letters of his imperiall Highnesse were sent vnto the king of Poland. Howbeit had not this conclusion of league and amitie beene sollicited on the behalfe of your Maiestie, his imperiall Highnesse would neuer haue vouchsafed the same vnto the kingdome of Poland. But for your Maiesties sake his imperiall Highnesse hath exhibited this so singular a fauour vnto the said king and kingdome of Poland. And hereof your Maiestie and the king of Poland ought certainely to be perswaded. We wish your Maiestie

most happily and well to fare. Giuen at Constantinople in the ende of the moneth called Sabaũ, in the yeare of our sacred prophet Mahomet 998, and in the yeere of Iesus 1590, the 12 of Iune.

The second letters Patents graunted by the Queenes Maiestie to the Right worshipfull companie of the English Marchants for the Leuant, the seuenth of Ianuarie 1592.

ELizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England, France, and Irelande, defender of the faith &c. To all our Officers, ministers and subiects, and to all other people aswell within this our Realme of England, as else where vnder our obeysance and iurisdiction or otherwise vnto whom these our letters shal be seene, shewed, or read, greeting.

Where our welbeloued subiects Edward Osborne knight Alderman of our citie of London, William Hareborne Esquire, and Richard Staper of our saide citie Marchant, haue by great aduenture and industrie with their great cost and charges by the space of sundry late yeeres trauelled, and caused trauell to be taken aswell by secrete and good meanes, as by daungerous wayes and passages both by lande and sea to finde out and set open a trade of marchandize and traffike into the landes, Ilandes, Dominions, and territories of the great Turke, commonly called the Grand Signor, not before that time in the memorie of any man now liuing knowen to be commonly vsed and frequented by way of marchandize by any the marchantes or other subiectes of vs or our progenitors: And also haue by their like good meanes and industrie and great charges procured of the sayde Grand Signor in our name. amitie, safetie and free dome for trade and traffike of marchandize to be vsed and continued by our subiects within his sayd dominions, whereby we perceiue and finde that both many good actions haue beene done and performed, and hereafter are likely continually to be done and performed for the peace of Christendome: Namely by the reliefe and discharge of many Christians which haue beene, and which hereafter may happen to be in thraldome and bondage vnder the sayde Grand Signor and his vassals or subiects. And also good and profitable vent and vtterance of the commodities of our Realme, and sundrie other great benefites to the aduancement of our honour and dignitie Royall, the maintenance of our Nauie, the encrease of our customes, and the reuenues of our Crowne, and generally the great wealth of our whole Realme.

And whereas we are enformed of the sayd Edward Osborne knight, William Hareborne, and Richard Staper, that George Barne, Richard Martine, Iohn Harte knights, and other marchants of our sayd Citie of London haue by the space of eight or nine yeeres past ioyned themselues in companie, trade and traffike with them the sayd Edward Osborne knight, William Hareborne and Richard Staper, into the sayde dominions of the sayd great Turke, to the furtherance thereof and the good of the Realme.

And whereas further it is made knowen vnto vs, that within fewe yeeres now past our louing and good subiects Thomas Cordall, Edward Holmeden, William Garraway and Paul Banning, and sundry other merchants of our said Citie of London, haue likewise at their great costes and charges, builded and furnished diuerse good and seruiceable shippes and therewith to their like costs and charges haue traded and frequented, and from time to time doe trade and frequent and traffike by sea with the commodities of our Realme to Venice, Zante, Candie, and Zephalonia and other the dominions of the Segniorie and State of Venice, and thereby haue made and mainteyned, and doe make and continually maintaine diuers good shippes with mariners skilfull and fitte and necessarie for our seruice: and doe vent out of our Realme into those partes diuerse commodities of our Realme, and returne hither into our sayde Realme many good and necessarie commodities for the common wealth thereof: All which traffike, as well inward as outward vntill it hath beene otherwise brought to passe by the sayde endeuours, costs, and charges of our sayde subiects, was in effect by our subiectes wholy discontinued.

Knowe yee, that herespon we greatly tendring the wealth of our people and the encouragement of them and other our louing subiects in their good enterprises for the aduancement of lawfull traffike to the benefite of our common wealth, haue of our speciall grace, certaine knowledge,

knowledge, and meere motion giuen and graunted, and by these presents for vs, our heyres, and successours, doe giue and graunt vnto our sayd trustie and welbeloued subiectes Edwarde Osborne Knight, George Barne Knight, George Bonde knight, Richard Martine knight, Iohn Harte knight, Iohn Hawkins knight, William Massam, Iohn Spencer, Richard Saltonstall, Nicholas Mosley Aldermen of our sayde Citie of London, William Hareborne, Edwarde Barton, William Borrough Esquires, Richard Staper, Thomas Cordall, Henrie Paruis, Thomas Laurence, Edwarde Holmeden, William Garraway, Robert Dowe, Paul Banning, Roger Clarke, Henrie Anderson, Robert Offley, Philip Grimes, Andrewe Banning, Iames Staper, Robert Sadler, Leonarde Power, George Salter, Nicholas Leate, Iohn Eldred, William Shales, Richard May, William Wilkes, Andrewe Fones, Arthur Iackson, Edmund Ansell, Ralph Ashley, Thomas Farrington, Roberte Sandie, Thomas Garraway, Edwarde Lethlande, Thomas Dalkins, Thomas Norden, Robert Bate, Edward Sadler, Richard Dansall, Richard Martine Iunior, Ralph Fitch, Nicholas Pearde, Thomas Simons, and Francis Dorrington, that they and euery of them by the name of Gouernour and company of Marchants of the Leuant shall from hence foorth for the terme of twelue yeeres next ensuing the date hereof bee one bodie, fellowshippe and companie of themselues both in deede and in name: And them by the name of Gouernour and companie of marchantes of the Leuant wee doe ordayne, incorporate, name, and declare by these presentes, and that the same fellowshippe and companie from hence foorth shall and may haue one Gouernour. And in consideration that the sayde Edwarde Osborne Knight hath beene of the chiefe setters foorth and actors in the opening and putting in practise of the sayde trade to the dominions of the sayde Grand Signor: Wee doe therefore specially make, ordaine, and constitute the sayde Edwarde Osborne Knight, to bee nowe Gouernour during the time of one whole yeere nowe next following, if hee so long shall liue: and after the expiration of the sayde yeere, or decease of the sayde Edward Osborne the choyse of the next Gouernour, and so of euery Gouernour from time to time during the sayde terme of twelue yeeres to be at the election of the sayde fellowshippe or companie of marchantes of the Leuant or the more part of them yeerely to be chosen, and that they the sayde Sir Edwarde Osborne, and all the residue of the sayde fellowshippe or companie of Marchantes of the Leuant and euerie of them, and all the sonnes of them and of euery of them, and all such their apprentises and seruants of them and of euery of them, which haue beene or hereafter shall be imployed in the sayde trade by the space of foure yeeres or vpwardes by themselues, their seruantes, factors or deputies, shall and may by the space of twelue yeeres from the day of the date of these our letters Patents freely traffike, and vse the trade of Marchandize as well by sea as by lande into and from the dominions of the sayde Grand Signor, and into and from Venice, Zante, Candie and Zepbalonia, and other the dominions of the Signiorie and State of Venice, and also by lande through the Countries of the sayde Grand Signor into and from the East India, lately discouered by Iohn Newberie, Ralph Fitch, William Leech, and Iames Storie, sent with our letters to that purpose at the proper costs and charge of the sayde Marchants or some of them: and into and from euerie of them in such order, manner, forme, libertie and condition to all intentes and purposes as shall be betweene them of the sayde fellowshippe or companie of Marchantes of the Leuant or the more part of them for the time being limited and agreed, and not otherwise, without any molestation, impeachment, or disturbance; any lawe, statute, vsage, or diuersitie of Religion or faith, or any other cause or matter whatsoeuer to the contrarie notwithstanding.

The marchants whose names be made a fellowship and companie for 12 yeeres by the name of the Gouernor and companie of the marchants of the Leuante.

Sir Edward Osborne appointed the first Gouernour.

A priuiledge for the East Indies.

And that the sayde Gouernour and companie of Marchantes of the Leuant, or the greater part of them for the better gouernement of the sayde fellowshippe and companie, shall and may within fortie dayes next and immediatly following after the date hereof, and so from thence foorth yeerely during the continuance of this our graunt, assemble themselues in some conuenient place, and that they or the greater parte of them being so assembled, shall and may elect, ordaine, nominate, and appoint twelue discreete and honest persons of the sayde companie to be assistants to the sayde Gouernour, and to continue in the sayde office of assistants, vntill they shall die or bee removed by the sayde Gouernour and companie or

the greater part of them. And if it happen the sayde assistantes or any of them to die, or be remooued from their sayde office at anie time during the continuance of this our graunt: that then and so often it shall and may bee lawfull to and for the sayde Gouernour and companie of marchantes of the Leuant, or the greater part of them to elect and chuse one or more other persons of the sayd companie into the place or places of euery such person or persons so dying or happening to be remooued, as is aforesayde. And wee will and ordaine that the same person or persons so as is aforesaide to be elected shall be of the sayd number of assistants of the sayde companie. And this to be done so often as the case shall so require. And that it shall and may be lawfull to and for the sayde Edwarde Osborne Knight, George Barne Knight, George Bonde knight, Richard Martine knight, John Hart knight, John Hawkins knight, William Massam, John Spencer, Richard Saltonstall, Nicholas Mosley, William Hareborne, Edwarde Barton, William Borrough, Richard Staper, Thomas Cordall, Henrie Paruis, Thomas Laurence, Edwarde Holmeden, William Garraway, Robert Dowe, Paul Banning, Roger Clarke, Henrie Anderson, Robert Offley, Philip Grimes, Andrewe Banning, Iames Staper, Robert Sadler, Leonarde Power, George Salter, Nicholas Leate, John Eldred, William Shales, Richard May, William Wilkes, Andrewe Fones, Arthur Iackson, Edmund Ansell, Ralph Ashley, Thomas Farrington, Roberte Sandie, Thomas Garraway, Edwarde Lethlande, Thomas Dalkins, Thomas Norden, Robert Bate, Edward Sadler, Richard Darsall, Richard Martine Iunior, Ralph Fitch, Nicholas Pearde, Thomas Simons, and Francis Dorrington aforesayde, or any of them to assemble themselues for or about any the matters, causes or affaires or businesses of the sayde trade in any place or places for the same conuenient from time to time during the sayde terme of twelue yeeres within our dominions or else where. And that also it shall and may bee lawfull for them or the more part of them to make, ordaine and constitute reasonable lawes and orders for the good gouernement of the sayde companie, and for the better aduancement and continuance of the sayde trade and traffike: the same lawes and ordinances not being contrarie or repugnant to the lawes, statutes or customes of our Realme: And the same lawes and ordinances so made to put in vre, and execute accordingly, and at their pleasures to reuoke and alter the same lawes and ordinances or any of them as occasion shall require.

And we doe also for vs, our heyres and successors of our speciall grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion graunt to and with the sayd Gouernour and companie of marchantes of the Lenant, that when and as often at any time during the sayde terme and space of twelue yeeres as any custome, pondage, subsidie or other duetie shall be due and payable vnto vs, our heires, or successors for any goods or marchandize whatsoeuer, to be carried or transported out of this our port of London into any the dominions aforesayde, or out of or from any the sayde dominions vnto our sayde port of London, that our Customers, and all other our officers for receites of custome, pondage, subsidie or other duetie vnto whom it shall appertaine, shall vpon the request of the sayde Gouernour for the time being, giue vnto the sayde companie three monethes time for the payment of the one halfe, and other three monethes for the payment of the other halfe of their sayde custome, pondage, or other subsidie or duetie for the same, receiuing good and sufficient bonde and securitie to our vse for the payment of the same accordingly. And vpon receipt of the sayde bonde to giue them out their cockets or other warrants to lade out and receiue in the same their goods by vertue hereof without any disturbance. And that also as often as at any time during the sayde terme of twelue yeeres any goods or marchandize of any of the sayde companie laden from this our port of London in any the dominions beforesayde shall happen to miscarie before their safe discharge in the partes for and to the which they be sent: That then and so often so much custome, pondage, and other subsidie as they answered vs for the same, shall after due proofe made before the Treasurour of England for the time being of the sayde losse, and the iust quantitie thereof, be by the vertue hereof allowed vnto them, by warrant of the sayde Treasurour to the sayde Customers in the next marchandize that they shall or may shippe for those partes, according to the true rates of the customes,

customes, pondage, or subsidies heretofore payde for the goods so lost or any part or parcell thereof.

And for that the sayde companie are like continually to bring into this our Realme a much greater quantitie of forren commodities from the forren Countreyes, places, or territories aforesaide, then here can be spent for the necessarie vse of the same, which of necessitie must be transported into other countreyes, and there vented, we for vs, our heires and successors of our speciall grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion doe graunt to and with the sayd Gouernour and companie that at all times from time to time during the space of thirteene moneths next after the discharge of any the sayde goods so brought in, and the subsidies, pondage, customes and other duties for the same being before hande payde or compounded for as aforesayd, it shall be lawfull for them or any of them or any other person or persons whatsoeuer being naturall subiects of the Realme which may or shall buy the same of them or any of them to transport the same in English bottomes freely out of this Realme without payment of any further custome, pondage, or other subsidie to vs, our heires or successors for the same, whereof the sayde subsidies, pondage, or customes or other duties shall be so formerly payde and compounded for, as aforesayd, and so proued. And the sayd customer by vertue hereof shall vpon due and sufficient proofe thereof made in the custome house giue them sufficient cocket or certificate for the safe passing out thereof accordingly. And to the ende no deceipt be vsed herein to vs our heires, and successors, certificate shall be brought from our collector of custome inwardes to our customer outwardes that the sayd marchandizes haue within the time limited answered their due custome, subsidie, pondage and other duties for the same inwards.

And furthermore we of our ample and aboundant grace, meere motion, and certaine knowledge haue graunted, and by these presents for vs our heyres and successours doe graunt vnto the said Gouernours and companie of marchantes of the Leuant, that they and such onely as be and shall be of that companie, shall for the sayd terme of twelue yeeres haue, vse, and enioy the whole and onely trade and traffike, and the whole entire and onely libertie, vse, and priuiledge of trading and traffiking, and vsing feate of marchandise by and through the Leuant seas otherwise called the Mediterran seas into and from the sayd dominions of the Grand Signor, and dominions of the state of Venice; and by and through the sayd Grand Signors dominions to and from such other places in the East Indies discouered as aforesayd. And that they the sayd Gouernour and companie of marchants of the Leuant and euery particular and seuerall person of that companie their and euery one of their seruants, factors, and deputies shall haue full and free authoritie, libertie, facultie, licence, and power to trade and traflicke by and through the sayd Leuant seas into and from all and euery the sayd dominions of the sayde Grand Signor, and the dominions of the state of Venice, and the sayde Indies, and into and from all places where by occasion of the sayd trade they shall happen to arriue or come, whither they be Christians, Turkes, Gentiles, or others: And by and through the sayd Leuant seas into and from all other seas, riuers, portes, regions, territories, dominions, coastes and places with their ships, barkes, pinases and other vessels, and with such mariners and men as they will leade or haue with them, or sende for the sayde trade as they shall thinke good at their owne costes and expenses.

And for that the shippes sayling into the sayde Countreyes must take their due and proper times to proceede in these voyages, which otherwise as wee well perceiue can not be performed in the rest of the yeere following: Therefore we of our speciall grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion for vs, our heyres and successors doe graunt to and with the sayd Gouernour and companie of Marchantes of the Leuant, that foure good shippes well furnished with ordinance and other munition for their defence, and two hundred marriners English men to guide and sayle in the same foure shippes at all times during the sayde twelue yeeres shall quietly bee permitted and suffered to depart and goe in the sayde voyages, according to the purport of these presents, without any stay or contradiction by vs, our heyres and successors, or by the Lorde high Admirall or any other officer or subiect of vs, our heires or successours

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in any wise: Any restraint, lawe, statute, vsage or matter whatsoeuer to the contrarie notwithstanding.

Prouided neuerthelesse, that if wee shall at any time within the sayde twelue yeeres haue iust cause to arme our Nauie in warrelike manner in defence of our Realme, or for offence of our enemies: and that it shall be founde needefull and conuenient for vs to ioyne to our Nauie the shippes of our subiects to be also armed for warres to such number as cannot bee supplied if the sayd foure shippes should be permitted to depart as aboue is mentioned; then vpon knowledge giuen by vs or our Admirall to the sayde Gouernour or companie about the fiftenth day of the moneth of March, or three monethes before the saide companie shall beginne to make readie the same foure shippes that we may not spare the sayd foure ships and the marriners requisite for them to be out of our Realme during the time that our Nauie shall be vpon the seas, that then the sayde companie shall forbeare to send such foure shippes for their trade of marchandise vntill that we shall retake our sayd Nauie from the sayd seruice.

And further our will and pleasure is, and wee doe by these presentes graunt that it shall be lawfull to and for the sayd Gouernour and companie of Marchantes of the Leuant to haue and vse in and about the affaires of the sayde companie a common seale for matters concerning the sayde companie and trade. And that also it shall be lawfull for the Marchants, Mariners, and Sea-men, which shall be vsed and imployed in the sayde trade and voyage to set and place in the toppes of their ships or other vessels the Armes of England with the redde-crosse in white ouer the same as heretofore they haue vsed.

And we of our further Royall fauour and of our especiall grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion haue graunted and by these presents for vs, our heyres and successors doe graunt to the sayd Gouernour and companie of Marchants of the Leuant, that the sayde landes, territories, and dominions of the sayde Grand Signor, or the dominions of the Signiorie of Venice, or any of them within the sayde Leuant or Mediterran seas shall not be visited, frequented, or haunted by the sayde Leuant sea by way of marchandize by any other our subiects during the saide terme of twelue yeeres contrarie to the true meaning of these presentes. And by vertue of our prerogatiue Royall, which wee will not in that behalfe haue argued or brought in question, wee straightly charge, commaunde and prohibite for vs, our heyres and successours all our subiects of what degree or qualitie soeuer they bee, that none of them directly or indirectly doe visite, haunt, frequent, trade, traffike or aduenture by way of marchandise into or from any of the sayd dominions of the sayd Grand Signor, or the dominions of the saide Seguiorie of Venice, by or through the sayde Leuant sea other then the sayd Gouernour and companie of marchants of the Leuant, and such particular persons as be or shall be of that companie, their factors, agents, seruants and assignes. And further for that wee plainely vnderstande that the States and Gouernours of the citie and Seguiorie of Venice haue of late time set and raysed a newe impost and charge ouer and besides their auncient impost, custome, and charge of and vpon all manner of marchandize of our Realme brought into their dominions, and also of and vpon all marchandise caried or laden from their sayd Countrey or dominions by our subiects or in the ships or bottoms of any of our subiectes to the great and intollerable charge and hinderance of our sayd subiects trading thither, wee therefore minding the redresse thereof, doe also by these presents for vs, our heires and successors further straightly prohibite and forbid not onely the subiects of the sayde State and Segniorie of Venice, but also of all other Nations or Countries whatsoeuer other then the sayd Gouernour and companie of marchants of the Leuant, and such onely as be or shall be of that companie, their factors, agents, seruantes, and assignes: That they or any of them during the sayde terme of twelue yeeres, shall bring or cause to be brought into this our Realme of Englande, or any part thereof anie manner of small fruites called corrants, being the raysins of Corinth, or wine of Candie, vnlesse it be by and with the licence, consent, and agreement of the sayde Gouernour and companie in writing vnder their sayd common seale first had and obteyned vpon paine vnto euery such person and persons that shall trade

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and traffike into any the sayde dominions of the State and Seignioric of Venice by sea, or that shall bring or cause to be brought into our saide Realme any of the said corrants being the raysins of Corinth, or wines of Candia, other then the sayd companie in paine of our indignation, and of forfaiture and losse as well of the shippe and ships with the furniture thereof, as also of the goods, marchandize, and thinges whatsoeuer they be of those which shall attempt or presume to commit or doe any matter or thing contrarie to the prohibition aforesayd. The one halfe of all the saide forfeitures to be to vs, our heires and successours, and the other halfe of all and euery the sayde forfeitures we doe by these presents, of our speciall grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion clearely and wholie for vs, our heires and successors, giue and graunt vnto the saide Gouernour and companie of marchantes of the Leuant.

And further all and euery the sayde offendours for their sayde contempt to suffer imprisonment during our pleasures, and such other punishment as to vs for so high a contempt shall seeme meete and conuenient, and not to be in any wise deliuered vntill they and euery of them shall be come bounde vnto the sayd Gouernour for the time being in the summe of one thousand poundes or lesse at no time, then after to sayle or traffike by sea into any the dominions aforesaide, or to bring or cause to be brought from any the places aforesayde any corrants, raysins of Corinth, or wines of Candia contrarie to our expresse commaundement in that behalfe herein set downe and published.

Prouided alwayes, and our expresse will is notwithstanding the premisses that if our sayde subiectes shall at any time hereafter be recompensed of and for all such newe impostes and charges as they and euery of them shall pay, and likewise be freely discharged of and from the payment of all manner of newe imposte or taxe for any of their marchandise which they hereafter shall bring into or from any the dominions of the sayde State or Seigniorie of Venice, and from all bondes and other assurances by them or any of them to be made for or in that behalfe, that then immediatly from and after such recompence and discharge made as aforesayde our sayde prohibition and restraint in these presentes mentioned, shall not be of any strength or force against the sayde Citie or State of Venice, or any the subiects thereof, but for and during such time onely and in such case when hereafter the sayde State of Venice shall againe beginne to taxe or leuie any manner of newe imposte within the sayde dominions vpon any the goods or marchandizes of our sayde subiectes heereafter to be brought into any the dominions of the said State or Seigniorie of Venice. Any thing in these our letters Patents contayned to the contrarie thereof in any wise notwithstanding.

And further wee straightly charge and commaunde, and by these presentes prohibite all and singular Customers and Collectors of our Customes, pondage, and subsidies, and all other Officers within our porte and Citie of London and else where, to whom it shall appertaine and euery of them, That they or any of them by themselues, their clarkes, or substitutes shall not receiue or take, or suffer to be receiued or taken for vs or in our name, or to our vse, or in the name, or vnto the vse of our heires or successors of any person or persons, any summe or summes of money, or other consideration during the sayde terme of twelue yeeres for any custome, pondage, taxe or subsidie of any corrants, raysins of Corinth, or wines of Candie aforesayd saue onely of and in the name of the sayde Gouernour and companie of marchantes of the Leuant, or of some of that companie without the consent of the sayde Gouernour and companie in writing vnder their sayd common seale, first had and obteyned, and vnto them shewed for the testifying their sayd consent. And for the better and more sure obseruation thereof wee will and graunt for vs, our heires or successors by these presentes, that our Treasurour and Barons of the Exchequer for the time being by force of these presentes, and the inrollment thereof in the sayde Court of our Exchequour, at all and euery time and times during the sayde terme of twelue yeeres, at and vpon the request of the sayde Gouernour and companie, their Attourney or Attourneys, Deputies or assignes, shall and may make and direct vnder the seale of the sayde Court one or more sufficient writte or writtes close or patent, vnto euery or any of the sayd Customers or other Officers to whom it shall appertaine, commaunding them and euery of them thereby, that neither

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they nor any of them at any time or times during the sayd space of twelue yeeres shall take entrie of any corants, raisins of Corinth, or wines of Candia, or take or make any agreement for any custome, pondage, or other subsidie for any of the sayd corants, raisins of Corinth, or wines of Candie, with any person or persons whatsoeuer, other then with, or in the name and by the priuitie of the sayd gouernour and company or some of the same company.

And further of our speciall grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion we haue condescended and graunted, and by these presents for vs our heires and successours doe condescend and graunt to the sayd Gouernour and company of marchants of Leuant, that wee, our heires and successours, during the sayd terme, will not graunt libertie, licence, or power to any person or persons whatsoeuer contrary to the tenour of these our letters patents, to saile, passe, trade, or traffique by the sayd Leuant Sea, into, or from the sayde dominions of the sayd Grand Signior or the dominions of the State of Venice or any of them, contrary to the true meaning of these presents, without the consent of the sayd Gouernour and Companie or the most part of them.

And whereas Henry Farrington and Henry Hewet haue not yet assented to bee incorporated into the sayd societie of Gouernour and companie of marchants of Leuant, neuerthelesse sithence, as we be informed, they haue bene traders that way heretofore; our will and pleasure is, and we doe hereby expressely commaund and charge that if it happen at any time within two moneths next following after the date hereof, the sayd Henry Farrington and Henry Hewet or either of them, do submit themselues to be of the sayd companie, and doe giue such assurance as the sayd Gouernour and companie, or the more part of them shall allow of, to beare, pay, and performe such orders, constitutions, paiments and contributions, as other of the sayd company shall be ordered to beare, pay, and performe, that then euery of the sayd Henry Farrington and Henry Hewet so doing and submitting himselfe, shall vpon his or their request vnto the sayd Gouernour bee admitted into the sayd companie and corporation of Gouernour and companie of marchants of Leuant, and haue and enioy the same, and as great liberties, priuileges, and preheminences, as the rest of the sayde corporation or companie may, or ought to haue by vertue of this our graunt. Any thing in these presents contained to the contrary notwithstanding

And our will and pleasure is, and hereby wee doe also ordaine that it shall and may bee lawfull, to, and for the sayde Gouernour and company of marchants of Leuant or the more part of them, to admit into, and to be of the sayd companie, any such as haue bene or shall bee employed as seruants, factors, or agents in the trade of marchandise by the sayd Leuant seas, into any the countries, dominions or territories of the sayd Grand Signior or Signiorie or State of Venice, according as they or the most part of them shall thinke requisite.

And where Anthony Ratcliffe, Steuen Some, and Robert Brooke Aldermen of the saide Citie of London, Simon Laurence, Iohn Wattes, Iohn Newton, Thomas Middleton, Robert Coxe, Iohn Blunt, Charles Faith, Thomas Barnes, Alexander Dansey, Richard Aldworth, Henry Cowlthirste, Cæsar Doffie, Martine Bonde, Oliuer Stile and Nicolas Stile Marchants of London for their abilities and sufficiencies haue bene thought fit to be also of the sayd Company of the saide gouernour and Company of Marchants of Leuant: Our will and pleasure and expresse commaundement is, and wee doe hereby establish and ordeine, that euery such of the same Anthony Radcliffe, Steuen Some, Robert Brooke, Simon Laurence, Iohn Wattes, Iohn Newton, Thomas Midleton, Robert Coxe, Iohn Blunt, Charles Faith, Thomas Barnes, Alexander Dansey, Richard Aldworth, Henry Cowlthirst, Cæsar Doffie, Martine Bonde, Oliuer Style, and Nicolas Style, as shall pay vnto the saide Gouernour and company of Marchants of Leuante the summe of one hundred and thirtie poundes of lawfull English money within two monethes next after the date hereof towards the charges that the same Company haue already bene at in and about the establishing of the sayde trades shall from thencefoorth bee of the same company of Marchants of Leuant as fully and amply and in like maner, as any other of that societie or Company.

Prouided also, that wee, our heires and successours at any time during the sayd twelue yeeres may lawfully appoynt and authorize two other persons exercising the lawfull trade of marchandize,

marchandize, and being fit men to bee of the sayd companie of Gouernour and companie of marchants of Leuant, so that the sayd persons to bee nominated or authorized, shall aide, doe, beare, and paie such payments and charges touching and concerning the same trade and Companie of marchants of Leuant, as tablie as other of the sayd Companie of marchants of Leuant shall, and doe, or ought to beare and pay: and doe also performe and obserue the orders of the sayd Companie allowable by this our graunt, as others of the same doe or ought to doe. And that such two persons so to bee appoynted by vs our heires or successours, shall and may with the sayd Company vse the trade and feate of marchandise aforesayd, and all the liberties and priuileges herein before granted, according to the meaning of these our letters patents, any thing in these our letters patents contained to the contrary notwithstanding.

Prouided also, that if any of the marchants before by these presents named or incorporated, to bee of the said fellowship of Gouernour and companie of the merchants of Leuant, shall not bee willing to continue or bee of the same companie, and doe giue notice thereof, or make the same knowen to the sayd Gouernour within two moneths next after the date hereof, that then such person so giuing notice, shall no further or any longer be of that companie, or haue trade into those parties, nor be at any time after that of the same corporation or companie, or vse trade into any the territories or countries aforesayd.

Prouided alwayes neuerthelesse, that euery such person so giuing notice and hauing at this present any goods or marchandises in any the Territories or countreys of the sayd Grand Signior, or Segniorie or State of Venice, may at any time within the space of eighteene moneths next, and immediately following after the date hereof, haue free libertie, power, and authoritie to returne the same or the value thereof into this Realme, without vsing any traffique there, but immediately from thence hither, paying, bearing, answering, and performing all such charges, dueties and summes of money ratably as other of the same corporation or company doe or shall pay, beare, answere, or performe for the like.

Prouided also, that if any of the persons before by these presents named or incorporated to bee of the sayd fellowship of Gouernour and Companie of the marchants of Leuant, or which hereafter shall bee admitted to bee of the sayde Corporation or Companie, shall at any time or times hereafter refuse to bee of the sayd Corporation or Companie, or to beare, pay, or be contributorie to, or not beare and pay such ratable charges and allowances, or to obserue or performe such ordinances to bee made as is aforesayd, as other of the same company are, or shall bee ordered, to beare, paie, or performe, that then it shall and may bee lawfull for the rest of the sayd Gouernour and companie of marchants of Leuant, presently to expell, remooue, and displace euery such person so refusing, or not bearing or paying out, of, and from the sayd Corporation and companie, and from all priuilege, libertie, and preheminence which any such person should, or might claime, or haue by vertue of this our graunt, and in place of them to elect others exercising the lawfull trade of marchandise to bee of the sayd Companie. And that euery such person so expelled, remooued, or displaced by consent of the sayd Gouernour and companie of marchants of Leuant, or the more part of them, shall bee from thencefoorth vtterly disabled to take any benefite by vertue of this priuilege, or any time after to bee admitted or receiued againe into the same, any thing in these presents contained to the contrary notwithstanding.

Prouided alwayes, that if it shall hereafter appeare to vs, our heires and successours, that this graunt or the continuance thereof in the whole or in any part thereof, shall not bee profitable to vs, our heires and successours, or to this our realme, that then and from thencefoorth, vpon and after eighteene moneths warning to bee giuen to the sayd companie by vs, our heires and successours, this present graunt shall cease, bee voyd, and determined to all intents, constructions and purposes.

And further of our speciall grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion, wee haue condescended and graunted, and by these presents for vs, our heires and successours, doe condescend and graunt to the sayde Gouernour and companie of marchants of Leuant, that if at the ende of the sayd terme of twelue yeeres it shall seeme meete and conuenient to the sayde

Gouernour and Companie, or any the parties aforesayd, that this present graunt shall bee continued: And if that also it shall appeare vnto vs, our heires and successours, that the continuance thereof shall not bee preiudiciall or hurtfull to this our realme, but that wee shall finde the further continuance thereof profitable for vs, our heires and successours and for our realme with such conditions as are herein mentioned, or with some alteration or qualification thereof, that then wee, our heires and successours at the instance and humble petition of the sayde Gouernour and Companie, or any of them so suing for the same, and such other person and persons our subiectes as they shall nominate and appoint, or shall bee by vs, our heires and successours newly nominated, not exceeding in number twelue, new letters patents vnder the great seale of England in due forme of lawe with like couenants, graunts, clauses, and articles, as in these presents are contained, or with addition of other necessarie articles or changing of these in some partes, for, and during the full terme of twelue yeeres then next following. Willing now hereby, and straightly commaunding and charging all and singular our Admirals, Vice-admirals, Iustices, Maiors, Shiriffes, Escheators, Constables, Bailiffes, and all and singular other our Officers, Ministers, Liege-men and subiects whatsoeuer, to bee aiding, fauouring, helping, and assisting vnto the sayd Companie and their successours, and to their Deputies, Officers, Factors, seruaunts, assignes and ministers, and euery of them, in executing and enioying the premisses as well on land as on Sea, from time to time, & at all times when you or any of you shal thereto bee required, any Statute, Acte, ordinance, Prouiso, Proclamation or restraint heretofore had, made, set foorth, ordained or prouided, or any other matter, cause or thing whatsoeuer to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.

Although expresse mention of the true yeerely value or certaintie of the premisses, or any of them, or of any other gifts or graunts by vs, or any of our progenitours to the sayde Gouernour and Companie of the marchants of Leuant before this time made, in these presents is not made: Or any Statute, Acte, Ordinance, prouision, proclamation or restraint to the contrary thereof before this time had, made, done, or prouided, or any other matter, thing or cause whatsoeuer, in any wise notwithstanding. In witnesse whereof wee haue caused these our letters to be made patents. Witnesse our selfe at Westminster the seuenth day of Ianuarie in the foure and thirtieth yeere of our raigne.

Per breue de priuato Sigillo.

Bailie.

To the Worshipfull and his very louing Vncle M. Rowland Hewish, Esquier, at Sand in Deuonshire.

Sir, considering the goodnesse of your Nature which is woont kindely to accept from a friend, euen of meane things being giuen with a good heart, I haue presumed to trouble you with the reading of this rude discourse of my trauailes into Turkie, and of the deliuerie of the present with such other occurrents as there happened woorthie the obseruation: of all which proceedings I was an eie-witnesse, it pleasing the Ambassadour to take mee in with him to the Grand Signior. If for lacke of time to put it in order I haue not performed it so well as it ought, I craue pardon, assuring you that to my knowledge I haue not missed in the trueth of any thing. If you aske mee what in my trauels I haue learned, I answere as a noble man of France did to the like demaund, Hoc vnum didici, mundi contemptum: and so concluding with the wise man in the booke of the Preacher, that all is vanitie, and one thing onely is necessarie, I take my leaue and commit you to the Almightie. From London the 16. March 1597.

Your louing Nephew

Richard Wrag.

A description

A description of a Voiage to Constantinople and Syria, begun the 21. of March 1593. and ended the 9. of August, 1595. wherein is shewed the order of deliuering the second Present by Master Edward Barton her maiesties Ambassador, which was sent from her Maiestie to Sultan Murad Can, Emperour of Turkie.

WE set saile in the Ascension of London, a new shippe very well appointed, of two hundred and three score tunnes (whereof was master one William Broadbanke, a prouident and skilfull man in his facultie) from Graueseud the one and twentie of March 1593. And vpon the eight of Aprill folowing wee passed the streights of Gibraltar, and with a small Westerne gale, the 24. of the same, we arriued at Zante an Iland vnder the Venetians. The fourth of May wee departed, and the one and twentie wee arriued at Alexandretta in Cilicia in the very bottome of the Mediterrane sea, a roade some 25. miles distant from Antioch, where our marchants land their goods to bee sent for Aleppo. From thence wee set saile the fift of Iune, and by contrary windes were driuen vpon the coast of Caramania into a road neere a litle Iland where a castle standeth, called Castle Rosso, some thirtie leagues to the Eastwards of the Rhodes, where after long search for fresh water, we could finde none, vntil certaine poore Greekes of the Iland brought vs to a well where we had 5 or 6 tuns. That part of the country next the sea is very barren & full of mountains, yet found we there an olde tombe of marble, with an epitaph of an ancient Greeke caracter, by antiquity neere worne out and past reading; which to the beholders seemed a monument of the greatnesse of the Grecian monarchy. From thence we went to the Rhodes, and by contrary windes were driuen into a port of Candy, called Sittia: this Iland is vnder the Venetians, who haue there 600 souldiers, beside certaine Greeks, continually in pay. Here with contrary winds we stayed six weeks, and in the end, hauing the winde prosperous, we sailed by Nicaria, Pharos, Delos, and Andros, with sight of many other Ilands in the Archipelago, and arriued at the two castles in Hellespont the 24 of August. Within few dayes after we came to Galipoli some thirty miles from this place, where foure of vs tooke a Parma or boat of that place, with two watermen, which rowed vs along the Thracian shore to Constantinople, which sometime sailing and sometime rowing, in foure dayes they performed. The first of September we arriued at the famous port of the Grand Signior, where we were not a little welcome to M. Edward Barton vntil then her Maiesties Agent, who (with many other great persons) had for many dayes expected the present. Fiue or sixe dayes after the shippe arriued neere the Seuen towers, which is a very strong hold, and so called of so many turrets, which it hath, standing neere the sea side, being the first part of the city that we came vnto. Heere the Agent appointed the master of the Ascension to stay with the shippe vntill a fitte winde and opportunity serued to bring her about the Seraglio to salute the Grand Signior in his moskyta or church: for you shall vnderstand that he hath built one neere the wall of his Seraglio or pallace adioyning to the Sea side; whereunto twise or thrise a weeke hee resorteth to performe such religious rites as their law requireth: where hee being within few dayes after, our shippe set out in their best maner with flagges, streamers and pendants of diuers coloured silke, with all the mariners, together with most of the Ambassadours men, hauing the winde faire, and came within two cables length of this his moskita, where (hee to his great contentbeholding the shippe in such brauery) they discharged first two volies of small shot, and then all the great ordinance twise ouer, there being seuen and twentie or eight and twentie pieces in the ship. Which performed, he appointed the Bustangi-Bassa or captaine of the great and spacious garden or parke, to giue our men thankes, with request that some other day they would shew him the like sporte when hee would haue the Sultana or Empresse a beholder thereof, which few dayes after at the shippes going to the Custome-house they performed.

Candie.

The Ascension arriued at the 7 towers.

The ship mooreth the grand Signior.

The grand Signiors salutation thus ended, the master brought the ship to an anker at Rapamat neere the ambassadors house, where hee likewise saluted him with all his great ordinance once ouer, and where he landed the Present, the deliuerie whereof for a time was staied: the cause of which staie it shall neither be dishonorable for our nation, or that woorthie man the ambassadour to shew you. At the departure of Sinan Bassa the chiefe Vizir, and our ambas-

The cause of staying the present.

sadors great friend toward the warres of Hungarie there was another Bassa appointed in his place, a churlish and harsh natured man, who vpon occasion of certaine Genouezes, escaping out of the castles standing toward the Euxine Sea, nowe called the blacke Sea, there imprisoned, apprehended and threatened to execute one of our Englishmen called Iohn Field, for that hee was taken thereabouts, and knowen not many dayes before to haue brought a letter to one of them: vpon the solliciting of whose libertie there fell a iarre betweene the Bassa (being now chiefe Vizir) and our ambassador, and in choler he gaue her maiesties ambassador such words, as without sustaining some great indignitie hee could not put vp. Whereupon after the arriual of the Present, he made an Arz, that is, a bill of Complaint to the grand Signior against him, the maner in exhibiting whereof is thus performed.

An Arz to the grand Signior.

The plaintifes expect the grand Signiors going abroad from his pallace, either to Santa Sophia or to his church by the sea side, whither, with a Perma (that is one of their vsuall whirries) they approch within some two or three score yards, where the plaintife standeth vp, and holdeth his petition ouer his forehead in sight of the grand Signior (for his church is open to the Sea side) the rest sitting still in the boat, who appointeth one of his Dwarfes to receiue them, and to bring them to him. A Dwarfe, one of the Ambassadors fauorites, so soone as he was discerned, beckned him to the shore side, tooke his Arz, and with speed caried it to the grand Signior. Now the effect of it was this; that except his highnesse would redresse this so great an indignitie, which the Vizir his slaue had offered him and her maiestie in his person, he was purposed to detaine the Present vntill such time as he might by letters ouer-land from her maiestie bee certified, whither she would put vp so great an iniurie as it was. Whereupon he presently returned answere, requesting the ambassador within an houre after to goe to the Douan of the Vizir, vnto whom himselfe of his charge would send a gowne of cloth of gold, and commaund him publikely to put it vpon him, and with kind entertainment to embrace him in signe of reconciliation. Whereupon our ambassador returning home, tooke his horse, accompanied with his me, and came to the Vizirs court, where, according to the grand Signiors command, he with all shew of kindnesse embraced the ambassador, and with curteous speeches reconciled himselfe, and with his own hands put the gowne of cloth of gold vpon his backe. Which done, hee with his attendants returned home, to the no small admiration of all Christians that heard of it, especially of the French and Venetian ambassadors, who neuer in the like case against the second person of the Turkish Empire durst haue attempted so bold an enterprise with hope of so friendly audience, and with so speedie redresse. This reconciliation with the great Vizir thus made, the ambassador prepared himselfe for the deliuerie of the Present, which vpon the 7 of October 1593. in this maner he performed.

The great hall of iustice.

Reconciliation with the Vizir made.

The ambassador goeth to the court with the present.

The Ascension with her flags and streamers, as aforesaid, repaired nigh vnto the place where the ambassador should land to go vp to the Seraglio: for you must vnderstand that all Christian ambassadors haue their dwelling in Pera where most Christians abide, from which place, except you would go 4 or 5 miles about, you cannot by land go to Constantinople, whereas by Sea it is litle broder then the Thames. Our Ambassador likewise apparelled in a sute of cloth of siluer, with an vpper gowne of cloth of gold, accompanied with 7 gentlemen in costly sutes of Sattin, with 40 other of his men very well apparelled, and all in one liuerie of sad French russet cloth gownes, at his house tooke boate: at whose landing the ship discharged all her ordinance, where likewise attended 2 Bassas, with 40 or 50 Chauses to accompany y ambassador to the court, & also horses for the ambassador & his gentlemen, very richly furnished, with Turkish seruants attendāt to take the horses whē they should light. The ambassador thus honorably accompanied, the Chauses foremost, next his men on foote all going by two and two, himselfe last with his Chause and Drugaman or Interpreter, and 4 Ianissaries, which he doeth vsually entertaine in his house to accompany him continually abroad, came to the Seraglio about an English mile from the water side, where first hee passed a great gate into a large court (much like the space before White hall gate) where he with his gentlemen alighted and left their horses. From hence they passed into an other stately court, being about 6 score in bredth, and some 10 score yards long, with many trees

The Ambass. came to the Seraglio.

in

in it: where all the court was with great pompe set in order to entertaine our ambassador. Vpon the right hand all the length of the court was a gallerie arched ouer, and borne vp with stone pillars, much like the Roiall Exchange, where stood* most of his guard in rankes from the one end to the other in costly aray, with round head pieces on their heads of mettall and gilt ouer, with a great plume of fethers somewhat like a long brush standing vp before. On the left hand stood the Cappagies or porters, and the Chauses. All these courtiers being about the number of 2000. (as I might well gesse) most of them apparelled in cloth of gold, siluer, veluet, sattin and scarlet, did together with bowing their bodies, laying their hands vpon their brests in curteous maner of salutation, entertain the Ambassador: who likewise passing between them, & turning himself somtime to the right hand and sometime to the left, answered them with the like. As he thus passed along, certaine Chauses conducted him to the Douan, which is the seat of Iustice, where certaine dayes of the weeke the grand Vizir, with the other Vizirs, the Cadi-lesker or lord chiefe Iustice, & the Mufti or high priest do sit to determine vpon such causes as be brought before them, which place is vpon the left side of this great court, whither the ambassador with his gentlemen came, where hee found the Vizir thus accompanied as aforesayd, who with great shew of kindnes receiued him: and after receit of her maiesties letters, & conference had of the Present, of her maiesties health, of the state of England, and such other matters as concerned our peaceable traffique in those parts: dinner being prepared was by many of ỹ Courtiers brought into another inner roome next adioining, which consisted of an hundred dishes or therabouts, most boiled & rosted, where the ambassador accompanied wᵗ the Vizirs went to dinner, his gentlemen likewise with the rest of his men hauing a dinner with the like varietie prepared vpon ỹ same side of the court, by thẽselues sate downe to their meat, 40 or 50 Chauses standing at the vpper end attending vpon the gentlemẽ to see them serued in good order; their drinke was water mingled with rose water & sugar brought in a Luthro (that is a goates skinne) which a man carieth at his backe, and vnder his arme letteth it run out at a spout into cups as men will call for it. The dinner thus with good order brought in, and for halfe an houre with great sobrietie and silence performed, was not so orderly taken vp; for certaine Moglans officers of the kitchin (like her maiesties blacke guard) came in disordered maner and tooke away the dishes, and he whose hungry eie one dish could not satisfie, turned two or three one into the other, and thus of a sudden was a cleane riddance made of all. The ambassador after dinner with his gentlemen, by certaine officers were placed at the vpper ende vpon the left side of the court, nere vnto a great gate which gaue entrance to a third court being but litle, paued with stone. In the midst whereof was a litle house built of marble, as I take it, within which sate the grand Signor, according to whose commandement giuen there were gownes of cloth of gold brought out of the wardrope, and put vpon the ambassador and 7 of his gentlemen, the ambassador himselfe hauing 2, one of gold, and the other of crimosin veluet, all the rest one a piece. Then certaine Cappagies had the Present, which was in trunks there ready, deliuered them by the ambassadors men, it being 12 goodly pieces of gilt plate, 36 garments of fine English cloth of al colors, 20 garments of cloth of gold, 10 garments of sattin, 6 pieces of fine Holland, and certaine other things of good value; al which were caried round about the court, each man taking a piece, being in number very neere 100 parcels, and so 2 and 2 going round that all might see it, to the greater glory of the present, and of him to whom it was giuen: they went into the innermost court passing by the window of that roome, where the grand Signior sate, who, as it went by to be laid vp in certaine roomes adioining, tooke view of all. Presently after the present followed the ambassador with his gentlemen; at the gate of which court stoode 20 or 30 Agaus which be eunuchs. Within the court yard were the Turkes Dwarfes and Dumbe men, being most of them youths. At the doore of his roome stood the Bustangi-bassa, with another Bassa to lead the ambassador and his folowers to the grand Signior who sate in a chaire of estate, apparelled in a gowne of cloth of siluer. The floore vnder his feete, which part was a foote higher then the rest, was couered with a carpet of green sattin embrodered most richly with siluer, orient perles & great Turkeses; ỹ other part of the house was couered with

* All these are captaines of hundreds and of fifties.

The ambassador receiued by the Vizir with all kindnesse.

Diner brought in.

Diner taken away.

Gownes of cloth of gold for the ambassador and his gentlemen.

The Present.

The Present viewed.

with a carpet of Carnation sattin imbrodered ✠ gold, none were in the roome with him, but a Bassa who stood next the wall ouer against him hanging down his head, & looking submissely vpon the ground as all his subiects doe in his presence. The ambassador thus betwixt two which stood at the doore being led in, either of them taking an arme, kissed his hand, and so backward with his face to the Turke they brought him nigh the dore againe, where he stood vntill they had likewise done so with all the rest of his gentlemen. Which ended, the ambassador, according as it is the custome when any present is deliuered, made his three demaunds, such as he thought most expedient for her maiesties honor, & the peaceable traffique of our natiō into his dominions: whereunto he answered in one word, Nolo, which is in Turkish as much as, it shal be done: for it is not the maner of the Turkish emperor familiarly to confer with any Christian ambassador, but he appointeth his Vizir in his person to graunt their demaunds if they be to his liking: as to our ambassador he granted all his demands, & gaue order that his daily allowance for his house of mony, flesh, wood, & haie, should be augmented with halfe as much more as it had bene before. Hereupon the ambassador taking his leaue, departed with his gentlemen the same way he came, the whole court saluting him as they did at his comming in: & comming to the second court to take our horses, after we were mounted, we staied halfe an houre, vntil the captain of the guard with 2000 horsmen at the least passed before, after whom folowed 40 or 50 Chauses next before the ambassador to accompany him to his house. And as before at his landing, so now at his taking boat, the ship discharged all her great ordinance, where arriuing, he likewise had a great banquet prepared to entertaine those which came to bring him home. The pompe & solemnitie of the Present, with the day thus ended, he shortly after presented the Sultana or empresse who (by reason that she is mother to him which was heire to the crown Imperial) is had in far greater renerence then any of his other Queens or concubines. The Present sent her in her maiesties name was a iewel of her maiesties picture, set with some rubies and diamants, 3 great pieces of gilt plate, 10 garments of cloth of gold, a very fine case of glasse bottles siluer & gilt, with 2 pieces of fine Holland, which so gratefully she accepted, as that she sent to know of the ambassador what present he thought she might return ỳ would most delight her maiestie: who sent word that a sute of princely attire being after the Turkish fashion would for the rarenesse thereof be acceptable in England. Whereupon she sent an vpper gowne of cloth of gold very rich, an vnder gowne of cloth of siluer, and a girdle of Turkie worke, rich and faire, with a letter of gratification, which for the rarenesse of the stile, because you may be acquainted with it, I haue at the ende of this discourse hereunto annexed, which letter and present, with one from the grand Signor, was sent by M. Edward Bushell, and M. William Aldridge ouer-land the 20 of March, who passed through Valachia and Moldauia, & so through Poland, where Michael prince of Valachia, and Aron Voiuoda prince of Moldauia receiuing letters from the ambassador, entertained the with al curtesie, through whose meanes by the great fauour which his lordship had with the grand Signior, they had not long before both of them bene aduanced to their princely dignities. Hee likewise presented Sigala the Admirall of the Seas, with Abrim Bassa, who maried the great Turkes daughter, and all the other Vizirs with diuers pieces of plate, fine English cloth & other costly things: the particulars whereof, to auoid tediousnesse, I omit. All the presents thus ended, the ship shooting ten pieces of ordinance at the Seraglio point, as a last farewell, departed on her iourney for England the first of Nouember, my selfe continuing in Constantinople vntill the last of Iuly after. This yere in the spring there was great preparation for the Hungarian wars: and the great Turke threatened to goe himselfe in person: but like Heliogabalus, his affections being more seruiceable to Venus then to Mars, he stayed at home. Yet a great army was dispatched this yere; who, as they came out of Asia to goe for Hungary, did so pester the streets of Constantinople for the space of two moneths in the spring time, as scarse either Christian or Iew could without danger of losing his money passe vp and downe the city. What insolencies, murders and robberies were committed not onely vpon Christians but also vpon Turks I omit to write, and I pray God in England the like may neuer be seene: and yet I could wish, that such amongst vs as

haue

The ambassador kisseth the grand Signiors hand.

The ambassadors demands granted.

The Sultanas present.

The Sultanas present to the Queene.

Lettery sent for England.

The others Vizirs presented.

The Ascension departeth.

Great preparation for the Hungarian warres.

haue inioyed the Gospel with such great and admirable peace and prosperity vnder her Maiesties gouernment this forty yeeres, and haue not all this time brought forth better fruits of obedience to God, and thankfulnesse to her Maiesty, were there but a short time to beholde the miserable condition both of Christians and others liuing vnder such an infidell prince, who not onely are wrapped in most palpable & grosse ignorance of mind, but are cleane without the meanes of the true knowledge of God: I doubt not but the sight hereof (if they be not cleane void of grace) would stirre them vp to more thankefulnesse to God, that euer they were borne in so happy a time, and vnder so wise and godly a prince professing the true religion of Christ.

The number of souldiours which went to the warres of Hungary this yere were 470000, as by the particulars giuen by the Admirall to the Ambassadour hereunder doe appeare. Although all these were appointed and supposed to goe, yet the victories which the Christians in the spring had against the Turks strooke such a terrour in many of the Turkish souldiours, as by report diuers vpon the way thither left their Captaines and stole away.

The number of Turkish souldiours which were appointed to goe into Hungary against the Christian Emperour. May 1594.

Sinan Bassa generall, with the Saniacke masould, that is, out of office, with the other Saniacks in office or of degree, 40000.
Achmigi, that is, Aduenturers, 50000.
The Agha or Captaine with his Ianisaries, and his Giebegies, 20000.
The Beglerbeg of Græcia, with all his Saniacks, 40000.
The company of Spaheis or horsemen, 10000.
The company of Silitari, 6000.
The company of Sagbulue and of Solbulue both together, 8000.

The Bassa of Belgrad,
The Bassa of Temiswar.
The Bassa of Bosna.
The Bassa of Buda.
The Saniack of Gersech. } 80000.

Out of Asia.

The Bassa of Caramania.
The Bassa of Laras.
The Bassa of Damasco.
The Bassa of Suas.
The Bassa of Van or Nan.
The Bassa of Vsdrum. } 120000.
Of Tartars there be about 100000.

Thus you may see that the great Turke maketh warre with no small numbers. And in anno 1597, when Sultan Mahomet himselfe went in person into Hungary, if a man may beleeue reports, he had an army of 600000.

For the city of Constantinople you shall vnderstand that it is matchable with any city in Europe, aswell in bignesse as for the pleasant situation thereof, and commodious traffike and bringing of all maner of necessary prouision of victuals, and whatsoeuer els mans life for the sustentation thereof shall require, being seated vpon a promontory, looking toward Pontus Euxinus vpon the Northeast, and to Propontis on the Southwest, by which two seas by shipping is brought great store of all maner of victuals. The city it selfe in forme representeth a triangular figure, the sea washing the walles vpon two sides thereof, the other side faceth the continent of Thracia; the grand Signiors seraglio standeth vpon that point which looketh into the sea, being cut off from the city by a wall; so that ỹ wall of his pallace conteineth in circuit about two English miles: the seuen towers spoken of before stand at another

ther corner, & Constantines olde pallace to the North at the third corner. The city hath a threefolde wall about it; the innermost very high, the next lower then that, and the third a countermure, and is in circuit about ten English miles: it hath foure and twenty gates: and when the empire was remooued out of the West into the East, it was inriched with many spoiles of olde Rome by Vespasian and other emperours, hauing many monuments and pillars in it worthy the obseruation; amongst the rest in the midst of Constantinople standeth one of white marble called Vespasians pillar, of 38 or 40 yards high, which hath from the base to the top proportions of men in armour fighting on horsebacke: it is likewise adorned with diuers goodly buildings & stately Mesquitas, whereof the biggest is Sultan Solimans a great warriour, which liued in the time of Charles the fifth; but the fairest is Santa Sophia, which in the time of the Christian emperours was the chiefe cathedrall church, and is still in greatest account with the great Turke: it is built round like other Greekish churches, the pauements and walles be all of marble, it hath beneath 44 pillars of diuers coloured marble of admirable heigth and bignesse, which stand vpon great round feet of brasse, much greater then the pillars, and of a great heigth, some ten yards distant from the wall: from which vnto these pillars is a great gallery built, which goeth round about the church; and vpon the outside of the gallery stand 66 marble pillars which beare vp the round roofe being the top of the church: it hath three pulpits or preaching places, and about 2000 lampes brought in by the Turke. Likewise vpon one side in the top is the picture of Christ with the 12 Apostles, but their faces are defaced, with two or three ancient tombs of Christians: to the West sticketh an arrow in the toppe of the Church, which, as the Turks report, Sultan Mahomet shot when he first tooke the city. Neere adioyning be two chapels of marble, where lie buried most of the emperours with their children & sultanas. The 16 of Iuly, accompanied with some other of our nation we went by water to the Blacke sea, being 16 miles distant frō Constantinople, the sea al the way thither being little broader then the Thames; both sides of the shore are beautified with faire & goodly buildings. At the mouth of this Bosphorus lieth a rocke some fourescore yards from the maine land, whereupon standeth a white marble pillar called Pompeys pillar, the shadow whereof was 23 foote long at nine of the clocke in the forenoone: ouer against it is a turret of stone vpon the maine land 120 steps high, hauing a great glasse-lanthorne in the toppe foure yards in diamiter and three in heigth, with a great copper pan in the midst to holde oile, with twenty lights in it, and it serueth to giue passage into this straight in the night to such ships as come from all parts of those seas to Constantinople: it is continually kept by a Turke, who to y end hath pay of the grand Signior. And thus hauing spent eleuen moneths in Constantinople, accompanied with a chause, & carying certaine mandates from the grand Signior to the Bassa of Aleppo for the kinde vsage of our nation in those parts, the 30 of Iuly I tooke passage in a Turkish carmosale or shippe bound for Sidon; and passing thorow Propōtis, hauing Salimbria with Heraclia most pleasantly situated on the right hand, and Proconesus now called Marmora on the left, we came to Gallipoly, and so by Hellespont, betweene the two castles before named called Sestos and Abydos, famous for the passages made there both by Xerxes and great Alexander, the one into Thracia, the other into Asia, and so by the Sigean Promontory, now called Cape Ianitzary, at the mouth of Hellespont vpon Asia side, where Troy stood, where are yet ruines of olde walles to be seene, with two hils rising in a piramidall forme, not vnlikely to be the tombs of Achilles and Aiax. From thence we sailed along, hauing Tenedos and Lemnos on the right hand, and the Troian fields on the left: at length we came to Mitylen and Sio long time inhabited by the Genoueses, but now vnder the Turke. The Iland is beautified with goodly buildings and pleasant gardens, and aboundeth with fruits, wine, and the gum masticke. From thence sailing alongst the gulfe of Ephesus with Nicaria on the right hand, Samos and Smirna on the left, we came to Patmos, where S. Iohn wrote the Reuelation. The Iland is but small, not aboue fiue miles in compasse: the chiefe thing it yeeldeth is corn: it hath a port for shipping, and in it is a monastery of Greekish Caloieros. From thence by Cos (now called Lango) where Hipocrates was borne: & passing many other Ilands and rocks, we arriued at Rhodes, one of the strongest and fairest cities of the East: here we

Santa Sophia.

Pompeys pillar.

Gallipoly.

Troy.

Zio.

Patmos.

Cos.

Rhodes.

stayed

stayed three or foure dayes; and by reason of a By which went in the ship to Paphos in Cyprus, who vsed me with all kindnesse, I went about the city, and tooke the view of all: which city is still with all the houses and walles thereof maintained in the same order as they tooke it from the Rhodian knights. Ouer the doores of many of the houses, which be strongly built of stone, do remaine vndefaced, the armes of England, France, Spaine, and many other Christian knights, as though the Turkes in the view thereof gloried in the taking of all Christendome, whose armes there they beholde. From thence we sailed to Paphos an olde ruinous towne standing vpon the Westerne part of Cyprus, where S. Paul in the Acts conuerted the gouernor. Departing hence, we came to Sidon, by the Turkes called Saytosa, within tenne or twelue miles of the place where Tirus stood, which now being eaten in by the sea, is, as Ezekiel prophesied, a place for the spreading out of a net. Sidon is situated in a small bay at the foot of mount Libanus, vpon the side of an hill looking to the North: it is walled about, with a castle nigh to the sea, and one toward the land which is ruinated, but the walle thereof standeth. Some halfe mile vp toward the mountaine be certaine ruines of buildings, with marble pillars, remaining: heere for three dayes we were kindly entertained of the Captaine of the castle: and in a small barke we sailed from hence along the shore to Tripoli, & so to Alexandretta, where the 24 of August we arriued. From thence with a Venetian carauan we went by land to Aleppo, passing by Antioch, which is seated vpon the side of an hill, whose walles still stand with 360 turrets vpon them, and neere a very great plaine which beareth the name of the city, thorow which runneth the riuer Orontes, in Scripture called Farfar. In Aleppo I stayed vntill February following; in this city, as at a mart, meete many nations out of Asia with the people of Europe, hauing continuall traffike and interchangeable course of marchandise one with another: the state and trade of which place, because it is so well knowen to most of our nation I omitte to write of. The 27. of February I departed from Aleppo, and the fifth of March imbarked my selfe at Alexandretta in a great ship of Venice called the Nana Ferra, to come to England. The 14 we put into Salino in Cyprus, where the ship staying many dayes to lade cotton wool, and other commodities, in the meane time accompanied with M. William Barret my countrey man, the master of the ship a Greeke, and others we tooke occasion to see Nicosia, the chiefe city of this Iland, which was some twenty miles frō this place, which is situated at the foot of an hill: to the East is a great plaine, extending it selfe in a great length from the North to the South: it is walled about, but of no such strength as Famagusta (another city in this Iland neere the Sea side) whose walles are cut out of the maine rocke. In this city be many sumptuous and goodly buildings of stone, but vninhabited; the cause whereof doth giue me iust occasion to shew you of a rare iudgement of God vpon the owners sometime of these houses, as I was credibly informed by a Cipriot a marchant of good wealth in this city. Before it came in subiection to the Turks, while it was vnder the Venetians, there were many barons and noble men of the Cipriots, who partly by vsurping more superiority ouer the common people then they ought, and partly through their great reuenues which yeerely came in by their cotton wooll and wines, grew so insolent and proud, and withall so impiously wicked, as that they would at their pleasure command both the wiues and children of their poore tenants to serue their vncleane lusts, & holding them in such slauery as though they had beene no better then dogges, would wage them against a grayhound or spaniell, and he who woon the wager should euer after holde them as his proper goods and chattels, to doe with them as he listed, being Christians as well as themselues, if they may deserue so good a name. As they behaued themselues most vnchristianly toward their brethren, so and much more vngodly (which I should haue put in the first place) did they towards God: for as though they were too great, standing on foot or kneeling to serue God, they would come riding on horsebacke into the church to heare their masse: which church now is made a publicke basistane or market place for the Turkes to sell commodities in: but beholde the iudgement of the righteous God, who payeth the sinner measure for measure, The Turkes the yeere before the ouerthrowe giuen them at Lepanto by Don Iohn tooke Cyprus. These mighty Nimrods fled some into holes & some into mountaines to hide themselues; whereupon the Turkes made generall proclamation, that if they would all come in and yeeld themselues, they would re-

Sidon. Ezek. 26. 5.

Antioch.

Aleppo.

Nicosia.

A great iudgement of God vpon the noble men of Cyprus.

store them to their former reuenues and dignities: who not mistrusting the mischieuous pretense of the Turkes, assembled together to make themselues knowen; whom after the Turkes had in possession, they (as the Lords executioners) put them with their wiues and children all to the sword, pretending thereby to cut of all future rebellion, so that at this day is not one of the noble race knowen aliue in the Iland, onely two or three remaine in Venice but of litle wealth, which in the time of the warres escaped. After we had stayed in this Iland some thirty dayes, we set saile in the foresayd shippe being about the burthen of 900 tunnes, hauing in her passengers of diuers nations, as Tartars, Persians, Iewes, and sundry Christians. Amongst all which I had often conference with a Iew, who by reason of his many yeeres education at Safet a place in Iudea neere Ierusalem, where they study the Rabbines with some other arts as they thinke good, as also for his trauels into Persia and Ormus, he seemed to be of good experience in matters abroad, who related vnto me such conference as he had with a Baniane at Ormus, being one of the Indians inhabiting the countrey of Cambaia. This Baniane being a Gentile had skill in Astronomie, as many of that nation haue, who by his books written in his owne tongue and Characters, could tell the time of Eclipses both of Sunne and Moone, with the Change and Full, and by iudgement in Astrologie gaue answere to any question demanded. Being asked concerning his opinion in religion, what he thought of God? He made answere that they held no other god but the sun, (to which planet they pray both at the rising and setting) as I haue seene sundry doe in Aleppo: his reason was drawen from the effects which it worketh in giuing light to the moone & other starres, and causing all things to grow and encrease vpon the earth: answere was made, that it did moue with the rest as the wheeles of a clocke, and therefore of force must haue a mouer. Likewise in the Eclipse being darkened it is manifestly prooued that it is not god, for God is altogether goodnesse and brightnesse, which can neither be darkened nor receiue detriment or hurt: but the Sunne receiueth both in the Eclipse, as it is aparant: to which hee could not answere; but so they had receiued from their ancestors, that it was without beginning or ende, as in any Orbicular or round body neither beginning or end conld be found. He likewise sayd, that there were other Gentiles in ỹ Indies which worship the moone as chiefe, and their reason is. The moone when she riseth goeth with thousands of starres accompanied like a king, and therefore is chiefe: but the Sunne goeth alone, and therefore not so great. Against whom the Banianes reason, that it is not true, because the Moone and starres receiue their light from the Sunne, neither doth the Sunne vouchsafe them his company but when he list, and therefore like a mighty prince goeth alone, yet they acknowledge the Moone as Queene or Viceroy. Law they hold none, but onely seuen precepts which they say were giuen them from their father Noe, not knowing Abraham or any other. First, to honor father and mother; secondly, not to steale; thirdly not to commit adultery; fourthly not to kill any thing liuing; fiftly, not to eate any thing liuing; sixtly, not to cut their haire; seuenthly, to go barefoot in their churches. These they hold most strictly, & by no meanes will breake them: but he that breaketh one is punished with twenty stripes; but for the greatest fault they will kill none, neither by a short death nor a long, onely he is kept some time in prison with very little meat, and hath at the most not aboue twenty or fiue & twentie stripes. In the yeere they haue 16 feasts, and then they go to their church, where is pictured in a broad table the Sun, as we vse to paint it, the face of a man with beames round about, not hauing any thing els in it. At their feast they spot their faces in diuers parts with saffron all yellow, and so walke vp and downe the streets; and this they doe as a custome. They hold, there shalbe a resurrection, and all shall come to iudgement, but the account shalbe most streight, insomuch that but one of 10000 shalbe receiued to fauor, and those shall liue againe in this world in great happinesse: the rest shalbe tormented. And because they will escape this iudgement, when any man dieth, he and his wife be both burnt together euen to ashes, and then they are throwen into a riuer, and so dispersed as though they had neuer bene. If the wife will not burne with her dead husband, she is holden euer after as a whore. And by this meanes they hope to escape the iudgement to come. As for the soule, that goeth to the place from whence it came, but where the place is they know not. That the body should not be made againe they reason ẅ the philosophers, saying, that of nothing nothing can be made

Indians skilful in Astronomy.

The seuen precepts of Baniaues.

made (not knowing that God made the whole world and their god the Sun of nothing) but beholding the course of nature, that nothing is made but by a meanes, as by the seed of a man is made another, and by corne cast into the ground there commeth vp new corne: so, say they, man cannot be made except some part of him be left, and therefore they burne the whole: for if he were buried in the earth, they say there is a small bone in the necke which would neuer be consumed: or if he were eaten by a beast, that bone would not consume, but of that bone would come another man; and then the soule being restored againe, he should come into iudgement, whereas now the body being destroyed, the soule shall not be iudged: for their opinion is, that both body and soule must be vnited together, as they haue sinned together, to receiue iudgement; and therefore the soule alone cannot. Their seuen precepts which they keepe so strictly are not for any hope of reward they haue after this life, but onely that they may be blessed in this world, for they thinke that he which breaketh them shall haue ill successe in all his businesse.

They say, the three chiefe religions in the world be of the Christians, Iewes, & Turks, & yet but one of them true: but being in doubt which is the truest of the three, they will be of none: for they hold that all these three shall be iudged, and but few of them which be of the true shall be saued, the examination shall be so straight; and therefore, as I haue sayd before, to preuent this iudgement, they burne their bodies to ashes. They say, these three religions haue too many precepts to keepe them all wel, & therefore wonderfull hard it will be to make account, because so few doe obserue all their religion aright. And thus passing the time for the space of three moneths in this sea voyage, we arriued at Venice the tenth of Iune: and after I had seene Padua, with other English men, I came the ordinary way ouer the Alpes, by Augusta, Noremberg, and so for England; where to the praise of God I safely arriued the ninth of August 1595.

A letter written by the most high and mighty Empresse the wife of the Grand Signior Sultan Murad Can to the Queenes Maiesty of England, in the yeere of our Lord, 1594.

IL principio del ragionamento nostro sia scrittura perfetta nelle quatro parte del mondo, in nome di quello che ha creato indifferentemente tante infinite creature, che non haueuano anima ni persona, & di quello che fa girar gli noue cieli, & che la terra sette volte vna sopra l'altra fa firmar; Signor & Re senza vicere, & che non ha comparacion alla sua creatione ne opera, & vno senza precio, adorato incomparabilmente, l'altissimo Dio creatore; che non ha similitudine, si come e descrito dalli propheti: a la cui grandessa non si arriue, & alla perfettione sua compiuta non si oppone, & quel omnipotente creatore & cooperatore; alla grandessa del quale inchinano tutti li propheti; fra quali il maggior & che ha ottenuto gracia, horto del paradiso, ragi dal sole, amato del altissimo Dio e Mahomet Mustaffa, al qual & suoi adherenti & imitatori sia perpetua pace: alla cui sepultura odorifera si fa ogni honore. Quello che è imperator de sette climati, & delle quatro parti del mondo, inuincibile Re di Græcia, Agiamia, Vngeria, Tartaria, Valachia, Rossia, Turchia, Arabia, Bagdet, Caramania, Abessia, Giouasir, Siruan, Barbaria, Algieri, Franchia, Coruacia, Belgrado, &c. sempre felicissimo, & de dodeci Auoli possessor della corona, & della stirpe di Adam, fin hora Imperator, figliolo del'Imperatore, conseruato de la diuina prouidenza, Re di ogni dignita & honore, Sultan Murat, che il Signor Dio sempre augmenti le sue forzze, & padre di quello a cui aspetta la corona imperiale, horto & cypresso mirabile, degno della sedia regale, & vero herede del cõmando imperiale, dignissimo Mehemet Can, filiol de Sultan Murat Can, che dio compisca li suoi dissegni, & alunga li suoi giorni felici: Dalla parte della madre del qual si scriue la presente alla serenissima & gloriosissima fra le prudentissime Donne, & eletta fra li triomfanti sotto il standardo di Iesu Christo, potentissima & ricchissima regitrice, & al mondo singularissima fra il feminil sesso, la serenissima Regina d'Ingilterra, che segue le vestigie de Maria virgine, il fine della quale sia con bene & perfettione, secondo il suo desiderio. Le mando vna salutacion di pace, cosi honorata, che non basta tutta la copia di rosignoli con le loro musiche ariuare, non che con questa carta: l'amore singulare che e

conciputo fra noi, e simile a vn'horto di Vccelli vagi; che il Signor Dio la faci degna di saluacione; & il fine suo sia tale, che in questo mondo & nel' futuro sia con pace. Doppo comparsi li suoi honorati presenti da la sedia de la Serenita vostra, sapera che sono capitati in vna hora che ogni punto e stato vna consolation di lungo tempo, per occasione del Ambassadore di vostra serenita venuto alla felice porta del Imperatore, con tanto nostro contento, quanto si posso desiderare, & con quello vna lettera di vostra serenetà, che ci estata presentata dalli nostri Eunuchi con gran honore; liccarta de la quale odoraua di camfora & ambracano, & l'inchiostro di musco perfetto, & quella peruenuta in nostro mano tutta le continenza di essa a parte ho ascoltato intentamente. Quello che hora si conuiene e, che correspondente alla nostra affecione, in tutto quello che si aspetta allie cose attenente alli paesi che sono sotto il commando di vostra serenità, lei non manchi di sempre tenermi, dato noticia, che in tutto quello che li occorerà, Io possi compiacerla; de quello che fra le nostre serenità e conueniente, accioche quelle cose che si interprenderano, habino il desiderato buon fine; perche Io saro sempre ricordeuole al altissimo Imperatore delle occorenze di vostra serenita, per che sia in ogni occasione compiaciuta. La pace sia con vostra serenita, & con quelli che seguitano dretamente la via di Dio. Scritta al primi dell luna di Rabie Liuol, anno del profeta 1002, & di Iesu 1594.

The same in English.

LEt the beginning of our discourse be a perfect writing in the foure parts of the world, in the name of him which hath indifferently created such infinite numbers of creatures, which had neither soule nor body, and of him which mooueth the nine heauens, and stablisheth the earth seuen times one aboue another, which is Lord and king without any deputy, who hath no comparison to his creation and worke, and is one inestimable, worshipped without all comparison, the most high God, the creator, which hath nothing like vnto him, according as he is described by the Prophets, to whose power no man can attaine, and whose absolute perfection no man may controll; and that omnipotent creatour and fellow-worker, to whose Maiesty all the Prophets submit themselues, among whom the greatest, and which hath obtained greatest fauour, the garden of Paradise, the beame of the Sunne, the beloued of the most high God is Mahomet Mustafa, to whom and to his adherents and followers be perpetuall peace, to whose fragrant sepulture all honour is performed. He which is emperour of the seuen climats and of the foure parts of the world, the inuincible king of Græcia, Agiamia, Hungaria, Tartaria, Valachia, Rossia, Turchia, Arabia, Bagdet, Caramania, Abessis, Giouasir, Siruan, Barbaria, Alger, Franchia, Cortiacia, Belgrade, &c. alwayes most happy, and possessour of the crowne from twelue of his ancestours; and of the seed of Adam, at this present emperour, the sonne of an emperour, preserued by the diuine prouidence, a king woorthy of all glory and honour, Sultan Murad, whose forces the Lord God alwayes increase, and father of him to whom the imperiall crowne is to descend, the paradise and woonderfull tall cypresse, worthy of the royall throne, and true heire of the imperiall authority, most woorthy Mehemet Can, the sonne of Sultan Murad Can, whose enterprise God vouchsafe to accomplish, and to prolong his happy dayes: on the behalfe of whose mother this present letter is written to the most gracious and most glorious, the wisest among women, and chosen among those which triumph vnder the standard of Iesus Christ, the most mighty and most rich gouernour, and most rare among womankinde in the world, the most gracious Queene of England, which follow the steps of the virgine Mary, whose end be prosperous and perfect, according to your hearts desire. I send your Maiesty so honorable and sweet a salutation of peace, that al the flocke of Nightingales with their melody cannot attaine to ỹ like, much lesse this simple letter of mine. The singular loue which we haue conceiued one toward the other is like to a garden of pleasant birds: and the Lord God vouchsafe to saue and keepe you, and send your Maiesty an happy end both in this world and in the world to come. After the arriuall of your honourable presents from the Court of your Maiesty, your Highnesse shall vnderstand that they came in such a season that euery minute ministred occasion of long cõsolation by reason of the comming of your Maiesties Ambassadour

This Sultana is mother to Mahomet which now reigneth as Emperour.

Ambassadour to the triumphant Court of the Emperour, to our so great contentment as we could possibly wish, who brought a letter from your Maiestie, which with great honour was presented vnto vs by our eunuks, the paper whereof did smell most fragrantly of camfor and ambargriese, and the incke of perfect muske; the contents whereof we haue heard very attentiuely from point to point. I thinke it therefore expedient, that, according to our mutuall affection, in any thing whatsoeuer may concerne the countreys which are subiect to your Maiesty, I neuer faile, hauing information giuen vnto me, in whatsoeuer occasion shall be ministred, to *gratifie* your Maiesty to my power in any reasonable and conuenient matter, that all your subiects businesses and affaires may haue a wished and happy end. For I will alwayes be a sollicitour to the most mighty Emperour for your Maiesties affaires, that your Maiesty at all times may be fully satisfied. Peace be to your Maiesty, and to all such as follow rightly the way of God. Written the first day of the Moone of Rabie Linol in the yere of the Prophet, 1002. Ann. Dom. 1594.

THE SECOND PART OF THIS SECOND VOLUME

CONTAINING THE PRINCIPALL

NAUIGATIONS, VOYAGES, TRAFFIQUES, AND DISCOUERIES,

OF THE

ENGLISH NATION,

MADE TO THE SOUTH AND SOUTHEAST QUARTERS OF THE WORLD,

WITHOUT THE STRAIGHTS OF GIBRALTAR,

NAMELY

TO THE ILANDS OF MADERA, AND OF THE CANARIES,

TO THE KINGDOME OF BARBARIE, TO THE ILES OF CAPO VERDE,

TO THE RIUER OF SENEGA, TO THE COAST OF GHINEA AND BENIN,

ABOUT THE CAPE OF BUONA ESPERANSA, AND SO TO GOA IN THE EAST INDIES,

AND LIKEWISE BEYOND CAPE COMORI TO THE ILES OF NICUBAR,

TO SUMATRA, TO THE CHANELL OF SINCAPURA OUER AGAINST THE CITY OF MALACCA, AND TO DIUERS OTHER PLACES.

The voyage of Macham an English man, wherein he first of any man discouered the Iland of Madera, recorded verbatim in the Portugall history, written by Antonio Galuano.

IN the yeere 1344, King Peter the fourth of that name reigning in Aragon, the Chronicles of his age write that about this time the Iland of Madera, standing in 32 degrees, was discouered by an English man, which was named Macham, who sailing out of England into Spaine, with a woman that he had stollen, arriued by tempest in that Iland, and did cast anker in that hauen or bay, which now is called Machico after the name of Macham. And because his louer was sea-sicke, he went on land with some of his company, and the shippe with a good winde made saile away, and the woman died for thought. Macham, which loued her dearely, built a chapell, or hermitage, to bury her in, calling it by the name of Iesus, and caused his name and hers to be written or grauen vpon the stone of her tombe, and the occasion of their arriuall there. And afterward he ordeined a boat made of one tree (for there be trees of a great compasse about) and went to sea in it, with those men that he had, and were left behinde with him, and came vpon the coast of Afrike, without saile or care. And the Moores which saw it tooke it to be a maruellous thing, and presented him

Madera first discouered by one Macham an Englishman.

Macham made there a chapell, naming it Iesus chapell.

vnto

vnto the king of that countrey for a woonder, and that king also sent him and his companions for a miracle vnto the king of Castile.

In the yeere 1395, King Henry the third of that name reigning in Castile, the information which Macham gaue of this Iland, and also the ship of his company, mooued many of France and Castile to go and discouer it, and also the great Canaria, &c.

In the yeere 1417, King Iohn the second reigning in Castile, and his mother Lady Katherine being Regent, one Monsieur Ruben of Bracamont, which was Admirall of France, demanding the conquest of the Ilands of the Canaries, with the title of King, for a kinsman of his named Monsieur Iohn Betancourt, after that the Queene hath giuen him them, and holpen him, he departed from Siuil with a good army. And they affirme also, that the principall cause which moued him to this, was to discouer the Iland of Madera, which Macham had found, &c. ibidem pag. 2. of Anthonio Galuano.

This note following, concerning the ayde and assistance of the English Marchants, giuen to King Iohn the first of Portugall, for the winning of Ceuta in Barbarie, which was the first occasion of all the Portugall discoueries, is taken out of Thomas Walsingham his Latine Chronicle. Anno 1415.

HOc anno Ioannes primus Rex Portugalliæ fretus auxilio Mercatorum Angliæ quàm maximè, & Alemannorum, vicit Agarenos in terra Regis Betinarinorum, multis eorum millibus ad generum Cerberis distinatis: cepítque ciuitatem eorum quàm amplissimam supra mare sitam, vocatam Ceut eorum lingua.

The same in English.

THis yere Iohn the first king of Portugall, being principally assisted by the helpe of the English Marchants, and Almaines, ouercame the Moores in the dominion of the king of Barbary, putting many thousands of them to the sword, and he tooke their city which was very mighty, seated vpon the sea, which is called Ceuta in their language.

Confirmatio treugarum inter Regem Angliæ Eduardum quartum, & Ioannem secundum Regem Portugalliæ, datarum in oppido montis Maioris 8 Februarij, & apud Westmonasterium 12 Septembris, 1482, anno regni 22 Regis Eduardi quarti, lingua Iusitanica ex opere sequenti excerpta.

Libro das obras de Garcia de Resende, que tracta da vida è feitos del Rey dom Ioham secundo.

Embaixada que el Rey mandou à el Rey d'Inglaterra, cap. 33.

EDa qui de Monte Mor mandou el Rey por embaixadores à el rey dom Duarte de Inglaterra Ruy de Sousa pessoa principal è de muyto bon saber é credito, de que el Rey muyto confiaua, é ho doutor Ioam d'Elnas, é Fernam de Pina por secretario. E foram por mar muy honradamente com muy boa companhia: hos quaes foram en nome del Rey confirmar as ligas antiquas com Inglaterra, que polla condisan dellas ho nouo Rey de hum reyno é do outro era obrigado à mandar confirmar: é tambien pera mostrarem ho titolo que el rey tinha no senhorio de Guinee, pera que depois de visto el rey d'Inglaterra defendesse em todos seus reynos, que ninguen armasse nem podesse mandar à Guinee: é assi mandasse desfazer huna armada, que pera laa faziam, per mandado do Duque de Medina Sidonia, hum Ioam Tintam é hum Guilherme Fabiam Ingreses. Com ha qual embaixada el rey d'Inglaterra mostrou receber grande contentamento, é foy delle com muyta honra recebida, é em tudo fez inteiramente ho que pellos embaixadores lhe foy requerido. De que elles trouxeram ‖ autenticas escrituras das diligencias que con publicos pregones fizeram: é assi as prouisones das aprouasones que eran necessarias: é com tudo muyto ben acabado, é ha vontade del rey se vieram.

‖ These writings are in the Tower.

The

The Ambassage which king Iohn the second, king of Portugall, sent to Edward the fourth king of England, which in part was to stay one Iohn Tintam, and one William Fabian English men, from proceeding in a voyage which they were preparing for Guinea, 1481; taken out of the booke of the workes of Garcias de Resende, which intreateth of the life and acts of Don Iohn the second, king of Portugall. Chap. 33.

ANd afterwards the king sent as Ambassadours from the towne of Monte maior to king Edward the fourth of England, Ruy de Sousa, a principall person, and a man of great wisedome and estimation, and in whom the king reposed great trust, with doctor Iohn d'Elnas, and Ferdinand de Pina, as secretarie. And they made their voyage by sea very honourably, being very well accompanied. These men were sent on the behalfe of their king, to confirme the ancient leagues with England, wherein it was conditioned that the new king of the one and of the other kingdome, should be bound to send to confirme the olde leagues. And likewise they had order to shew and make him acquainted with the title which the king held in the segneury of Ginnee, to the intent that after the king of England had seene the same, he should giue charge thorow all his kingdomes, that no man should arme or set foorth ships to Ginnee: and also to request him, that it would please him to giue commandement to dissolue a certaine fleet, which one Iohn Tintam and one William Fabian, English men, were making, by commandement of the duke of Medina Sidonia, to goe to the aforesayd parts of Ginnee. With which ambassage the king of England seemed to be very well pleased, and they were receiued of him with very great honour, and he condescended vnto all that the ambassadours required of him, at whose hands they receiued authenticall writings of the diligence which they had performed, with publication thereof by the heralds: and also prouisoes of those confirmations which were necessary. And hauing dispatched all things well, and with the kings good will, they returned home into their countrey.

The first cause of the ambassage.

The second cause.

The third cause.

A briefe note concerning an ancient trade of the English Marchants to the Canarie-ilands, gathered out of an olde ligier booke of M. Nicolas Thorne the elder a worshipfull marchant of the city of Bristoll.

IT appeareth euidently out of a certaine note or letter of remembrance, in the custody of me Richard Hakluyt, written by M. Nicolas Thorne the elder a principall marchant of Bristoll, to his friend and factour Thomas Midnall and his owne seruant William Ballard at that time resident at S. Lucar in Andaluzia; that in the yeere of our Lord 1526 (and by all circumstances and probabilities long before) certaine English marchants, and among the rest himselfe with one Thomas Spacheford exercised vsuall and ordinary trade of marchandise vnto the Canarie Ilands. For by the sayd letter notice was giuen to Thomas Midnall and William Ballard aforesayd, that a certaine ship called The Christopher of Cadiz bound for the West Indies had taken in certaine fardels of cloth both course and fine, broad and narrow of diuers sorts and colours, some arouas of packthreed, sixe cerons or bagges of sope with other goods of M. Nicolas Thorne, to be deliuered at Santa Cruz the chiefe towne in Tenerifa one of the seuen Canary-ilands. All which commodities the sayd Thomas and William were authorised by the owner in the letter before mentioned to barter & sell away at Santa Cruz. And in lieu of such mony as should arise of the sale of those goods they were appointed to returne backe into England good store of Orchell (which is a certaine kinde of mosse growing vpon high rocks, in those dayes much vsed to die withall) some quantity of sugar, and certaine hundreds of kid-skinnes. For the procuring of which and of other commodities at the best and first hand the sayd Thomas and William were to make their abode at Santa Cruz, and to remaine there as factours for the abouesayd M. Nicolas Thorne.

The English had an ordinary trade to the Canaries 1526.

And here also I thought good to signifie, that in the sayd letters mention is made of one Thomas Tison an English man, who before the foresayd yere 1526 had found the way to the West Indies, and was there resident, vnto whom the sayd M. Nicolas Thorne sent certaine armour and other commodities specified in the letter aforesayd.

A description of the fortunate Ilands, otherwise called the Ilands of Canaria, with their strange fruits and commodities: composed by Thomas Nicols English man, who remained there the space of seuen yeeres together.

Mine intent is particularly to speake of the Canaria Ilands, which are seuen in number, wherein I dwelt the space of seuen yeres and more, because I finde such variety in sundry writers, and especially great vntruths, in a booke called The New found world Antarctike, set out by a French man called Andrew Theuet, the which his booke he dedicated to the Cardinall of Sens, keeper of the great seale of France.

It appeareth by the sayd booke that he had read the works of sundry Phylosophers, Astronomers, and Cosmographers, whose opinions he gathered together. But touching his owne trauell, which he affirmeth, I refer to the iudgement of the expert in our dayes, and therefore for mine owne part I write of these Canaria Ilands, as time hath taught me in many yeres.

The Iland of Canaria.

THe Iland of Canaria is almost equal in length and bredth, containing 12 leagues in length, touching the which as principall and the residue, the Spanyards holde opinion, that they discouered the same in their nauigation toward America, but the Portugals say, that their nation first found the sayd Ilands in their nauigation toward Aethiopia and the East Indies.

English men at the first conquest of the Canaries.

But truth it is that the Spanyards first conquered these Ilands, with diuers English gentlemen in their company, whose posterity this present day inioyeth them. Some write that this Iland was named Canaria by meane of the number of dogs which there were found: as for example, Andrew Theuet sayth, that one Iuba carried two dogs from thence: but that opinion could I neuer learne by any of the naturall people of the countrey, although I haue talked with many in my time, and with many of their children. For trueth it is, that there were dogs, but such as are in all the Northwest lands, and some part of the West India, which serued the people in stead of sheepe for victual. But of some of the conquerors of those Ilands I haue heard say that the reason why they were called the Canaria Islands is, because there grow generally in them all fouresquare canes in great multitude together, which being touched will cast out a liquor as white as milke, which liquor is ranke poison, and at the first entry into these Ilands some of the discouerers were therewith poisoned: for many yeeres after that conquest the inhabitants begau to plant both wine and sugar, so that Canaria was not so called by sugar canes.

The people which first inhabited this land were called Canaries by the conquerors, they were clothed in goat skinnes made like vnto a loose cassocke, they dwelt in caues in the rocks, in great amity and brotherly loue. They spake all one language: their chiefe feeding was gelt dogges, goates, and goates milke, their bread was made of barley meale and goates milke, called Gofia, which they vse at this day, and thereof I haue eaten diuers times, for it is accounted exceeding holesome.

Touching the originall of these people some holde opinion, that the Romans which dwelt in Africa exiled them thither, aswell men as women, their tongues being cut out of their heads, for blasphemy against the Romane gods. But howsoeuer it were, their language was speciall, and not mixed with Romane speech or Arabian.

This Iland is now the principallest of all the rest, not in fertility, but by reason it is the seat of iustice and gouernment of all the residue. This Iland hath a speciall Gouernour for the Iland onely, yet notwithstanding there are three Iudges called Auditours, who are superiour Iudges, and all in one ioyntly proceed as the Lord Chanceller of any realme.

Ciuitas Palmarum.

To this city from all the other Ilands come all such by appeale, as haue sustained any wrong, and these good Iudges do remedy the same. The city is called Ciuitas Palmarum, it hath a beautifull Cathedrall church, with all dignities thereunto pertaining. For the publike weale of the Iland there are sundry Aldermen of great authority, who haue a councell house by themselues. The city is not onely beautifull, but the citizens curious and gallant in

in apparell. And after any raine or foule weather a man may goe cleane in Veluet slippers, because the ground is sandy, the aire very temperate, without extreame heat or colde.

They reape wheat in February, and againe in May, which is excellent good, and maketh bread as white as snow. This Iland hath in it other three townes, the one called Telde, the second Galder, and the third Guia. It hath also twelue sugar houses called Ingenios, in which they make great quantity of good sugar.

The maner of the growth of sugar is in this sort, a good ground gineth foorth fruit nine times in 18 yere: that is to say, the first is called Planta, which is layd along in a furrow, so that the water of a sluce may come ouer euery roote being couered with earth: this root bringeth foorth sundry canes, and so consequently all the rest. It groweth two yeeres before the yeelding of profit, and not sixe moneths, as Andrew Theuet the French man writeth. The planting and growth of sugar canes.

Then are they cut euen with the ground, and the tops & leaues called Coholia cut off, and the canes bound into bundels like faggots, and so are caried to the sugar house called Ingenio, where they are ground in a mill, and the iuyce thereof conueyed by a conduct to a great vessell made for the purpose, where it is boiled till it waxe thicke, and then is it put into a fornace of earthen pots of the mokle of a sugar loafe, and then is it carried to another house, called a purging house where it is placed to purge the blacknesse with a certaine clay that is layd thereon. Of the remainder in the cauldron is made a second sort called Escumas, and of the purging liquor that droppeth from the white sugar is made a third sort, and the remainder is called Panela or Netas, the refuse of all the purging is called Remiel or Malasses: and thereof is made another sort called Refinado. The making of sugar.

When this first fruit is in this sort gathered, called Planta, then the Cane-field where it grew is burned ouer with sugar straw to the stumps of the first canes, and being husbanded, watred and trimmed, at the end of other two yeeres it yeeldeth the second fruit called Zoca. The third fruit is called Tertia Zoca, the fourth Quarta Zoca, and so orderly the rest, til age causeth the olde Canes to be planted againe.

This Iland hath singular good wine, especially in the towne of Telde, and sundry sorts of good fruits, as Batatas, Mellons, Peares, Apples, Orenges, Limons, Pomgranats, Figs, Peaches of diuers sorts, and many other fruits: but especially the Plantano which groweth neere brooke sides, it is a tree that hath no timber in it, but groweth directly vpward with the body, hauing maruelous thicke leaues, and euery leafe at the toppe of two yards long and almost halfe a yard broad. The tree neuer yeeldeth fruit but once, and then is cut downe; in whose place springeth another, and so still continueth. The fruit groweth on a branch, and euery tree yeeldeth two or three of those branches, which beare some more and some lesse, as some forty and some thirty, the fruit is like a Cucumber, and when it is ripe it is blacke, and in eating more delicate then any conserue. Wine. Plantano.

This Iland is sufficiently prouided of Oxen, Kine, Camels, Goats, Sheepe, Capons, Hens, Ducks, and Pidgeons, and great Partridges. Wood is the thing that most wanteth: and because I haue particularly to intreat of the other sixe Ilands, I leaue further inlarging of Canaria, which standeth in 27 degrees distant from the Equator.

The Ile of Tenerif.

THe Iland of Tenerif standeth in 27 degrees and a halfe from the equator, and is distant from Canaria 12 leagues Northward. This Iland containeth 17 leagues in length, and the land lieth high in forme of a ridge of sowen lande in some part of England, and in the midst of the sayd place standeth a round hill called Pico Deteithe, situated in this sort. The top of this pike conteineth of heigth directly vpward 15 leagues & more, which is 45 English miles, out of the which often times proceedeth fire and brimstone, and it may be about halfe a mile in compasse: the sayd top is in forme or likenesse of a caldron. But within two miles of the top is nothing but ashes & pumish stones: yet beneath that two miles is the colde region couered all the yere with snow, and somwhat lower are mighty huge trees growing called Vinatico, which are exceeding heauy and will not rot in any water although they lie a thousand

yeeres therein. Also there is a wood called Barbusano, of like vertue, with many Sauine trees and Pine trees. And beneath these sorts of trees are woods of Bay trees of ten & 12 miles long, which is a pleasant thing to trauell thorow, among the which are great numbers of small birds, which sing exceeding sweet, but especially one sort that are very litle, and of colour in all respects like a Swallow, sauing that he hath a little blacke spot on his breast as broad as a peny. He singeth more sweetly than all the rest, but if he be taken and imprisoned in a cage, he liueth but a small while. This Iland bringeth foorth all sorts of fruits, as Canaria doth: and also all the other Ilands in generall bring foorth shrubs or bushes, out of the which issueth a iuice as white as milke, which after a while that it hath come out waxeth thicke, and is exceeding good birdlime, the bush is called Taybayba. This Iland also bringeth foorth another tree called Drago, which groweth on high among rocks, and by incision at the foot of the tree issueth out a liquor like blood, which is a commō drug among Apothecaries. Of the wood of this tree are made targets greatly esteemed, because if any sword or dagger hit thereon, they sticke so fast that it is hard plucking them out.

Lime.

This is the most fruitfull Iland of all the rest for corne, and in that respect is a mother or nurse to all the others in time of need. There groweth also a certaine mosse vpon the high rocks called Orchel, which is bought for Diars to die withall. There are 12 sugar houses called Ingenios, which make great quantity of sugar. There is also one league of ground which standeth between two townes, the one called Larotaua, and the other Rialeio, and it is thought that the like plot of ground is not in all the world. The reason is, that this one league of ground produceth sweet water out of the cliffes or rocky mountaines, corne of all sortes, fruites of all sortes, and excellent good silke, flaxe, waxe, and hony, and very good wines in abundance, with great store of sugar and fire-wood. Out of this Iland is laden great quantity of wines for the West India, and other countreys. The best groweth on a hill side called the Ramble.

Orchel good for dying.

There is in that Iland a faire city, standing three leagues from the sea, nere vnto a lake called Laguna, wherein are two faire parish churches, there dwelleth the gouernour who ruleth all that Iland with iustice. There are also aldermen for the publike weale, who buy their offices of the king: the most of the whole inhabitants of this city are gentlemen, merchants, and husband men.

There are other foure townes called Santa Cruz, Larotaua, Rialeio, and Garachico.

Santa Cruz.

In this Iland before the conquest dwelt seuen kings, who with all their people dwelt in caues, and were clothed in goat skinnes, as the Canaria people were, and vsed such like order of diet as they had. Their order of burial was, that when any died, he was carried naked to a great caue, where he was propped vp against the wall standing on his feet. But if he were of any authority among them, then had he a staffe in his hand, and a vessell of milke standing by him. I haue seene caues of 300 of these corpses together, the flesh being dried vp, the body remained as light as parchment. These people were called Guanches, naturally they spake another language cleane contrary to the Canarians, and so consequently euery Iland spake a seuerall language.

Note (gentle reader) that the Iland of Canaria, the Ile of Tenerif, and the Ile of Palma appertaine to the king of Spaine, vnto whom they pay fifty thousand duckats yeerely for custome and other profits. All these Ilands ioyntly are one bishopricke, which pay to the bishop twelue thousand duckats yeerely. And thus I conclude of the Ile of Tenerif, which standeth in 27 degrees and a halfe, as I haue before declared.

Gomera.

THe Iland of Gomera standeth Westward from Tenerif, in distance sixe leagues: this is but a small Iland conteining eight leagues in length. It is an Earledome, & the Lord thereof is called the earle of Gomera. But in case of any controuersie the vassals may appeale to the kings superior Iudges which reside in Canaria.

This Iland hath one proper towne called Gomera, which hath an excellent good port or harbour for ships, where often times the Indian fleet take refreshing for their voyage.

There

There is also sufficient graine and fruit for the maintenance of themselues.

There is one Ingenio or Sugar-house, with great plenty of wine and other sorts of fruits, as Canaria and Tenerif hath.

This Iland yeeldeth no other commodity but onely orchell; it standeth in 27 degrees distant from the Equator toward the pole Arcticke.

The Ile of Palma.

THe Ile of Palma standeth twelue leagues distant from the Ile of Gomera Northwestward. This Iland is fruitfull of wine and sugar: it hath a proper city called the city of Palma, where is great contraction for wines, which are laden for the West India & other places. This city hath one faire church, and a gouernour, and aldermen to maintaine and execute iustice. It hath also another prety towne, called S. Andrewes. It hath also foure Ingenios which make excellent sugar, two of the which are called Zauzes, and the other two, Tassacort.

This Iland yeeldeth but little bread-corne; but rather is thereof prouided from Tenerif and other places.

Their best wines grow in a soile called the Brenia, where yeerely is gathered twelue thousand buts of wine like vnto Malmsies. This Iland standeth round, and containeth in circuit neere fiue and twenty leagues. It hath plenty of all sorts of fruits, as Canaria and Tenerif haue, it standeth in twenty seuen degrees and a halfe.

The Iland of Yron, called Hierro.

THis Iland standeth ten leagues distant from the Iland of Palma Westward: it is but a little Iland, which containeth sixe leagues in circuit, and hath but small extension. It appertaineth to the earle of Gomera. The chiefest commodity of this Iland is goats flesh and orchell. There is no wine in all that Iland, but onely one vineyard that an English man of Taunton in the West countrey planted among rocks, his name was Iohn Hill. The onely vineyard in Hierro planted by Ioh. Hill of Taunton.

This Iland hath no kind of fresh water, but onely in the middle of the Iland groweth a great tree with leaues like an Oliue tree, which hath a great cisterne at the foot of the sayd tree. This tree continually is couered with clouds, and by meanes thereof the leaues of the sayd tree continually drop water, very sweet, into the sayd cisterne, which commeth to the sayd tree from the clouds by attraction. And this water sufficeth the Iland for all necessities, as well for the cattell, as for the inhabitants. It standeth in 27 degrees.

The Iland of Lanzarota.

THe Iland of Lanzarota standeth eighteene leagues distant from grand Canaria Southeastward. The onely commodity of this Iland is goats flesh and orchell. It is an earledome, and doth appertaine to Don Augustine de Herrera, with title of earle of Fortauentura and Lanzarota. But the vassals of these earledomes may in any cause of wrong appeale to the Kings Iudges, which reside in Canaria, as I haue sayd before: because although the king hath reserued to himselfe but onely the three fruitful Ilands, called Canaria, Tenerif, and Palma, yet he also reserued the rod of iustice to himselfe, because otherwise the vassals might be euil intreated of their Lords.

From this Iland do weekly resort to Canaria, Tenerif, & Palma, boats laden with dried goats flesh, called Tussmetta, which serueth in stead of bacon, and is very good meat. This Iland standeth in 26 degrees, and is in length twelue leagues.

The Ile of Fortenentura.

THe Ile of Forteuentura standeth fifty leagues from the promontory of Cabo de Guer, in the firme land of Africa, and foure & twenty leagues distant from Canaria Estward. This Iland doth appertaine to the lord of Lanzarota. It is reasonable fruitfull of wheat and barley, and also of kine, goats, and orchel: this Ile is fifteene leagues long and ten leagues broad. On the North side it hath a little Iland about one league distant from the maine Iland, betweene both of the which it is nauigable for any ships, and is called Graciosa.

Both

*Both Forteuentura and Lanzarota haue very little wine of the growth of those Ilands. It standeth in 27 degrees.

Thus much haue I written of these seuen Ilands by experience, because I was a dweller there, as I haue sayd before, the space of seuen yeeres in the affaires of master Thomas Locke, master Anthonie Hickman, and master Edward Castelin, who in those dayes were worthy merchants, and of great credite in the citie of London.

A description of the Iland of Madera.

THe Iland of Madera standeth in 32 degrees distant from the equinoctinall line, and seuentie leagues from the Ile of Tenerif Northeastward and Southwest from Hercules pillars. This Iland was first discouered by one Macham an Englishman, and was after conquered and inhabited by the Portugall nation. It was first called the Iland of Madera, by reason of the great wildernesse of sundry sortes of trees that there did growe, and yet doe, as Cedars, Cypres, Vinatico, Barbuzano, Pine trees, and diuers others, and therefore the sayd Iland continueth still with the same name. Howbeit they hold opinion, that betweene the sayd Iland and the Ile of Palma is an Iland not yet discouered, which is the true Iland Madera called saint Brandon. This Iland yeeldeth a great summe of money to the king of Portugall yeerely: it hath one faire citie called Fouchall, which hath one faire port or harbour for shippes, and a strong bulwarke, and a faire Cathedrall church, with a bishop and other dignities thereunto appertaining. There is also iustice and gouernment according to the Portugall vse. But causes of appellation are remitted to the citie of Lisbone in Portugall to the kings superior iudges there. This Iland hath another towne called Machico, which hath likewise a good road for ships, which towne and road were so called after the name of Macham the Englishman, who first discouered the same. There are also sixteene sugar houses called Ingenios, which make excellent good sugar.

There is besides the goodly timber before declared, great store of diuers sortes of fruites, as Peares, Apples, Plummes, wild Dates, Peaches of diuers sortes, Mellons, Batatas, Orenges, Lemmons, Pomgranates, Citrons, Figges, and all maner of garden herbes. There are many Dragon trees, such as grow in the Canarie Ilands, but chiefly this land produceth great quantitie of singular good wines which are laden for many places. On the North side of this land three leagues distant from the maine Iland standeth another litle Iland called Porto santo: the people thereof liueth by husbandrie, for the Iland of Madera yeeldeth but litle corne, but rather is thereof prouided out of France and from the Iland of Tenerif. On the East side of the Ile of Madera sixe leagues distant standeth another litle Iland called the Desert, which produceth onely Orchell, and nourisheth a great number of Goates, for the prouision of the maine Iland, which may be thirtie leagues in circuit: and the land is of great heigth where the foresayd trees growe. It is woonder to see the conueyance of the water to the Ingenios by Mines through the mountaines.

In the mid way betweene Tenerif and the Iland of Madera standeth a litle solitarie Iland called the Saluages, which may bee about one league in compasse, which hath neither tree nor fruit, but is onely food for Goates.

The originall of the first voyage for traffique into the kingdom of Marocco in Barbarie, begun in the yeere 1551. with a tall ship called the Lion of London, whereof went as captaine Master Thomas Windam, as appeareth by this extract of a letter of James Aldaie, to the worshipfull master Michael Locke, which Aldaie professeth himselfe to haue bene the first inuentor of this trade.

WOrshipful Sir, hauing lately bene acquainted with your intent to prosecute the olde intermitted discouerie for Catai, if therein with my knowledge, trauell or industrie I may doe you seruice, I am readie to doe it, and therein to aduenture my life to the vttermost point. *Trueth* it is, that I haue bene by some men (not my friends) euill spoken of at London, saying that although I be a man of knowledge in the Arte of Nauigation and Cosmographie, and that I haue bene the inuenter of some voyages that be now growen to great effect; yet say they

they maliciously and without iust cause, that I haue not not bene willing at any season to proceed in those voyages that I haue taken in hand, taking example especially of two voyages. The one was when I was master in the great Barke Aucher for the Leuant, in which voyage I went not, but the causes they did not know of my let from the same, nor of the other. But first the very trueth is, that I was from the same voyage letted by the Princes letters, which my Master Sebastian Gabota had obtained for that purpose, to my great griefe. And as touching the second voyage which I inuented for the trade of Barbarie, the liuing God knoweth that I say most true, that when the great sweate was, (whereon the chiefe of those with whom I ioyned in that voyage died, that is to say, Sir Iohn Lutterell, Iohn Fletcher, Henry Ostrich and others) I my selfe was also taken with the same sweate in London, and after it, whether with euill diet in keeping, or how I know not, I was cast into such an extreame feuer, as I was neither able to ride nor goe: and the shippe being at Portesmouth, Thomas Windam had her away from thence, before I was able to stand vpon my legges, by whom I lost at that instant fourescore pound. Besides I was appointed by them that died (if they had liued) to haue had the whole gouernment both of shippe and goods, because I was to them the sole inuenter of that trade.

In the first voyage to Barbary there were two Moores, being noblemen, whereof one was of the Kings blood, conuayed by the said Master Thomas Windham into their Countrey out of England,

Yours humble at your commandement,
Iames Alday.

The second voyage to Barbary in the yeere 1552. Set foorth by the right worshipfull Sir Iohn Yorke, Sir William Gerard, Sir Thomas Wroth, Master Frances Lambert, Master Cole, and others; Written by the relation of Master Iames Thomas then Page to Master Thomas Windham chiefe Captaine of this voyage.

THe shippes that went on this voyage were three, whereof two were of the Riuer of Thames, That is to say, the Lyon of London, whereof Master Thomas Windham was Captaine and part owner, of about an hundred & fiftie tunnes: The other was the Buttolfe about fourescore tunnes, and a Portugall Caruel bought of certaine Portugals in Newport in Wales, and fraighted for this voyage, of summe sixtie tunnes. The number of men in the Fleete were an hundred and twentie. The Master of the Lyon was one Iohn Kerry of Mynhed in Somersetshire, his Mate was Dauid Landman. The chiefe Captaine of this small Fleete was Master Thomas Windham a Norfolke gentleman borne, but dwelling at Marshfield-parke in Somerset shire. This Fleete departed out of King-rode neere Bristoll about the beginning of May 1552. being on a Munday in the morning: and the Munday fortnight next ensuing in the euening came to an ancker at their first port in the roade of Zafia, or Asafi on the coast of Barbarie, *Asafi.* standing in 32. degrees of latitude, and there put on land part of our marchandise to be conueied by land to the citie of Marocco: which being done, and hauing refreshed our selues with victuals and water, we went to the second port called Santa Cruz, where we discharged *Santa Cruz.* the rest of our goods, being good quantitie of linnen and woollen cloth, corall, amber, let, and diuers other things well accepted of the Moores. In which road we found a French ship, which not knowing whether it were warre or peace betweene England and France, drewe her selfe as neere vnder the towne wals as she could possible, crauing aide of the towne for her defence, if need were, which in deed seeing vs draw neere, shot at vs a piece from the wals, which came ouer the Lion our Admirall, between the maine mast & her foremast. Whereupon we comming to an anker, presently came a pinnes aboord vs to know what we were, who vnderstanding that we had bene there the yere before, & came with the good leaue of their king in marchant wise, were fully satisfied, and gaue vs good leaue to bring our goods peaceably on shore, where the Viceroy, whose name was Sibill Manache, within short time after came to visite vs, and vsed vs with all curtesie. But by diuers occasions we spent here very neere three moneths before we could get in our lading, which was Sugar, Dates, Almonds, and Malassos or sugar Syrrope. And for all our being here in the heate of the Sommer,

The English were at Santa Cruz the yeere before being 1551.

mer, yet none of our company perished by sicknesse. Our ships being laden, wee drew into the Sea for a Westerne wind for England. But being at sea, a great leake fell vpon the Lion, so that we were driuen to Lancerota, and Forteuentura, where, betweene the two Ilands, we came to a road, whence wee put on land out of our sayd ship 70. chestes of Sugar vpon Lancerota, with some dozein or sixteene of our company, where the inhabitants supposing we had made a wrongfull prize of our carauell, suddenly came with force vpon our people, among whom I my selfe was one, tooke vs prisoners, and spoiled the sugars: which thing being perceiued from our ships, they manned out three boates, thinking to rescue vs, and draue the Spaniards to flight, whereof they slew eighteene, and tooke their gouernour of the Iland prisoner, who was a very aged gentleman about 70 yeeres of age. But chasing the enemie so farre, for our recouerie, as pouder and arrowes wanted, the Spaniardes perceiuing this, returned, and in our mens retire they slew sixe of them. Then a Parle grew, in the which it was agreed, that we the prisoners should be by them restored, and they receiue their olde gouernour, giuing vs a testimonie vnder his and their hands, what damages wee had there receiued, the which damages were here restored, and made good by the king of Spaine his marchants vpon our returne into England. After wee had searched and mended our leake, being returned aboord, we came vnder saile, and as wee were going to the sea on the one side of the Iland, the Cocafuego and other ships of the king of Portugals Armada entered at the other, and came to anker in the road from whence we were but newly departed, and shot off their great ordinance in our hearing. And here by the way it is to bee vnderstood that the Portugals were much offended with this our new trade into Barbarie, and both in our voiage the yeere before, as also in this they gaue out in England by their marchants, that if they tooke vs in those partes, they would vse vs as their mortall enemies, with great threates and menaces. But by God and good prouidence wee escaped their handes. From this Iland shaping our coast for England, wee were seuen or eight weekes before we could reach the coast of England. The first port wee entered into was the hauen of Plimmouth, from whence within short time wee came into the Thames, and landed our marchandise at London, about the ende of the moneth of October, 1552.

A voiage made out of England vnto Guinea and Benin in Affrike, at the charges of certaine marchants Aduenturers of the Citie of London, in the yeere of our Lord 1553.

I Was desired by certaine of my friends to make some mention of this Voiage, that some memorie thereof might remaine to our posteritie, if either iniquitie of time consuming all things, or ignorance creeping in by barbarousnesse and contempt of knowledge should hereafter bury in obliuion so woorthie attempts, so much the greatlier to bee esteemed, as before neuer enterprised by Englishmen, or at the least so frequented, as at this present they are, and may bee, to the great commoditie of our marchants, if the same be not hindered by the ambition of such, as for the conquering of fortie or fiftie miles here and there, and erecting of certaine fortresses, thinke to be Lordes of halfe the world, enuying that other should enioy the commodities, which they themselues cannot wholy possesse. And although such as haue bene at charges in the discouering and conquering of such landes ought by good reason to haue certaine priuileges, prehemineuces, and tributes for the same, yet (to speake vnder correction) it may seeme somewhat rigorous, and agaynst good reason and conscience, or rather agaynst the charitie that ought to be among Christian men, that such as inuade the dominions of other should not permit other friendly to vse the trade of marchandise in places neerer, or seldome frequented of them, whereby their trade is not hindered in such places, where they themselues haue at their owne election appointed the Martes of their traffike. But forasmuch as at this present it is not my intent to accuse or defend, approoue or improoue, I will cease to speake any further hereof, and proceed to the description of the first voyage, as briefly and faithfully as I was aduertised of the same, by the information of such credible persons, as made diligent inquisition to know the trueth thereof, as much as shall be requisite, omitting to speake of many particular things, not greatly necessarie to be knowen: which neuerthelesse

thelesse, with also the exact course of the nauigation, shall be more fully declared in the second voiage. And if herein fauour or friendship shall perhaps cause some to thinke that some haue bene sharply touched, let them lay apart fauour and friendship, and glue place to trueth, that honest men may receiue prayse for well doing, and lewd persons reproch, as the iust stipend of their euill desertes, whereby other may be deterred to doe the like, and vertuous men encouraged to proceed in honest attempts.

But that these voyages may be more plainly vnderstood of all men, I haue thought good for this purpose, before I intreat hereof, to make a briefe description of Africa, being that great part of the world, on whose West side beginneth the coast of Guinea at Cabo Verde, about twelue degrees in latitude, on this side the Equinoctiall line, and two degrees in longitude from the measuring line, so running from the North to the South, and by East in some places, within 5, 4, and 3 degrees and a halfe vnto the Equinoctiall, and so foorth in maner directly East and by North, for the space of 36 degrees or thereabout, in longitude from the West to the East, as shall more plainly appeare in the description of the second voyage.

A briefe description of Afrike gathered by Richard Eden.

IN Africa the lesse are these kingdoms: the kingdom of Tunis and Constantina, which is at this day vnder Tunis, and also the region of Bugia, Tripoli, and Ezzah. This part of Afrike is very barren by reason of the great deserts, as the deserts of Numidia and Barca. The principall ports of the kingdome of Tunis are these: Goletta, Bizerta, Potofarnia, Bona, and Stora. The chiefe cities of Tunis are Constantina and Bona, with diuers other. Vnder this kingdom are many Ilands, as Zerbi, Lampadola, Pantalarea, Limoso, Beit, Gamelaro, and Malta, where at this present is the great master of the Rhodes. Vnder the South of this kingdom are the great deserts of Lybia. All the nations in this Africa the lesse are of the sect of Mahomet, and a rusticall people, liuing scattred in villages. The best of this part of Afrike is Barbaria lying on the coast of the sea Mediterraneum.

Tunis. Bugia. Tripoli. Numidia. Ilands of Tunis. Malta. The deserts of Lybia. Barbaria.

Mauritania (now called Barbaria) is diuided into two parts, as Mauritania Tingitana, and Cæsariensis. Mauritania Tingitana is now called the kingdom of Fes, and the kingdom of Marocco. The principall citie of Fes is called Fessa: and the chiefe citie of Marocco is named Marocco.

Mauritania. The kingdom of Fes & Marocco.

Mauritania Cæsariensis is at this day called the kingdom of Tremisen, with also the citie called Tremisen or Tclensin. This region is full of deserts, and reacheth to the Sea Mediterraneum, to the citie of Oram, with the port of Mersalquiber. The kingdom of Fes reacheth vnto the Ocean Sea, from the West to the citie of Argilla: and the port of the sayd kingdom is called Sala.

Tremisen. Oram. Mersalquiber. Sala.

The kingdom of Marocco is also extended aboue the Ocean Sea, vnto the citie of Azamor and Azafi, which are vpon the Ocean Sea, toward the West of the sayd kingdom. Nere Mauritania Tingitana (that is to say, by the two kingdoms of Fes, and Marocco) are in the Sea, the Ilands of Canarie, called in old time, The fortunate Ilands. Toward the South of this region is the kingdom of Guinea, with Senega, Ialofo, Gambra, and many other regions of the Blacke Moores, called Aethiopians or Negros, all which are watered with the riuer Negro called in old time Niger. In the sayd regions are no cities, but onely certaine lowe cottages made of boughes of trees, plastered with chalke, and couered with strawe. In these regions are also very great deserts.

Azamor. The Ilands of Canaria. Guinea. Aethiopians.

The kingdom of Marocco hath vnder it these seuen kingdoms: Hea, Sus, Guzula, the territorie of Marrocco, Duccala, Hazchora, and Tedle. The kingdom of Fes hath as many: as Fes, Temesne, Azgar, Elabath, Errif, Garet, and Elcair. The kingdom of Tremisen hath these regions: Tremisen, Tenez, and Elgazair, all which are Machometists. But all the regions of Guinea are pure Gentiles, and idolatrous, without profession of any religion, or other knowledge of God, then by the law of nature.

Marocco. Fes. Tremisen. Guinea.

Africa the great is one of the three parts of the world, knowen in old time, and seuered from Asia, on the East by the riuer Nilus, on the West from Europe by the pillars of Hercules. The hither part is now called Barbarie, and the people Moores. The inner part is called Lybia

Africa 3ª great.

Africa the lesse. and Aethiopia. Afrike the lesse is in this wise bounded. On the West it hath Numidia; On the East Cyrenaica: On the North, the sea called Mediterraneum. In this countrey was the

Carthage. noble city of Carthage.

In the East side of Afrike beneath the red sea, dwelleth the great and mighty Emperour

Prester John. and Christian king Prester Iohn, well knowen to the Portugales in their voyages to Calicut. His dominions reach very farre on euery side: and hath vnder him many other Kings both christian and heathen that pay him tribute. This mightie prince is called Dauid the Emperour of Aethiopia. Some write that the king of Portugall sendeth him yeerely eight ships laden with marchandize. His kingdom confineth with the red Sea, and reacheth far into Afrike toward Ae-

Cape de Bona Speranza. gypt and Barbarie. Southward it confineth with the Sea toward the Cape de Bona Speranza: and on the other side with the sea of sand, called Mare de Sabione, a very dangerous sea lying

Alcair. between § great citie of Alcair, or Cairo in Aegypt, and the country of Aethiopia: In the which way are many vnhabitable deserts, continuing for the space of fiue dayes iourney. And they affirme, that if the sayd Christian Emperor were not hindered by those deserts (in the which is great lacke of victuals, & especially of water) he would or now haue inuaded the kingdom of Egypt, and the citie of Alcair. The chiefe city of Ethiopia, where this great emperor

Amacair. is resident, is called Amacaiz, being a faire citie, whose inhabitants are of the colour of an Oliue. There are also many other cities, as the city of Saua vpon the riuer of Nilus, where the Emperour is accustomed to remaine in the Sommer season. There is likewise a great city

From whence the Queene of Saba came. named Barbaregaf, and Ascon, from whence it is said that the Queene of Saba came to Hierusalem to heare the wisedom of Salomon. This citie is but litle, yet very faire, and one of the chiefe cities in Ethiope. In this prouince are many exceeding high mountains, vpon the

The earthly Paradise. which is said to be the earthly paradise: and some say that there are the trees of the Sunne and Moone, whereof the antiquitie maketh mention: yet that none can passe thither by reason

The trees of the Sunne and the Moone. of great deserts of an hundred daies iourney. Also beyond these mountains is the Cape of Bona Speranza. And to haue said thus much of Afrike it may suffice.

The first voiage to Guinea and Benin.

IN the yeere of our Lord 1553. the twelfth day of August, sailed from Portsmouth two goodly ships, the Primerose and the Lion, with a pinnas called the Moone, being all well furnished aswell with men of the lustiest sort, to the number of seuen score, as also with ordinance and victuals requisite to such a voiage: hauing also two captaines, the one a stranger called Anthonie Anes Pinteado, a Portugall, borne in a towne named The Port of Portugall, a wise, discreet, and sober man, who for his cunning in sailing, being as well an ex-

Pinteado.

Brasile. Guinea. pert Pilot as a politike captaine, was sometime in great fauour with the king of Portugall, and to whom the coasts of Brasile and Guinea were committed to be kept from the Frenchmen, to whom he was a terrour on the Sea in those parts, and was furthermore a gentleman of the king his masters house. But as fortune in maner neuer fauoureth but flattereth, neuer promiseth but deceiueth, neuer raiseth but casteth downe againe: and as great wealth & fauour haue alwaies companions, emulation and enuie, he was after many aduersities & quarels made against him, inforced to come into England: where in this golden voyage he was euil matched with an vnequal companion, and vnlike match of most sundry qualities & conditions, with vertues few or none adorned. Thus departed these noble ships vnder saile on their voyage: But first captaine Windam putting forth of his ship at Portsmouth a kinsman of one of the head marchants, and shewing herein a muster of the tragicall partes hee had conceiued in his braine, and with such small beginnings nourished so monstrous a birth, that more happy, yea and blessed was that yong man being left behind, then if he had bene taken with them, as some do wish he had done the like by theirs. Thus sailed they on

The Ilands of Madera their voyage, vntill they came to the Iland of Madera, where they tooke in certaine wines for the store of their ships, and paid for them as they agreed of the price. At these Ilands they met with a great Galion of the king of Portugall, full of men and ordinance: yet such as could not haue preuailed if it had attempted to withstand or resist our ships, for the which cause it was set foorth, not onely to let and interrupt these our shippes of their purposed voiage, but al other that should attempt the like: yet chiefly to frustrate our voiage. For the king

of

of Portugall was sinisterly informed, that our ships were armed to his castle of Mina in those parties, whereas nothing lesse was ment. The castle of Mina.

After that our ships departed from the Iland of Madera forward on their voiage, began this worthy captaine Pinteados sorow, as a man tormented with the cõpany of a terrible Hydra, who hitherto flattred with him, & made him a faire countenance and shew of loue. Then did he take vpõ him to command all alone, setting nought both by captain Pinteado, and the rest of the marchants factors, sometimes with opprobrious words, and somtimes with threatnings most shamfully abusing them, taking from Pinteado the seruice of the boies and certain mariners that were assigned him by the order and direction of the worshipful merchants, and leauing him as a commõ mariner, which is the greatest despite and grief that can be to a Portugale or Spaniard, to be diminished of their honor, which they esteem aboue all riches. Thus sailing forward on their voiage, they came to the Ilands of Canarie, continuing their course frõ thence vntil they arriued at the Iland of S. Nicholas, where they victualled theselues with fresh meat, of the flesh of wild goats, whereof is great plenty in that Iland, & in maner of nothing els. From hence folowing on their course and tarying here & there at the desert Ilands in the way, because they would not come too timely to the countrey of Guinea for the heat, and tarying somwhat too long (for what can be well ministred in a commõ wealth, where inequalitie with tyrannie wil rule alone) they came at the length to the first land of the country of Guinea, where they fel with the great riuer of Sesto, where they might for their marchandizes haue laden their ships with the graines of that countrey, which is a very hote fruit, and much like vnto a fig as it groweth on the tree. For as the figs are full of small seeds, so is the said fruit full of graines, which are loose within the cod, hauing in the mids thereof a hole on euery side. This kind of spice is much vsed in cold countries, & may there be sold for great aduantage, for exchange of other wares. But our men, by the perswasion or rather inforcement of this tragicall captaine, not regarding and setting light by that commoditie, in comparison of ſ fine gold they thirsted, sailed an hundred leagues further, vntil they came to the golden land: where not attempting to come neere the castle pertaining to the king of Portugall, which was within the riuer of Mina, they made sale of their ware only on this side & beyond it, for the gold of that coũtry, to the quantitie of an hundred and fiftie pounds weight, there being in case that they might haue dispatched all their ware for gold, if the vntame braine of Windam had, or could haue giuen eare to the counsell and experience of Pinteado. For when that Windam not satisfied with the gold which he had, and more might haue had if he had taried about the Mina, commanding the said Pinteado (for so he tooke vpon him) to lead the ships to Benin, being vnder the Equinoctial line, and an hundred and fifty leagues beyond the Mina, where he looked to haue their ships laden with pepper: and being counselled of the said Pinteado, considering the late time of the yeere, for that time to go no further, but to make sale of their wares such as they had for gold, wherby they might haue bene great gainers: Windam not assenting hereunto, fell into a sudden rage, reuiling the sayd Pinteado, calling him Iew, with other opprobrious words, saying, This whoreson Iew hath promised to bring vs to such places as are not, or as he cannot bring vs vnto: but if he do not, I will cut off his eares and naile them to the maste. Pinteado gaue the foresaid counsell to go no further for the safegard of the men and their liues, which they should put in danger if they came too late, for the Rossia which is their Winter, not for cold, but for smothering heate, with close and cloudie aire and storming weather, of such putrifying qualitie, that it rotted the coates of their backs: or els for comming to soone for the scorching heat of the sunne, which caused them to linger in the way. But of force and not of will brought he the ships before the riuer of Benin, where riding at an Anker, they sent their pinnas vp into the riuer 50 or 60 leagues, from whence certaine of the marchants with captaine Pinteado, Francisco a Portugale, Nicholas Lambart gentleman, and other marchants were conducted to the court where the king remained, ten leagues from the riuer side, whither when they came, they were brought with a great company to the presence of the king, who being a blacke Moore (although not so blacke as the rest) sate in a great huge hall, long and wide, the wals made of earth

The Ilands of Canarie.

The Iland of S. Nicholas.

The riuer of Sesto. Graines.

The thirst of gold.

The castle of Mina.

The quantitie of gold.

Furie admireth no counsel.

The Rossia.

Rotting heate.

Benin.

Francisco.

Nich. Lambart.

The king of Benin his court.

earth without windowes, the roofe of thin boords, open in sundry places, like vnto louers to let in the aire.

Reuerence toward the king.

And here to speake of the great reuerence they giue to their king, it is such, that if we would giue as much to our Sauior Christ, we should remooue from our heads many plagues which we daily deserue for our contempt and impietie.

So it is therfore, that when his noble men are in his presence, they neuer looke him in the face, but sit cowring, as we vpon our knees, so they vpon their buttocks, with their elbowes vpon their knees, and their hands before their faces, not looking vp vntil the king command them. And when they are comming toward the king, as far as they do see him, they do shew such reuerence, sitting on the ground with their faces couered as before. Likewise when they depart from him, they turn not their backs toward him, but goe creeping backward with like reuerence.

The communication between the king of Bema and our men.

And now to speake somewhat of the communication that was between the king and our men, you shall first vnderstand that he himselfe could speake the Portugall tongue, which he had learned of a child. Therefore after he had commanded our men to stand vp, and demanded of them the cause of their comming into that countrey, they answered by Pinteado, that they were marchants trauelling into those parties for the commodities of his countrey, for exchange of wares which they had brought from their countries, being such as should be no lesse commodious for him and his people. The king the hauing of old lying in a certaine store-house 30 or 40 kintals of Pepper (euery kintall being an hundred weight) willed them to looke vpon the same, and againe to bring him a sight of such merchandizes as they had brought with them. And thereupon sent with the captaine and the marchants certaine of his men to conduct them to the waters side, with other to bring the ware from the pinnas to the court. Who when they were returned and the wares seen, the king grew to this ende with the merchants to prouide in 30 dayes the lading of al their ships with pepper. And in case their merchandizes would not extend to the value of so much pepper, he promised to credite them to their next returne, and thereupon sent the country round about to gather pepper, causing the same to be brought to the court: So that within the space of 30 dayes they had gathered fourescore tunne of pepper.

Pepper.

The kings gentlenes towards our men.

In the meane season our men partly hauing no rule of themselues, but eating without measure of the fruits of the countrey, and drinking the wine of the Palme trees that droppeth in the night from the cut of the branches of the same, and in such extreme heate running continually into the water, not vsed before to such sudden and vehement alterations (then the which nothing is more dangerous) were thereby brought into swellings and agues: insomuch that the later time of the yeere comming on, caused them to die sometimes three & sometimes 4 or 5 in a day. Then Windam perceiuing the time of the 30 daies to be expired, and his men dying so fast, sent to the court in post to Captaine Pinteado, & the rest to come away and to tary no longer. But Pinteado with the rest, wrote backe to him againe, certifying him of the great quantity of pepper they had alreadie gathered & looked daily for much more: desiring him furthermore to remember the great praise and name they should win, if they came home prosperously, and what shame of the contrary. With which answere Windam not satisfied, and many of their men dying dayly, willed and commaunded them againe either to come away forthwith, or els threatened to leaue them behinde. When Pinteado heard this answere, thinking to perswade him with reason, hee tooke his way from the court toward the ships, being conducted thither with men by the kings commandement.

In the meane season Windam all raging, brake vp Pinteados Cabin, brake open his chestes, spoiled such prouision of cold stilled waters and suckets as he had prouided for his health, and left him nothing, neither of his instruments to saile by, nor yet of his apparell: and in the meane time falling sicke, himselfe died also. Whose death Pinteado comming aboord, lamented as much as if he had bene the dearest friend he had in the world. But certaine of the mariners and other officers did spit in his face, some calling him Iewe, saying that he had brought them thither to kill them: and some drawing their swords at him, making a shew to slay him. Then he perceiuing that they would needs away, desired them to tary that he might

The death of Windam.

Pinteado euill vsed of the mariners.

might fetch the rest of the marchants that were left at the court, but they would not grant this request. Then desired he them to giue him the ship-boate, with as much of an old saile as might serue for the same, promising them therwith to bring Nicholas Lambert and the rest into England, but all was in vaine. Then wrote he a letter to the court to the marchants, informing them of all the matter, and promising them if God would lend him life to returne with all haste to fetch thē. And thus was Pinteado kept ashipboord against his will, thrust among the boyes of the ship, not vsed like a man, nor yet like an honest boy, but glad to find fauour at the cookes hand. Then departed they, leauing one of their ships behind them, which they sunke for lacke of men to cary her. After this, within 6 or 7 dayes sayling, dyed also Pinteado for very pensiuenesse & thought that stroke him to the heart. A man worthy to serue any prince, and most vilely vsed. And of seuenscore men came home to Plimmouth scarcely forty, and of them many died. And that no man should suspect these words which I haue saide in commendation of Pinteado, to be spoken vpon fauour otherwise then trueth, I haue thought good to adde hereunto the copie of the letters which the king of Portugall and the infant his brother wrote vnto him to reconcile him, at such time as vpon the king his masters displeasure (and not for any other crime or offence, as may appeare by the said letters) he was only for pouertie inforced to come into England, where he first perswaded our marchants to attempt the said voyages to Guinea. But as the kingof Portugall too late repented him that he had so punished Pinteado, vpon malicious informations of such as enuied the mans good fortune: euen so may it hereby appeare that in some cases euen Lions themselues may either be hindered by the contempt, or aided by the help of the poore mise, according vnto the fable of Esope.

This Lambert was a Londiner borne, whose father had bin Lord Maior of London.

The death of Pinteado.

Pinteado first perswaded our men to the voiage of Guinea.

The copie of Anthonie Anes Pinteado his letters patents, whereby the king of Portugall made him knight of his house, after all his troubles and imprisonment, which, by wrong information made to the king, he had susteined of long time, being at the last deliuered, his cause knowen and manifested to the king by a gray Frier the kings Confessor.

I The king doe giue you to vnderstand lord Francis Desseaso, one of my counsell and ouerseer of my house, that in cõsideration of the good seruice which Anthony Anes Pinteado, the sonne of Iohn Anes, dwelling in the towne called the Port, hath done vnto me, my will and pleasure is, to make him knight of my house, allowing to him in pension seuen hundred reis monethly, and euery day one alcayre of barly, as long as he keepeth a horse, & to be paid according to the ordinãce of my house. Prouiding alwaies that he shall receiue but one marriage gift. And this also in such cõdition, that the time which is accepted in our ordinance, forbidding such men to marry for getting such children as might succeede them in this allowance, which is 6 yeres after the making of this patent, shalbe first expired before he do marry. I therfore command you to cause this to be entred in the booke called the Matricula of our houshold, vnder the title of knights. And when it is so entred, let the clarke of the Matricula, for the certeintie therof, write on the backside of this Aluala, or patent, the number of the leafe wherein this our grant is entred. Which done, let him returne this writing vnto the said Anthonie Anes Pinteado for his warrant.

Seuen hundred reis are ten shillings. Alcayre is halfe a bushell.

I Diego Henriques haue written this in Almarin the two and twentie day of September, in the yeere of our Lord 1551. And this beneuolence the king gaue vnto Anthonie Anes Pinteado, the fiue and twentie day of July this present yeere.

Rey.

The Secretaries declaration written vnder the kings grant.

YOur Maiestie hath vouchsafed, in respect and consideration of the good seruice of Anthony Anes Pinteado, dwelling in the port, and sonne of Iohn Anes, to make him knight of your house, with ordinarie allowance, of seuen hundred reis pension by the moneth, and one alcaire of barley by the day, as long as he keepeth a horse: and to be paide according

ing to the ordinance of your house, with condition that hee shall haue but one marriage gift: and that not within the space of sixe yeres after the making of these letters Patents. The Secretaries note. Entred in the booke of the Matricula. Fol. 683.

Francisco de Siquera.

The copie of the letter of Don Lewes the infant, and brother to the king of Portugall, sent into England to Anthonie Anes Pinteado.

ANthony Anes Pinteado, I the infant brother to the king, haue me heartily commended vnto you. Peter Gonsalues is gone to seeke you, desiring to bring you home again into your countrey. And for that purpose he hath with him a safe cõduct for you, granted by the king, that therby you may freely and without all feare come home. And although the weather be foule and stormie, yet faile not to come: for in the time that his Maiestie hath giuen you, you may doe many things to your contentation and gratifying the king, whereof I would be right glad: and to bring the same to passe, I will do all that lieth in me for your profite. But forasmuch as Peter Gonsalues will make further declaration hereof vnto you, I say no more at this present. Written in Lisbone, the eight day of December. Anno 1552.

The infant Don Lewes.

ALl these foresaid writings I saw vnder seale, in the house of my friend Nicholas Liese, with whom Pinteado left them, at his vnfortunate departing to Guinea. But, notwithstanding all these friendly letters and faire promises, Pinteado durst not attempt to goe home, neither to keepe companie with the Portugals his countrey men, without the presence of other: forasmuch as he had secrete admonitions that they intended to slay him, if time and place might haue serued their wicked intent.

The second voyage to Guinea set out by Sir George Barne, Sir Iohn Yorke, Thomas Lok, Anthonie Hickman and Edward Castelin, in the yere 1554. The Captaine whereof was M. Iohn Lok.

AS in the first voiage I haue declared rather the order of the history, then the course of the nauigation, whereof at that time I could haue no perfect information: so in the description of this second voyage, my chiefe intent hath beene to shew the course of the same, according to the obseruation and ordinarie custome of the mariners, and as I receiued it at the handes of an expert Pilot, being one of the chiefe in this voyage, who also with his owne hands wrote a briefe declaration of the same, as he found and tried all things, not by coniecture, but by the art of sayling, and instruments perteining to the mariners facultie. Not therefore assuming to my selfe the commendations due vnto other, neither so bold as in any part to change or otherwise dispose the order of this voyage so well obserued by art and experience, I haue thought good to set forth the same, in such sort and phrase of speech as is commonly vsed among them, and as I receiued it of the said Pilot, as I haue said. Take it therefore as followeth.

In the yeere of our Lord 1554 the eleuenth day of October, we departed the riuer of Thames with three goodly ships the one called the Trinitie, a ship of the burden of seuenscore tunne, the other called the Bartholomew, a ship of the burden of ninetie, the third was the Iohn Euangelist, a ship of seuen score tunne. With the sayd ships and two pinnesses (wherof the one was drowned on the coast of England) we went forward on our voyage, and stayed at Douer fourteene dayes. We staied also at Rie three or foure dayes. Moreouer last of all we touched at Dartmouth.

Robert Gainsh was master of the Iohn Euangelist.

The first day of Nouember at nine of the clocke at night, departing from the coast of England, we set off the Start, bearing Southwest all that night in the sea, and the next day all day, and the next night after, vntill the third day of the said moneth about noone, making our way good, did runne threescore leagues.

The Ile of Madera.

The 17 day in the morning we had sight of the Ile of Madera, which doth rise to him that

commeth

commeth in the Northnortheast part vpright land in the west part of it, and very high: and to the Southsoutheast a low long land, and a long point, with a saddle thorow the middest of it, standing in two and thirtie degrees: and in the West part, many springs of water running downe from the mountaine, and many white fielides like vnto corne fields, & some white houses to the Southeast part of it: and the toppe of the mountaine sheweth very ragged, if you may see it, and in the Northeast part there is a bight or bay as though it were a harborow: Also in the said part, there is a rocke a little distance from the shoare, and ouer the sayd bight you shall see a great gappe in the mountaine.

The Ile of Palmes. Teneriffa. The Canaries.

The 19 day at twelue of the clocke we had sight of the Isle of Palmes and Teneriffa and the Canaries. The Ile of Palme riseth round, & lieth Southeast and Northwest, and the Northwest part is lowest. In the South is a round hill ouer the head land, and another round hill aboue that in the land. There are betweene the Southeast part of the Ile of Madera & the Northwest part of the Ile of Palme seuen and fifty leagues. This Isle of Palme lieth in eight and twenty degrees. And our course from Madera to the Ile of Palme was South and South and by West, so that we had sight of Teneriffa and of the Canaries. The Southeast part of the Ile of the Palme, & the Northnortheast of Teneriffa lie Southeast and Northwest, and betweene them are 20 leagues. Teneriffa and the great Canary called Gran Canaria, and the West part of Forteuentura standeth in seuen and twenty degrees and a halfe. Gomera is a faire Island but very ragged, & lieth Westsouthwest off Teneriffa. And whosoeuer wil come betweene them two Ilands must come South and by East, and in the South part of Gomera is a towne and a good rode in the said part of the Iland: and it standeth in seuen and twentie degrees and three terces. Teneriffa is an high land, with a great high pike like a sugar loafe, and vpon the said pike is snow throughout all the whole yeere. And by reason of that pike it may be knowen aboue all other Ilands, and there we were becalmed the twentieth day of Nouember, from sixe of the clocke in the morning, vntill foure of the clocke at afternoone.

From Madera to the Isle of Palmes. Gran Canaria. Forteuentura. The Iland of Gomera. Teneriffa. Snow.

The two and twentieth day of Nouember, vnder the Tropike of Cancer the Sunne goeth downe West and by South. Vpon the coast of Barbarie fiue and twentie leagues by North Cape blanke, at three leagues off the maine, there are fifteene fadomes and good shelly ground, and sande among and no streames, and two small Ilands standing in two and twentie degrees and a terce.

The coast of Barbarie. Cape Blanke.

From Gomera to Cape de las Barbas is an hundred leagues, and our course was South and by East. The said Cape standeth in two and twentie and a halfe: and all that coast is flatte, sixteene or seuenteene fadome deepe. Seuen or eight leagues off from the riuer del Oro to Cape de las Barbas, there vse many Spaniardes and Portugals to trade for fishing, during the moneth of Nouember: and all that coast is very low lands. Also we went from Cape de las Barbas Southsouthwest, and Southwest and by South, till we brought our selues in twentie degrees and a halfe, reckoning our selues seuen leagues off: and there were the least sholes of Cape Blanke.

The riuer del Oro.

Then we went South vntill we brought our selues in 13 degrees, reckoning our selues fiue and twentie leagues off. And in 15 degrees we did reare the Crossiers, and we might haue reared them sooner if we had looked for them. They are not right a crosse in the moneth of Nouember, by reason that the nights are short there. Neuerthelesse we had the sight of them the 29 day of the said moneth at night

The crossiers or crosse staues.

The first of December, being in 13 degrees we set our course South and by East, vntill the fourth day of December at 12 of the clocke the same day. Then we were in nine degrees and a terce, reckoning our selues 30 leagues of the sholes of the riuer called Rio Grande, being Westsouthwest off them, the which sholes be 30 leagues long.

Rio Grande.

The fourth of December we beganne to set our course Southeast, we being in sixe degrees and a halfe.

The ninth day of December we set our course Eastsoutheast: the fourteenth day of the sayde moneth we set our course East, we being in fiue degrees and a halfe, reckoning our selues thirty and sixe leagues from the coast of Guinea.

The

The nineteenth of the said moneth we set our course East and by North, reckoning our
Cape Mensurado. The riuer of Sesto. selues seuenteene leagues distant from Cape Mensurado, the said Cape being Eastnorthest of vs, and the riuer of Sesto being East.

The one and twentieth day of the said moneth, we fell with Cape Mensurado to the South-east, about two leagues off. This Cape may be easily knowen, by reason ỹ the rising of it is like a Porpóse-head. Also toward the Southeast there are three trees, whereof the Eastermost tree is the highest, and the middlemost is like a bie stacke, & the Southermost like vnto a gibet: and vpon the maine are foure or fiue high hilles rising one after another like round hommocks or hillocks. And the Southeast of the three trees, brandiernwi-e: and all the coast along is white sand The said Cape standeth within a litle in sixe degrees.

The two and twentieth of December we came to the riuer of Sesto, & remained there vntill the nine and twentieth day of the said moneth. Here we thought it best to send before vs the pinnesse to the riuer Dulce, called Rio Dulce, that they might haue the beginning of the market before the comming of the Iohn Euangelist.

The riuer of Sesto. At the riuer of Sesto we had a tunne of graines. This riuer standeth in sixe degrees, lacking a terce. From the riuer of Sesto to Rio Dulce are fiue and twentie leagues. Rio Dulce. Dulce standeth in fiue degrees and a halfe. The riuer of Sesto is easie to be knowen, by reason there is a ledge of rockes on the Southeast part of the Rode. And at the entring into the hauen are fiue or sixe trees that beare no leaues. This is a good harborow, but very narow at ỹ entrance into the riuer There is also a rocke in the hauens mouth right as you enter. And
Cape de Monte. all that coast betweene Cape de Monte, and cape de las Palmas, lieth Southeast & by East, Northwest & by West, being three leagues off the shore. And you shal haue in some places
Cape de las Palmas. rocks two leagues off: and that, betweene the riuer of Sesto and cape de las Palmas.

Betweene the riuer of Sesto and the riuer Dulce are fiue and twentie leagues: & the
The land of Cakeado. high land that is betweene them both, is called Cakeado, being eight leagues from the riuer of Sesto. And to the Southeastwarde of it is a place called Shawgro, and another called
Shauo. Shyawe or Shauo, where you may get fresh water. Off this Shyawe lieth a ledge of rockes:
Croke. and to the Southeastward lieth a hedland called Croke. Betweene Cakeado and Croke are
S. Vincentes harborow. nine or ten leagues. To the Southeastward off, is a harborow called S. Vincent: Right ouer against S. Vincent, is a rocke vnder the water, two leagues & a halfe off the shore. To the Southeastward of that rocke you shal see an island about three or foure leagues off: this island is not past a league off the shore. To the Eastsoutheast of the island, is a rocke that
The riuer Dulce. lieth aboue the water, and by that rocke goeth in the riuer Dulce, which you shall know by the said riuer and rocke. The Northwest side of the hauen is flat sand, and the Southeast side therof is like an Island, and a bare plot without any trees, and so is it not in any other place.

In the Rode you shall ride in thirteene or foureteene fadomes, good oaze and sand, being the markes of the Rode to bring the Island and the Northeast land together, and here we ankered the last of December.

The third day of Ianuarie, we came from the riuer Dulce.

Cape de las Palmas. Note that Cape de las Palmas is a faire high land, but some low places thereof by the water side looke like red cliffes with white strakes like hie wayes, a cable length a piece, and
The coast of Guinea. this is the East part of the cape. This cape is the Southermost land in all the coast of Guinea, and standeth in foure degrees and a terce.

The coast from Cape de las Palmas to Cape Trepointes, or de Tres Puntas, is faire & cleare without rocke or other danger.

Twentie and fiue leagues from Cape de las Palmas, the land is higher then in any place, vntill we come to Cape Trepointes: And about ten leagues before you come to Cape Trepointes, the land riseth still higher and higher, vntill you come to Cape Trepointes. Also before you come to the said Cape, after other 5 leagues to the Northwest part of it, there is certaine broken ground, with two great rockes, and within them in the bight of a bay, is a
The castle of Arra. castle called Arra, perteining to the king of Portugall. You shall know it by the said rockes that lie off it: for there is none such from Cape de las Palmas to Cape Trepointes. This

coast

coast lieth East and by North, West and by South. From Cape de las Palmas to the said castle is fourescore and fifteene leagues. And the coast lieth from the said castle to the Westermost point of Trepoyntes, Southeast and by South, Northwest and by North. Also the Westermost point of Trepoyntes is a low lande, lying halfe a mile out in the sea: and vpon the innermost necke, to the land-ward, is a tuft of trees, and there we arriued the eleuenth day of Ianuary.

The 12 day of Ianuary we came to a towne called Samma or Samua, being 8 leagues from Cape Trepointes toward Eastnortheast. Betweene Cape Trepointes and the towne of Samua is a great ledge of rockes a great way out in the sea. We continued foure dayes at that Towne, and the Captaine thereof would needs haue a pledge a shore. But when they receiued the pledge, they kept him still, and would traffike no more, but shot off their ordinance at vs. They haue two or three pieces of ordinance and no more. The towne of Samua. The pledge was sir Iohn Yorke his Nephew.

The sixteenth day of the said month we made reckoning to come to a place called Cape Corea, where captaine Don Iohn dwelleth, whose men entertained vs friendly. This Cape Corea is foure leagues Eastwarde of the castle of Mina, otherwise called La mina, or Castello de mina, where we arriued the 18 day of the moneth. Here we made sale of all our cloth, sauing two or three packes. Cape Corea. The castle of Mina pertaining to the king of Portugall.

The 26 day of the same moneth we weighed anker, and departed from thence to the Trinitie, which was seuen leagues Eastward of vs, where she solde her wares. Then they of the Trinitie willed vs to go Eastward of that eight or nine leagues, to sell part of their wares, in a place called Perecow, and another place named Perecow Grande, being the Eastermost place of both these, which you shal know by a great round hill neere vnto it, named Mõte Rodondo, lying Westward from it, and by the water side are many high palme trees. From hence did we set forth homeward the thirteenth day of February, & plied vp alongst till we came within seuen or eight leagues to Cape Trepointes. About eight of the clocke the 15 day at afternoone, wee did cast about to seaward: and beware of the currants, for they will deceiue you sore. Whosoeuer shall come from the coast of Mina homeward, let him be sure to make his way good West, vntill he reckon himselfe as farre as Cape de las Palmas, where the currant setteth alwayes to the Eastward. And within twentie leagues Eastward of Cape de las Palmas is a riuer called De los Potos, where you may haue fresh water and balast enough, and plenty of iuory or Elephants teeth. This riuer standeth in foure degrees, and almost two terces. And when you reckon your selfe as farre shot as Cape de las Palmas, being in a degree, or a degree and a halfe, you may go West, and West by North, vntill you come in three degrees: and then you may go Westnorthwest, and Northwest and by West, vntill you come in fiue degrees, and then Northwest. And in sixe degrees, we met Northerly windes, and great ruffling of tides. And as we could iudge, the currants went to the Northnorthwest. Furthermore betweene Cape de Monte, and Cape Verde, go great currants, which deceiue many men. Perecow. Perecow grand. Monte Rodondo. The currants. From Mina homeward. Rio de los Potos. Iuory. Cabo de las Palmas. Currants.

The 22 day of Aprill, we were in 8 degrees and two terces: and so we ran to the Northwest, hauing the winde at Northeast and Eastnortheast, and sometimes at East, vntill we were at 18 degrees and a terce, which was on May day. And so from 18 and two terces, we had the winde at East and Eastnortheast, and sometimes at Eastsoutheast: and then we reckoned the Islands of Cape verde Eastsoutheast of vs, we iudging our selues to be 48 leagues off. And in 20 and 21 degrees, we had the winde more Easterly to the Southward then before. And so we ran to the Northwest and Northnorthwest, and sometimes North and by West and North, vntill we came into 31 degrees, where we reckoned our selues a hundred and fourescore leagues Southwest and by South of the Island de los Flores, and there wee met with the winde at Southsoutheast, and set our course Northeast. The Ilands of Flores.

In 23 degrees we had the winde at the South and Southwest, and then we set our course Northnortheast, and so we ran to 40 degrees, and then we set our course Northeast, the winde being at the Southwest, and hauing the Isle de Flores East of vs, and 17 leagues off.

In the 41 degrees we met with the winde at Northeast, and so we ran Northwestward, then we met with the winde Westnorthwest, and at the West within 6 leagues, running toward the

Northwest, and then we cast about, and lay Northeast, vntill we came in 42 degrees, where we set our course Eastnortheast, iudging the Ile of Coruo South and by West of vs, and sixe and thirtie leagues distant from vs.

The Ile of Coruo.

A remembrance, that the 21 day of May we communed with Iohn Rafe, and he thought it best to goe Northeast, and iudged himselfe 25 leagues Eastward to the Isle de Flores, and in 39 degrees and a halfe.

Where they lost the sight of the North starre.

Note, that on the fourth day of September, vnder nine degrees, we lost the sight of the North starre.

How the compasse doeth varie.

Note also, that in 45 degrees, the compasse is varied 8 degrees to the West.

Item, in 40 degrees the compasse did varie 15 degrees in the whole.

Item, in 30 degrees and a halfe, the compasse is varied 5 degrees to the West.

Be it also in memory that two or three daies before we came to Cape de 3 puntas, the pinnesse went alongst the shore, thinking to sell some of our wares, and so we came to anker three or foure leagues West and by South of the Cape de 3 puntas, where we left the Trinitie.

The Primrose.

Then our pinnesse came aboord with all our men, the pinnesse also tooke in more wares. They told me moreouer that they would goe to a place where the Primrose was, and had receiued much gold at the first voyage to these parties, and tolde me furthermore that it was a good place: but I fearing a brigantine that was then vpon the coast, did wey and follow them, and left the Trinitie about foure leagues off from vs, and there we rode against that towne foure dayes: so that Martine by his owne desire, and assent of some of the Commissioners that were in the pinnesse, went a shoare to the towne, and there Iohn Berin went to trafique from vs, being three miles off trafiquing at an other towne. The towne is called Samma or Samua, for Samma and Sammaterra, are the names of the two first townes, where we did trafique for gold, to the Northeast of Cape de 3 puntas.

The towne of Samma. Golde.

Hitherto continueth the course of the voyage, as it was described by the sayde Pilot. Nowe therefore I will speake somewhat of the countrey and people, and of such things as are brought from thence.

Gold foure hundreth weight. Graines. Elephants teeth.

They brought from thence at the last voiage foure hundred pound weight and odde of gold, of two and twentie carrats and one graine in finenesse: also sixe and thirtie buts of graines, & about two hundred and fifty Elephants teeth of all quantities. Of these I saw & measured some of nine spans in length, as they were crooked. Some of them were as bigge as a mans thigh aboue the knee, and weyed about fourescore and ten pound weight a peece. They say that some one hath bin seene of an hundred and fiue & twentie pound weight. Other there were which they call the teeth of calues, of one or two or three yeeres, whereof some were a foot and a halfe, some two foot, and some 3 or more, according to ẏ age of the beast. These great teeth or tusks grow in the vpper iaw downeward, and not in the nether iaw vpward, wherein the Painters and Arras workers are deceiued. At this last voyage was brought from Guinea the head of an Elephant, of such huge bignesse, that onely the bones or cranew thereof, beside the nether iaw & great tusks, weighed about two hundred weight, and was as much as I could well lift from the ground: insomuch that considering also herewith the weight of two such great teeth, the nether iaw with the lesse teeth, the tongue, the great hanging eares, the bigge & long snout or troonke, with all the flesh, braines, and skinne, with all other parts belonging to the whole head, in my iudgement it could weigh litle lesse then fiue hundred weight. This head diuers haue seene in the house of the worthy marchant sir Andrew Iudde, where also I saw it, and beheld it, not only with my bodily eyes, but much more with the eyes of my mind and spirit, considering by the worke, the cunning and wisedome of the workemaister: without which consideration, the sight of such strange and wonderfull things may rather seeme curiosities, then profitable contemplations.

The head of an Elephant.

Sir Andrew Iudde. The contemplations of Gods works.

The description and properties of the Elephant.

The Elephant (which some call an Oliphant) is the biggest of all foure footed beasts, his forelegs are longer then his hinder, he hath ancles in the lower part of his hinder legges, and fiue toes on his feete vndiuided, his snout or tronke is so long, and in such forme, that it is to him in the stead of a hand: for he neither eateth nor drinketh but by bringing his tronke

to

to his mouth, therewith he helpeth vp his Master or keeper, therewith he ouerthroweth trees. Beside his two great tusks, he hath on euery side of his mouth foure teeth, wherewith he eateth and grindeth his meate: either of these teeth are almost a span in length, as they grow along in the iaw, and are about two inches in height, and almost as much in thicknesse. The tuskes of the male are greater then of the female: his tongue is very litle, and so farre in his mouth, that it cannot be seene: of all beastes they are most gentle and tractable, for by many sundry wayes they are taught, and doe vnderstand: insomuch that they learne to doe due honor to a king, and are of quicke sense and sharpenesse of wit. When the male hath once seasoned the female, he neuer after toucheth her. The male Elephant liueth two hundreth yeeres, or at the least one hundred and twentie: the female almost as long, but the floure of their age is but threescore yeres, as some write. They cannot suffer winter or cold: they loue riuers, and will often go into them vp to the snout, wherewith they blow and snuffe, and play in the water: but swimme they cannot, for the weight of their bodies. Plinie and Soline write, that they vse none adulterie. If they happen to meete with a man in wildernesse being out of the way, gently they wil go before him, & bring him into the plaine way. Ioyned in battel, they haue no small respect vnto them that be wounded: for they bring them that are hurt or weary into the middle of the army to be defended: they are made tame by drinking the iuise of barley. They haue continual warre against Dragons, which desire their blood, because it is very cold: and therfore the Dragon lying awaite as the Elephant passeth by, windeth his taile (being of exceeding length) about the hinder legs of the Elephant, & so staying him, thrusteth his head into his tronke and exhausteth his breath, or else biteth him in the eare, whereunto he cannot reach with his tronke, and when the Elephant waxeth faint, he falleth downe on the serpent, being now full of blood, and with the poise of his body breaketh him: so that his owne blood with the blood of the Elephant runneth out of him mingled together, which being colde, is congealed into that substance which the Apothecaries call Sanguis Draconis, (that is) Dragons blood, otherwise called Cinnabaris, although there be an other kinde of Cinnabaris, commonly called Cinoper or Vermilion, which the Painters vse in certaine colours.

Debate betweene the Elephant & the Dragon.

Sanguis Draconis. Cinnabaris.

They are also of three kinds, as of the Marshes, the plaines, and the mountaines, no lesse differing in conditions. Philostratus writeth, that as much as the Elephant of Libya in bignes passeth the horse of Nysea, so much doe the Elephants of India exceed them of Libya: for the Elephants of India, some haue bene seene of the height of nine cubits: the other do so greatly feare these, that they dare not abide the sight of them. Of the Indian Elephants onely the males haue tuskes, but of them of Ethiopia and Libya both kindes are tusked: they are of diuers heights, as of twelue, thirteene, and fourteene dodrants, euery dodrant being a measure of nine inches. Some write that an Elephant is bigger then three wilde Oxen or Buffes. They of India are black, or of ſ colour of a mouse, but they of Ethiope or Guinea are browne: the hide or skinne of them all is very hard, and without haire or bristles: their eares are two dodrants broad, and their eyes very litle. Our men saw one drinking at a riuer in Guinea, as they sailed into the land.

Three kinds of Elephants.

Of other properties & conditions of the Elephant, as of their marueilous docilitie, of their fight and vse in the warres, of their generation and chastitie, when they were first seene in the Theaters and triumphes of the Romanes, how they are taken & tamed, and when they cast their tusks, with the vse of the same in medicine, who so desireth to know, let him reade Plinie, in the eight booke of his naturall history. He also writeth in his twelft booke, that in olde time they made many goodly workes of iuory or Elephants teeth: as tables, tressels, postes of houses; railes, lattesses for windowes, images of their gods, and diuers other things of iuory, both colourd and vncoloured, and intermixt with sundry kindes of precious woods, as at this day are made certaine chaires, lutes, and virginals. They had such plenty thereof in olde time, that (as far as I remember) Iosephus writeth, that one of the gates of Hierusalem was called Porta Eburnea, (that is) the Iuory gate. The whitenesse thereof was so much esteemed, that it was thought to represent the natural fairenesse of mans skinne: insomuch that such as went about to set foorth (or rather corrupt) naturall beautie with colours

Workes of Iuorie.

and painting, were reproued by this prouerbe, Ebur atramento candefacere, that is, To make iuory white with inke. The Poets also describing the faire necks of beautifull virgins, call them Eburnea colla, that is, Iuory necks. And to haue said thus much of Elephants and Iuory, it may suffice.

The people of Africa.

Now therefore I will speake somewhat of the people and their maners, and maner of liuing, with an other briefe description of Africa also. It is to be vnderstood, that the people which now inhabite the regions of the coast of Guinea, and the midle parts of Africa, as Libya the inner, and Nubia, with diuers other great & large regions about the same, were in old time called Æthiopes and Nigritæ, which we now call Moores, Moorens, or Negroes, a people of beastly liuing, without a God, lawe, religion, or common wealth, and so scorched and vexed with the heat of the sunne, that in many places they curse it when it riseth. Of the regions and people about the inner Libya (called Libya interior) Gemma Phrysius writeth thus.

Libya interior.

Libya interior is very large and desolate, in the which are many horrible wildernesses & mountaines, replenished with diuers kinds of wilde and monstrous beastes and serpents. First from Mauritania or Barbary toward the South is Getulia, a rough and sauage region, whose inhabitants are wilde and wandering people. After these follow the people called Melanogetuli and Pharusij, which wander in the wildernesse, carrying with them great gourdes of water. The Ethiopians called Nigritæ occupy a great part of Africa, and are extended to the West Ocean. Southward also they reach to the riuer Nigritis, whose nature agreeth with the riuer of Nilus, forasmuch as it is increased and diminished at the same time, and bringeth forth the like beasts as the Crocodile. By reason whereof, I thinke this to be the same riuer which the Portugals call Senega: For this riuer is also of the same nature. It is furthermore marueilous and very strange that is said of this riuer: And this is, that on the one side thereof, the inhabitants are of high stature and black, and on the other side, of browne or tawnie colour, and low stature, which thing also our men confirme to be true.

Getulia.

Æthiopes Nigritæ.

The riuer Nigritis or Senega.

A strange thing.

Garamantes.

There are also other people of Libya called Garamantes, whose women are common: for they contract no matrimonie, neither haue respect to chastitie. After these are the nations of the people called Pyrei, Sathiodaphnitæ, Odrangi, Mimaces, Lynxamatæ, Dolopes, Aganginæ, Leuci Ethiopes, Xilicci Ethiopes, Calcei Ethiopes, and Nubi. These haue the same situation in Ptolome that they now giue to the kingdome of Nubia. Here are certaine Christians vnder the dominion of the great Emperour of Æthiopia, called Prester Iohn. From these toward the West is a great nation of people called Aphricerones, whose region (as farre as may be gathered by coniecture) is the same that is now called Regnum Orguene, confining vpon the East parts of Guinea. From hence Westward, and somewhat toward the North, are the kingdoms of Gambra and Budomel, not farre from the riuer of Senega. And from hence toward the inland regions, and along by the sea coast, are the regions of Ginoia or Guinea, which we commonly call Ginnee. On the Westside of these regions toward the Ocean, is the cape or point called Cabo verde, or Caput viride, (that is) the greene cape, to the which the Portugals first direct their course when they saile to America, or the land of Brasile. Then departing from hence, they turne to the right hand toward the quarter of the winde called Garbino, which is betweene the West and the South. But to speake somewhat more of Æthiopia: although there are many nations of people so named, yet is Aethiopia chiefly diuided into two parts, whereof the one is called Aethiopia vnder Aegypt, a great & rich region. To this perteineth the Island Meroe, imbraced round about with the stremes of the riuer Nilus. In this Island women reigned in old time. Iosephus writeth, that it was sometime called Sabea: and that the Queene of Saba came from thence to Ierusalem, to heare the wisedom of Salomon. Frō hence toward the East reigneth the said Christian Emperor Prester Iohn, whom some cal Pāpa Iohannes, & other say that he is called Pean Iuan (that is) great Iohn, whose Empire reacheth far beyond Nilus, and is extended to the coasts of the Red sea & Indian sea. The middle of the region is almost in 66. degrees of longitude, and 12. degrees of latitude. About this region inhabite the people called Clodi, Risophagi, Babylonij, Axiunitæ, Molili, and Molibæ. After these is the region called Troglodytica, whose inhabitants dwel in caues and dennes: for these are their houses, & the flesh of serpents their meat, as writeth Plinie, and

Garamantes.

People of Libya.

Prester Iohn.

Regnum Orguene.

Gambra.

Guinea.

Cabo Verde.

The Portugals Nauigation to Brasile.

Aethiopia.

The Island of Meroe.

The Queene of Saba.

Prester Iohn Emperour of Aethiopia.

People of the Eastside of Africa.

and Diodorus Siculus. They haue no speach, but rather a grinning and chattering. There are also people without heads, called Blemines, hauing their eyes and mouth in their breast. Likewise Strucophagi, and naked Ganphasantes: Satyrs also, which haue nothing of men but onely shape. Moreouer Oripei, great hunters. Mennones also, and the region of Smyrnophora, which bringeth foorth myrrhe. After these is the region of Azania, in the which many Elephants are found. A great part of the other regions of Africke that are beyond the Aequinoctiall line, are now ascribed to the kingdome of Melinde, whose inhabitants are accustomed to trafique with the nations of Arabia, and their king is ioyned in friendship with the king of Portugal, and payeth tribute to Prester Iohn. People without heads. Myrrh. Azania. Regnum Melinde.

The other Ethiope, called Æthiopia interior (that is) the inner Ethiope, is not yet knowne for the greatnesse thereof, but onely by the sea coastes: yet is it described in this maner. First from the Aequinoctiall toward ♑ South, is a great region of Aethiopians, which bringeth forth white Elephants, Tygers, and the beastes called Rhinocerotes. Also a region that bringeth foorth plenty of cynamome, lying betweene the branches of Nilus. Also the kingdome of Habech or Habasia, a region of Christian men, lying both on this side and beyond Nilus. Here are also the Aethiopians, called Ichthiophagi (that is) such as liue onely by fish, and were sometimes subdued by the warres of great Alexander. Furthermore the Aethiopians called Rhapsij, & Anthropophagi, ♑ are accustomed to eat mans flesh, inhabite the regions neere vnto the mountains called Montes Lunæ (that is) the mountaines of the Moone. Gazatia is vnder the Tropike of Capricorne. After this followeth the front of Afrike, the Cape of Buena Speranza, or Caput Bonæ Spei, that is, the Cape of good hope, by the which they passe that saile from Lisbon to Calicut. But by what names the Capes and gulfes are called, forasmuch as the same are in euery globe and card, it were here superfluous to rehearse them. Aethiopia interior. White Elephants. Habasia. Ichthiophagi. Anthropophagi. Montes Lunæ. Gazatia. Cap. bonæ Spei.

Some write that Africa was so named by the Grecians, because it is without colde. For the Greeke letter Alpha or A signifieth priuation, voyd, or without: and Phrice signifieth colde. For in deed although in the stead of Winter they haue a cloudy and tempestuous season, yet is it not colde, but rather smoothering hote, with hote showres of raine also, and somewhere such scorching windes, that what by one meanes and other, they seeme at certaine times to liue as it were in fornaces, and in maner already halfe way in Purgatorie or hell. Gemma Phrisius writeth, that in certaine parts of Africa, as in Atlas the greater, the aire in the night season is seene shining, with many strange fires and flames rising in maner as high as the Moone: and that in the element are sometime heard as it were the sound of pipes, trumpets and drummes: which noises may perhaps be caused by the vehement and sundry motions of such firie exhalations in the aire, as we see the like in many experiences wrought by fire, aire and winde. The hollownesse also, and diuers reflexions and breaking of the cloudes may be great causes hereof, beside the vehement colde of the middle region of the aire, whereby the said fiery exhalations, ascending thither, are suddenly stricken backe with great force: for euen common and dayly experience teacheth vs, by the whissing of a burning torch, what noise fire maketh in the aire, and much more where it striueth when it is inclosed with aire, as appeareth in gunnes, and as the like is seene in onely aire inclosed, as in Organ pipes, and such other instruments that go by winde. For winde (as say the Philosophers) is none other then aire vehemently moued, as we see in a paire of bellowes, and such other: For Africa without colde. The winter of Africa. Flames of fire and noise in the aire. The middle region of the aire is colde. The strife of Elements. Winde.

Some of our men of good credit that were in this last voiage to Guinea, affirme earnestly that in the night season they felt a sensible heat to come from the beames of the moone. The which thing, although it be strange and insensible to vs that inhabite cold regions, yet doeth it stand with good reason that it may so be, forasmuch as the nature of starres and planets (as writeth Plinie) consisteth of fire, and conteineth in it a spirit of life, which cannot be without heat. The heate of the Moone. The nature of the starres.

And, that the Moone giueth heate vpon the earth the Prophet Dauid seemeth to confirme in his 121. Psalme, where speaking of such men as are defended from euils by Gods protection,

tection, hee saith thus: Per diem Sol non exuret te, nec Luna per noctem. That is to say, In the day the Sunne shall not burne thee, nor the Moone by night.

Spoutes of water falling out of the aire.

They say furthermore, that in certaine places of the sea they saw certaine streames of water, which they call spouts, falling out of the aire into the sea, & that some of these are as bigge as the great pillars of Churches: insomuch that sometimes they fall into shippes, and put them in great danger of drowning. Some faine that these should be the Cataracts of heauen, which were all opened at Noes floud. But I thinke them rather to be such fluxions and eruptions as Aristotle in his booke de Mundo saith, to chance in the sea. For speaking of such strange things as are seene often times in the sea, he writeth thus. Oftentimes also euen in the sea are seene euaporations of fire, and such eruptions and breaking foorth of springs, that the mouthes of riuers are opened. Whirlepooles, and fluxions are caused of such other vehement motions, not only in the middest of the sea, but also in creeks & streights. At certaine times also, a great quantity of water is suddenly lifted vp and carried about with the Moone, &c. By which wordes of Aristotle it doth appeare that such waters be lifted vp in one place at one time, and suddenly fall downe in an other place at another time. And hereunto perhaps perteineth it that Richard Chanceller told me that he heard Sebastian Cabot report, that (as farre as I remember) either about the coasts of Brasile or Rio de Plata, his shippe or pinnesse was suddenly lifted from the sea, and cast vpon land, I wot not howe farre. The which thing, and such other like wonderfull and strange workes of nature while I consider, and call to remembrance the narrownesse of mans vnderstanding and knowledge, in comparison of her mightie power, I can but cease to maruell and confesse with Plinie, that nothing is to her impossible, the least part of whose power is not yet knowen to men. Many things more our men saw and considered in this voyage, woorthy to be noted, whereof I haue thought good to put some in memory, that the reader may aswell take pleasure in the variety of things, as knowledge of the historie. Among other things therefore, touching the maners and nature of the people, this may seeme strange, that their princes & noble men vse to pounce and rase their skinnes with pretie knots in diuers formes, as it were branched damaske, thinking that to be a decent ornament. And albeit they goe in maner all naked, yet are many of them, & especialy their women, in maner laden with collars, bracelets, hoopes, and chaines, either of gold, copper, or iuory. I my selfe haue one of their brassets of luory, weighing two pound and sixe ounces of Troy weight, which make eight and thirtie ounces: this one of their women did weare vpon her arme. It is made of one whole piece of the biggest part of the tooth, turned and somewhat carued, with a hole in the midst, wherin they put their hands to weare it on their arme. Some haue on euery arme one, and as many on their legges, wherewith some of them are so galled, that although they are in maner made lame thereby, yet will they by no meanes leaue them off. Some weare also on their legges great shackles of bright copper, which they thinke to bee no lesse comely. They weare also collars, bracelets, garlands, and girdles, of certain blew stones like beads. Likewise some of their women weare on their bare armes certaine foresleeues made of the plates of beaten golde. On their fingers also they weare rings, made of golden wires, with a knot or wreath, like vnto that which children make in a ring of a rush. Among other things of golde that our men bought of them for exchange of their wares, were certaine dogs-chaines and collers.

Vehement motions in the Sea.

A strange thing.

The power of nature.

They rase their skinnes.

Fine iewels.

A bracelet.

Shackles.

Rings.

Dogs chaines of golde.

They are very wary people in their bargaining, and will not lose one sparke of golde of any value. They vse weights and measures, and are very circumspect in occupying the same. They that shall haue to doe with them, must vse them gently: for they will not trafique or bring in any wares if they be euill vsed. At the first voyage that our men had into these parties, it so chanced, that at their departure from the first place where they did trafick, one of them either stole a muske Cat, or tooke her away by force, not mistrusting that that should haue hindered their bargaining in another place whither they intended to goe. But for all the haste they coulde make with full sailes, the fame of their misusage so preuented them, that the people of that place also, offended thereby, would bring in no wares: insomuch that they were inforced either to restore the Cat, or pay for her at their price, before they could trafique there.

A muske cat.

Their

Their houses are made of foure postes or trees, and couered with boughes. Their houses.

Their common feeding is of roots, & such fishes as they take, whereof they haue great plenty. Their feeding.

There are also such flying fishes as are seene in the sea of the West Indies. Our men salted of their fishes, hoping to prouide store thereof: but they would take no salt, and must therfore be eaten forthwith as some say. Howbeit other affirme, that if they be salted immediatly after they be taken, they wil last vncorrupted ten or twelue dayes. But this is more strange, that part of such flesh as they caried with them out of England, which putrified there, became sweete againe at their returne to the clime of temperate regions. Flying fishes. A strange thing.

They vse also a strange making of bread, in this maner. They grinde betweene two stones with their handes as much corne as they thinke may suffice their family, and when they haue thus brought it to floure, they put thereto a certaine quantitie of water, and make thereof very thinne dough, which they sticke vpon some post of their houses, where it is baked by the heate of the Sunne: so that when the master of the house or any of his family will eate thereof, they take it downe and eate it. Their bread.

They haue very faire wheate, the eare whereof is two handfuls in length, and as bigge as a great Bulrush, and almost foure inches about where it is biggest. The stemme or straw seemeth to be almost as bigge as the litle finger of a mans hand, or litle lesse. The graines of this wheate are as big as our peason, round also, and very white, and somewhat shining, like pearles that haue lost their colour. Almost all the substance of them turneth into floure, & maketh litle bran or none. I told in one eare two hundred & threescore graines. The eare is inclosed in three blades longer then it selfe, & of two inches broad a piece. And by this fruitfulnes the Sunne seemeth partly to recompence such griefes and molestations as they otherwise receiue by the feruent heate thereof. It is doubtlesse a worthy cõtemplation to consider the contrary effects of the sunne: or rather the contrary passions of such things as receiue the influence of his beames, either to their hurt or benefit. Their drinke is either water, or the iuise that droppeth from the cut branches of the barren Date trees, called Palmitos. For either they hang great gourdes at the said branches euery euening, and let them so hang all night, or else they set them on the ground vnder the trees, that the droppes may fall therein. They say that this kinde of drinke is in taste much like vnto whey, but somewhat sweeter, and more pleasant. They cut the branches euery euening, because they are seared vp in the day by the heate of the Sunne. They haue also great beanes as bigge as chestnuts, and very hard, with a shell in the stead of a huske. Their wheat. The Sunne. Their drinke.

Many things more might be saide of the maners of the people, and of the wonders and monstrous things that are engendred in Africke. But it shall suffice to haue saide thus much of such things as our men partly sawe, and partly brought with them.

And whereas before speaking of the fruit of graines, I described the same to haue holes by the side (as in deede it hath, as it is brought hither) yet was I afterward enfourmed, that those holes were made to put stringes or twigges through the fruite, thereby to hang them vp to dry at the Sunne. They grow not past a foote and a halfe, or two foote from the ground, and are as red as blood when they are gathered. The graines themselues are called of the Phisicions Grana Paradisi. Graines.

At their comming home the keeles of their shippes were marueilously ouergrowne with certaine shelles of two inches length and more, as thicke as they could stand, and of such bignesse that a man might put his thumbe in the mouthes of them. They certainely affirme that in these there groweth a certaine slimie substance, which at the length slipping out of the shell and falling in the sea, becommeth those foules which we call Barnacles. The like shelles haue bene seene in ships returning frõ Iseland, but these shels were not past halfe an inch in length. Of the other that came from Guinea, I sawe the Primerose lying in the docke, and in maner couered with the said shels, which in my iudgement should greatly hinder her sayling. Their ships were also in many places eaten with the wormes called Bromas or Bissas, whereof mention is made in the Decades. These creepe betweene the plankes, which they eate through in many places. Shels that cleaue to ships. Barnacles. Bromas.

Among

A tearm.

Among other things that chanced to them in this voyage, this is worthy to be noted, that wheras they sailed thither in seuen weekes, they could returne in no lesse space then twentie weekes. The cause whereof they say to be this: That about the coast of Cabo Verde the winde is euer at the East, by reason whereof they were enforced to saile farre out of their course into the maine Ocean, to finde the winde at the West to bring them home. There

The death of our men.

died of our men at this last voyage about twentie and foure, whereof many died at their returne into the clime of the colde regions, as betweene the Islands of Azores and England.

Fiue blacke Moores brought into England.

They brought with them certaine blacke slaues, whereof some were tall and strong men, and could wel agree with our meates and drinkes. The colde and moyst aire doth somewhat offend them. Yet doubtlesse men that are borne in hot Regions may better abide colde, then

Colde may be better abiden then heate.

men that are borne in colde Regions may abide heate, forasmuch as vehement heate resolueth the radicall moysture of mens bodies, as colde constraineth and preserueth the same.

This is also to be considered as a secret worke of nature, that throughout all Africke, vnder the Æquinoctial line, and neere about the same on both sides, the regions are extreeme hote, and the people very blacke. Whereas contrarily such regions of the West Indies as are vnder the same line are very temperate, and the people neither blacke, nor with curlde and short wooll on their heads, as they of Africke haue, but of the colour of an Oliue, with long and blacke heare on their heads: the cause of which variety is declared in diuers places in the Decades.

It is also worthy to be noted that some of them that were at this voyage told me: That is, that they ouertooke the course of the Sunne, so that they had it North from them at noone, the 14. day of March. And to haue said thus much of these voyages, it may suffice.

The first voyage made by Master William Towrson Marchant of London, to the coast of Guinea, with two Ships, in the yeere 1555.

September.

VPon Munday the thirtieth day of September wee departed from the Isle of Wight, out of the hauen of Neuport with two good shippes, the one called the Hart, the other the Hinde, both of London, and the Masters of them were Iohn Ralph, and William Carter, for a voyage to bee made vnto the Riuer de Sestos in Guinea, and to other hauens thereabout.

It fell out by the varietie of windes, that it was the foureteenth day of October before wee coulde fetch Dartmouth: and being there arriued wee continued in that roade sixe dayes,

October.

and the 20. of October we warpt out of the hauen, and set saile, directing our course towards the Southwest, and the next morning we were runne by estimation thirty leagues.

Nouember.

The first of Nouember we found our selues to be in 31. degrees of latitude by the reckoning of our Master. This day we ranne about 40. leagues also.

The second day we ranne 36. leagues.

Porto Santo.

The third day we had sight of Porto Santo, which is a small Island lying in the sea, about three leagues long, and a league & a halfe broad, & is possessed by Portugals. It riseth as we came from the Northnorthwest like two small hilles neere together. The East end of the same Island is a high land like a saddle with a valley, which makes it to beare that forme. The West ende of it is lower with certaine small round hillocks. This Island lieth in thirty and

Madera.

three degrees. The same day at 11. of the clocke we raysed the Isle of Madera, which lieth 12. leagues from Porto Santo, towards the Southwest: that Island is a faire Island and fruitfull, and is inhabited by Portugals, it riseth afarre off like a great whole land and high. By three of the clocke this day at after noone we were thwart of Porto Santo, and we set our course Southwest, to leaue the Isle of Madera to the Eastward, as we did Porto Santo. These two Islands were the first land that we saw since wee left the coast of England. About three of the clocke after midnight wee were thwart of Madera, within three leagues of the West ende of it, and by meanes of the high hilles there, we were becalmed: We suppose we ranne this day and night 30. leagues.

The fourth day wee lay becalmed vnder the Isle of Madera, vntill one of the clocke at afternoone, and then, the winde comming into the East, wee went our course, and ranne that day fifteene leagues.

The

The 5. day we ranne 15. leagues more.

The 6. day in the morning we raysed the Isle of Tenerif, otherwise called the Pike, because Tenerif.
it is a very high Island, with a pike vpon the top like a loafe of suger. The same night we raised the Isle of Palma, which is a high land also, and to the Westward of the Isle of Tenerif. Palma.

The 7. day we perceiued the Isle of Gomera, which is an Island standing betwixt Tenerif Gomera.
and Palma, about 12. leagues Eastward from Palma, and 8. leagues Westward from Tenerif: and for feare of being becalmed with the Isle of Tenerif, we left both it, and Gomera to the Eastward of vs, and went betwixt Palma and Gomera. We ranne this day and night 30. leagues.

Note that these Islands be 60. leagues from Madera, and that there are 3. Islands more to the Westward of Tenerif, named the Grand Canaria, Forte-ventura, & Lancerot, of which Islands we came not in sight: they be inhabited by Spaniards.

This day also we had sight of the Isle of Ferro, which is to the Southwards 13. leagues Ferro.
from the other Islands, and is possessed by Spaniards. All this day and night by reason of the winde we could not double the point of the Isle of Ferro, except we would haue gone to the Westward of it, which had bene much out of our course: therefore we kept about, and ranne backe fiue houres Eastnortheast to the ende we might double it vpon the next boord, the winde continuing Southeast, which hath not bene often seene vpon that coast by any trauellers: for the winde continueth there for the most part Northeast, & East Northeast: so vpon the other boord by the next morning we were in a maner with the Island, and had roome ynough to double the same.

The 8. day we kept our course as neere the winde as wee could, because that our due course to fetch the coast of Barbary was Southeast and by East, but by the scant winde wee could not goe our due course, but went as neere it as we could, and ranne this day and night 25. leagues.

The 9. day we ranne 30. leagues, the 10. 25. leagues, the 12. 24.

The 12. day we sawe a saile vnder our Lee, which was as we thought a fisherman, so that wee went roome to haue spoken with him, but within one houre there fell such a fogge, that wee could not see the shippe nor one of vs the other: we shot off diuers pieces to the Hinde, but she heard them not: at afternoone she shot off a piece which wee heard, and made her answere with another: and within one halfe houre after the fogge brake vp, and we were within 4. leagues of the shoare vpon the coast of Barbary, and wee sounded and had 14. fadom water. The Barke also came roome with vs and there ankered by reason of the contrary winde. When we fell with the land, we could not iudge iustly what part of the land it was, because the most part of that coast is lowe land, and no part to be iudged of it but the fore part of the shoare, which is white like chalke or sand, and very deepe vnto the hard shoare: there immediatly we began to fish, and found great store of a kinde of fish which the Portugals commonly fish for vpon that coast, which they cal Pergosses, the Frenchmen call them Saders, and our men salt-water breames. Before the clearing vp of the fogge, the shippe which we followed shaped vs such a course that we could see her no more, by reason of our shooting off to finde the Hinde againe. This part of the coast of Barbary, by our Pilots reckoning, is about 16. leagues to the Eastwards of the riuer del Oro. Riuer del Oro.

The 13. day in the afternoone wee spyed a saile comming towards vs, which wee iudged to be the saile that wee sawe the day before, and as soone as we spied him, wee caused the Hinde to way her ancre and to goe towardes him, and manned out our Skiffe in like case to lay him aboorde, or to discerne what hee was, and wee our selues within halfe an houre after wayed also: but after the saile had espied vs, hee kept about, and turned backe againe, and shortly after there fell such another fogge, that wee coulde not see him: which fogges continued all that night, so that wee were constrained to leaue the chase. This afternoone the winde came about, and wee went our course Southwest and by West, to goe cleare off the coast, wee ranne that night sixteene leagues.

The foureteenth day in the morning was very foggie: but about twelue a clocke wee espied a Caruell of 60. tunne which was fishing, and we sent our Skiffe to him with fiue men,

and all without any weapon sauing their Oares. The Caruell for haste let slippe her ancre, and set saile; and they seeing that, fearing that they should not fetch her, would tarry for no
A Caruell taken. weapons, and in the ende ouertooke the Caruell, and made her to strike saile, and brought her away, although they had foureteene or fifteene men aboord, & euery man his weapon, but they had not the hearts to resist our men. After they were come to vs, they let fall their ancre, for wee had cast ancre because the winde was not good: I caused then the Skiffe to come for mee, and I went aboorde of them to see that no harme should bee done to them, nor to take any thing but that which they might spare vs for our money. So wee tooke of them 3. Tapnets of figges, two small pots of oyle, two pipes of water, foure hogsheads of saltfish which they had taken vpon the coast, and certaine fresh fish which they did not esteeme, because there is such store vpon that coast, that in an houre and sometime lesse, a
Great store of fish vpon the coast of Barbary. man may take as much fish as will serue twentie men a day. For these things, and for some wine which wee dranke aboorde of them, and three or foure great Cannes which they sent aboord of our shippes, I payed them twentie and seuen Pistoles, which was twise as much as they willingly would haue taken: and so let them goe to their ancre and cable which they had let slippe, and got it againe by our helpe. After this wee set saile, but the winde caused vs to ancre againe about twelue leagues off the riuer del Oro, as the Portugals tolde vs. There were fiue Caruels more in this place, but when they sawe vs, they made all away for feare of vs.

The 15. day we ridde still because of the winde.

The 16. day we set saile and ranne our course 40. leagues. This day, by the reckoning of
The Tropike of Cancer in 23. and a halfe. our Pilots, we were right vnder the Tropike of Cancer. The 17. day we ranne 25. leagues within sight for the most part of the coast of Barbary.

The 18. day wee ranne thirtie leagues, and at twelue of the clocke by the reckoning of our
Cape Blanke. Pilots we were thwart of Cape Blanke.

Cape Verde. The 22. day our Pilots reckoned vs to be thwart Cape Verde.

The coast of Guinea. The 12. day of December we had sight of land of Guinea, which as soone as we saw we hailed into the land Northeast, and about 12. of the clocke at night we were neere the shoare within lesse then 2. leagues: and then we kept about and sounded, and found 18. fadom water. Afterwards we saw a light towards the shoare, which we thought to haue bene a ship, and thereby iudged it to be the riuer de Sestos, which light as soone as we espied, we came to an anker & armed our tops, and made all things ready to fight, because we doubted that it might be some Portugal or French man: this night we remained at an anker, but in the morning we saw no man, only we espied 4. rockes about 2. English miles from vs, one great rocke, and the 3. other smal ones, which when we sawe, we supposed that the light came from the shore, and so wayed and set saile East Southeast along the shoare, because the Master did not well know the place, but thought that we were not so farre to the East as the riuer de Sestos.

This land all along is a low land, and full of very high trees all along the shoare, so that it is not possible to know the place that a man doth fall withall, except it be by the latitude: In these 24. houres I thinke we ran 16. leagues, for all the night we had a great gale as we were vnder saile, and had withall store of thunder and lightnings.

The 13. day for the most part we ran East Southeast all along the shoare, within two leagues alwayes of the same, and found the land all as at the first, ful of woods and great rocks hard aboord the shoare, and the billow beating so sore, that the seas brake vpon the shoare as white as snow, and the water mounted so high that a man might easily discerne it 4. leagues off, in such wise that no boate could land there. Thus we ran vntil 12. of the clocke, and then they tooke the Sunne and after iudged themselues to be 24. leagues past the riuer de Sestos to the Eastwards, by reason whereof we halled into the shoare within two English miles, and there ancred and found fifteene fadom water, and all off from the shoare the sea so smooth, that we might wel haue rid by an Hawser. All that after-noone we trimmed our boate and made her a saile, to the ende that she might go along by the shoore to seeke some place to water in: for wee could not goe backe againe to the riuer de Sestos, because the winde blowes

blowes alwayes contrary, and the Currant runneth alwayes to the Eastwards, which was also against vs. The Currant setting Eastward.

The 14. day we set saile & went back againe along the coast, and sent our boats hard aboord the shoare to seeke a watering place, which they found about 12. of the clock, and we being farre into the sea, met with diuers boats of the Countrey, small, long and narrow, & in euery boate one man and no more: we gaue them bread which they did eat, & were very glad of it. About 4 of the clocke our boats came to vs with fresh water: and this night we ankered against a Riuer.

The 15. day we wayed and set saile to goe neere the shoare, and with our leade wee sounded all the way, and found sometimes rockes, and sometimes faire ground, and at the shallowest found 7. fadoms alwayes at the least. So in fine we found 7. fadom and a halfe within an English mile of the shoare, and there we ankered in a maner before the mouth of the Riuer, and then wee sent our boats into the Riuer for water, which went about a mile within the Riuer, where they had very good water. This Riuer lieth by estimation 8. leagues beyond the Riuer de Sestos, and is called in the Carde Riuer S. Vincent, but it is so hard to finde, that a boat being within halfe a mile of it shall not be able to discerne that it is a Riuer: by reason that directly before the mouth of it there lyeth a ledge of rockes, which is much broader then the Riuer, so that a boate must runne in along the shoare a good way betwixt the rockes and the shoare before it come to the mouth of the Riuer, and, being within it, it is a great Riuer and diuers other Riuers fall into it: The going into it is somewhat ill, because that at the entring the seas do goe somewhat high, but being once within it, it is as calme as the Thames. Riuer S. Vincent.

There are neere to the Sea vpon this Riuer diuers inhabitants, which are mighty bigge men and go al naked except some thing before their priuie parts, which is like a clout about a quarter of a yard long made of the barke of trees, and yet it is like a cloth: for the barke is of that nature, that it will spin small after the maner of linnen. Some of them also weare the like vpon their heades being painted with diuers colours, but the most part of them go bare headed, and their heads are clipped and shorne of diuers sorts, and the most part of them haue their skin of their bodies raced with diuers workes, in maner of a leather Ierkin. The men and women goe so alike, that one cannot know a man from a woman but by their breastes, which in the most part be very foule and long, hanging downe low like the vdder of a goate. Cloth made of the barke of trees. The Negroes race their skinne.

The same morning we went into the Riuer with our Skiffe, and caried certaine basons, manels, &c. And there we tooke that day one hogs-head and 100. li. waight of Graines, and two Elephants teeth at a reasonable good reckoning. Wee solde them both basons, and Manellios, and Margarits, but they desired most to haue basons: For the most part of our basons wee had by estimation about 30. li. for a piece, and for an Elephants tooth of 30. li. waight, we gaue them 6. Graines at Guinea. Elephants teeth.

The 16. day in the morning we went into the riuer with our Skiffe, and tooke some of euery sort of our marchandize with vs, and shewed it to the Negroes, but they esteemed it not, but made light of it, and also of the basons, Manellios and Margarits, which yesterday they did buy: howbeit for the basons they would haue giuen vs some graines, but to no purpose, so that this day wee tooke not by estimation aboue one hundreth pound waight of Graines, by meanes of their Captaine, who would suffer no man to sell any thing but through his hands, and at his price: he was so subtile, that for a bason hee would not giue 15. pound waight of Graines, and sometimes would offer vs small dishfuls, whereas before wee had baskets full, and when he saw that wee would not take them in contentment, the Captaine departed, and caused all the rest of the boates to depart, thinking belike that wee would haue followed them, and haue giuen them their owne askings. But after that wee perceiued their fetch, wee wayed our Grapnel and went away, and then wee went on land into a small Towne to see the fashions of the Countrey, and there came a threescore of them about vs, and at the first they were afraid of vs, but in the ende perceiuing that wee did no hurt, they would come to vs and take vs by the hand and be familiar with vs, and then we went into their

The description of their Townes and houses.

Townes, which were like to twentie small houels, all couered ouer with great leaues and baggage, and all the sides open, and a scaffolde vnder the house about a yard high, where they worke many pretie things of the barkes of trees, and there they lye also. In some of their houses they worke yron and make faire dartes, and diuers other things to worke their boates, and other things withall, and the women worke as well as the men. But when wee were there diuers of the women to shew vs pleasure danced and sung after their maner, full ill to our eares. Their song was thus:

Sakere, sakere, ho, ho. Sakere, sakere, ho, ho.

And with these words they leape and dance and clap their hands. Beastes we could see none that they had, but two goates, small dogges, and small hennes: other beastes we saw none. After that we had well marked all things we departed and went aboord our ships: which thing the Captaine of the other towne perceiuing, sent two of his seruants in a boat with a basket of Graines, and made vs signes that if when we had slept wee would come againe into their riuer, wee should haue store of Graines, and so shewed vs his Graines and departed.

The 17. day in the morning because we thought that the Negroes would haue done something because the Captaine sent for vs, I required the Master to goe on shoare, and sent the rest of our Marchants with him, and taried aboord my selfe by reason that the last day he esteemed our things so litle: so when the Master and the rest came into the riuer, the captaine with diuers others came to them, and brought Graines with them, & after that he saw that I was not there, he made signes to know where I was, and they made signes to him againe that I was in the ships: and then hee made signes to know who was Captaine by the name of Diago, for so they call their Captaine, & they pointed to the master of the ship: then he began to shew his Graines, but he held them so vnreasonably, that there was no profit to be made of them: which things the Master perceiuing, and seeing that they had no store of Graines, came away, and tooke not aboue 50. pound waight of Graines. Then he went a shoare to the litle Towne where we were the day before, & one of them plucked a Gourd, wherewith the Negroes were offended, & came many of them to our men with their darts and great targets, and made signes to them to depart: which our men did, hauing but one bow and two or three swords, and went aboord the boate and came away from them: and assoone as they were come aboord we wayed and set saile, but the winde was off the Sea, so that we could not get out cleare of certaine rocks, and therefore we came to an ancre againe.

Diago the name of a Captaine.

The latitude of S. Vincent riuer is 4. degrees and a halfe.

This riuer is called Riuer S. Vincent, standing in 4. degrees and a halfe, and it ebbeth and floweth there euery 12. houres, but not much water when it ebbeth the most: while wee were there, it ebbed one fadome and a halfe water.

Leaues of exceeding length.

This countrey as farre as we could perceiue is altogether woody, and al strange trees, whereof wee knewe none, and they were of many sorts, with great leaues like great dockes, which bee higher then any man is able to reach the top of them.

Long pease stalkes.

There are certaine peason by the Sea side, which grow vpon great and very long stalkes, one of the stalkes I measured and found it 27. paces long, and they grow vpon the sand like to trees, and that so neere the Sea, that sometimes the Sea floweth into the woods as we might perceiue by the water markes.

Long womens breasts.

The trees and all things in this place grow continually greene. Diuers of the women haue such exceeding long breasts, that some of them wil lay the same vpon the ground and lie downe by them, but all the women haue not such breasts.

At this place all the day the winde bloweth off the Sea, and all the night off the land, but wee found it to differ sometimes, which our Master marueiled at.

This night at 9. of the clocke the winde came vp at the East, which ordinarily about that time was wont to come out of the North Northwest off the shoare: yet we wayed and halled off South with that winde all night into the Sea, but the next morning we halled in againe to the lande, and tooke in 6. Tunnes of water for our ship, and I thinke the Hinde tooke in as much.

I could

I could not perceiue that here was any gold, or any other good thing: for the people be so wilde and idle, that they giue themselues to seeke out nothing: if they would take paines they might gather great store of graines, but in this place I could not perceiue two Tunne.

There are many foules in the Countrey, but the people wil not take the paines to take them.

I obserued some of their words of speach, which I thought good here to set downe.

The language about the Riuer of S. Vincent.

Bezow, bezow,	Is their salutation.
Manegete afoye,	Graines ynough.
Crocow afoye,	Hennes ynough.
Zeramme afoye,	Haue you ynough?
Begge sacke,	Giue me a knife.
Begge come,	Giue me bread.
Borke,	Holde your peace.
Coutrecke,	Ye lye.
Veede,	Put foorth, or emptie.
Brekeke,	Rowe.
Diago,	Their Captaine, and some call him Dabo.

These and other wordes they speake very thicke, and oftentimes recite one word three times together, and at the last time longer then at the two first.

The 18. day towards night, as we were sailing along the coast, we met with certaine boats in the sea, & the men shewed vs that there was a riuer thwart of vs, where there were Graines to be sold, but we thought it not good to tary there, least the other ships should get before vs. This riuer hath lying before it three great rockes, and 5. small rocks, one great tree, and a litle tree right by the riuer, which in height exceeded all the rest: we halled this night along the coast 10. leagues.

The 19. day as we coasted the shoare, about twelue of the clocke there came out to vs 3. boates to tell vs that they had graines, & brought some with them for a shew, but we could not tary there. We proceeded along the coast, & ancred by the shore all the night, and ran this day 10. leagues.

The 20. day the Hinde hauing ankered by vs amongst rockes, and foule ground, lost a small anker. At noone, as we passed along the coast, there came forth a Negro to vs, making signes, that if we would goe a shoare, wee should haue Graines, and where wee ankered at night, there came another to vs, and brought Graines, and shewed vs them, and made signes that wee should tary, and made a fire vpon the land in the night, meaning thereby to tell vs where we should land, and so they did in diuers other places vpon the coast, where they saw vs to anker.

The tides and nature of the shoare.

In al the places where we haue ancred, since we came from our watring place, we haue found the tide alwayes running to the Westwards, and all along the coast many rockes hard aboord the shoare, and many of them a league off the shoare or more, we ran this day 12. leagues.

The 21. day, although we ranne all day with a good gale of winde, yet the tides came so sore out of the coast, that we were not able to runne aboue sixe leagues: and this day there came some Negroes to vs, as there had done other times.

The point of Palmas.

The 22. wee ranne all day and night to double a point, called Das palmas, and ranne sixteene leagues.

The 23. day about 3. of the clocke we were thwart of the point, & before we came to the Westermost part of it, we saw a great ledge of rocks, which lie West from the Cape about 3. leagues and a league or more frō the land. Shortly after we had sight of the Eastermost part of the Cape, which lieth 4. leagues from the Westermost part, and vpon the very corner thereof lie two greene places, as it were closes, and to the Westwards of the Cape the land parted from the Cape, as it were a Bay, whereby it may well be knowen. Foure leagues more beyonde that there lieth a head-land in the sea, and about two leagues beyond the head-land there goeth in a great Bay, as it were a riuer, before which place we ankered

ankered all that night, which wee did, least in the night, wee should ouerrunne a riuer, where
* That was the yere 1554. the* last yeere they had all their Elephants teeth.

This Cape Das palmas lieth vnder foure degrees and a halfe, and betwixt the said Cape, and the riuer de Sestos is the greatest store of Graines to be had, and being past the said Cape, there is no great store else where.

The tides running Eastward. Where we ankered this night, we found that the tide, which before ran alwayes to the Westward, from this Cape runneth all to the Eastward: this day we ranne some 16. leagues.

The 24. day running our course, about eight of the clock there came forth to vs certaine boats, which brought with them small egges, which were soft without shels, and they made vs signes, that there was within the land fresh water, and Goates: and the Master thinking that it was the riuer which we sought, cast ancker and sent the boate on shoare, with one that knew the riuer, and comming neere the shoare, hee perceiued that it was not the riuer, and so came backe againe, and went along the shoare, with their oares and saile, and wee weyed and ranne along the shoare also: and being thirteene leagues beyond the Cape, the Master perceiued a place which he iudged to be the riuer, when wee were in deede two miles shot past it: yet the boate came from the shoare, and they that were in her saide, that there was no riuer: notwithstanding wee came to an ancker, and the Master and I tooke fiue men with vs in the boat, and when hee came neere the shoare, hee perceiued that it was the same riuer which hee did seeke: so we rowed in, and found the entrance very ill, by reason that the sea goeth so high: and being entred, diuers boates came to vs, and shewed vs that they had Elephants teeth, and they brought vs one of about eight pound, & a little one of a pound, which we bought: then they brought certaine teeth to the riuer side, making signes, that if the next day we would come againe, they would sell vs them: so we gaue vnto two Captaines, to either of them a manillio, and so we departed, and came aboord, and sent out the other boate to another place, where certaine boates that came into the sea, made
A Towne. vs signes that there was fresh water: and being come thither, they found a towne, but no riuer, yet the people brought them fresh water, and shewed them an Elephants tooth, making signes that the next day they would sel them teeth, and so they came aboord.

This riuer lieth by the Carde thirteene leagues from the Cape Das palmas, and there lieth to the Westwards of the same a rocke about a league in the sea, and the riuer it selfe hath a point of lande comming out into the Sea, whereupon grow fiue trees, which may well bee discerned two or three leagues off, comming from the Westward, but the riuer cannot bee perceiued vntill such time as a man be hard by it, and then a man may perceiue a litle Towne on ech side the riuer, and to ech Towne there belongeth a Captaine. The riuer is but small, but the water is good and fresh.

Two miles beyond the riuer, where the other towne is, there lieth another point into the Sea, which is greene like a close, and not aboue sixe trees vpon it, which growe one of them from the other, whereby the coast may well be knowen: for along all the coast that we haue hitherto sailed by, I haue not seene so much bare land.

In this place, and three or foure leagues to the Westward of it, al along the shoare, there
Many Palme trees. grow many Palme trees, whereof they make their wine de Palma. These trees may easily be knowen almost two leagues off, for they be very high and white bodied, and streight, and be biggest in the midst: they haue no boughes, but onely a round bush in the top of them: and at the top of the same trees they boare a hole, and there they hang a bottell, and the iuyce of the tree runneth out of the said hole into the bottle, and that is their wine.

Cape Tres puntas. From the Cape das Palmas, to the Cape Tres puntas, there are 100. leagues: and to the port where we purpose to make sales of our cloth beyond the Cape Tres puntas 40. leagues.

Note, that betwixt the riuer De Sestos, and the Cape Das palmas, is the place where all the graines be gathered.

The language of the people of this place, as far as I could perceiue, differeth not much frō the language of those which dwel where we watred before: but the people of this place be more gentle in nature then the other, and goodlier men: their building & apparel is all one with the others.

Their

Their desire in this place was most of all to haue Manillios and Margarites: as for the rest of our things, they did litle esteeme them.

About nine of the clocke there came boates to vs foorth, from both of the places aforesaid, and brought with them certaine teeth, and after they had caused me to sweare by the water of the Sea that I would not hurt them, they came aboord our ship three or foure of them, and we gaue them to eate of all such things as we had, and they did eate and drinke of all things, as well as we our selues. Afterwards we bought all their teeth, which were in number 14. and of those 14. there were 10. small: afterwards they departed, making vs signes that the next day we should come to their Townes. Their maner of sweazing by the water of the Sea.

The 26. day because we would not trifle long at this place I required the Master to goe vnto one of the townes, and to take two of our marchants with him, & I my selfe went to the other, and tooke one with me, because these two townes stand three miles asunder. To these places we caried somewhat of euery kinde of marchandize that we had: and hee had at the one Towne, nine teeth, which were but small, and at the other towne where I was, I had eleuen, which were also not bigge, and we left aboord with the Master certaine Manillios, wherewith he bought 12. teeth aboord the ship, in our absence: and hauing bought these of them, wee perceiued that they had no more teeth: so in that place where I was one brought to me a small goat, which I bought, and to the Master at the other place they brought fiue small hennes, which he bought also, and after that we saw there was nothing else to be had, we departed, and by one of the clocke we met aboord, and then wayed, and went East our course 18. leagues still within sight of land. Two townes.

The 28. the wind varied, and we ranne into the sea, and the winde comming againe off the sea, wee fell with the land againe, and the first of the land which we raised shewed as a great red cliffe round, but not very high, and to the Eastward of that another smaller red cliffe, and right aboue that into the land a round hammoke and greene, which we tooke to be trees. We ranne in these 24. houres, not aboue foure leagues.

The 29. day comming neere to the shoare, we perceiued the red cliffe aforesaide to haue right vpon the top of it a great heape of trees, and all to the Westwards of it ful of red cliffes as farre as we could see, and all along the shoare, as well vpon the cliffes, as otherwise, full of wood: within a mile of the said great cliffe there is a riuer to the Eastwards, and no cliffes that we could see, except one small cliffe, which is hard by it. We ran this day and night 12. leagues.

The windes that wee had in this place by the reports of the people and of those that haue bene there, haue not bene vsuall, but in the night, at North off the lande, and in the day South off the sea, and most commonly Northwest, and Southwest.

The 31. day we went our course by the shoare Northwards: this land is al along a low shoare, and full of wood, as all the coast is for the most part, and no rockes. This morning came out many boates which went a fishing, which bee greater boates then those which we sawe before, so that in some of them there sate 5. men, but the fashion of the boats is all one. In the afternoone about three of the clocke wee had sight of a Towne by the sea side, which our Pilots iudged to be 25. leagues to the Westwards of the Cape Tres puntas.

The third of Ianuary in the morning we fell with the Cape Tres puntas, and in the night passed, as our Pilots saide, by one of the Portugals castles, which is 8. leagues to the Westwards of the Cape: vpon the first sight of the Cape wee discerned it a very high land, and all growen ouer with trees, and comming neere to it, we perceiued two head lands, as it were two Bayes betwixt them, which opened right to the Westward, and the vttermost of them is the Easterne Cape, there we perceiued the middle Cape, and the Eastermost Cape: the middle Cape standeth not aboue a league from the West Cape, although the Card sheweth them to be 3. leagues one from the other: and that middle Cape hath right before the point of it a small rocke so neere to it, that it cannot be discerned from the Cape, except a man be neere to the shoare, and vpon the same Cape standeth a great heape of trees, and when a man is thwart the same Cape to the Eastward, there riseth hard by it a round greene hommoke, which commeth out of the maine. Cape Tres puntas.

The

The thirde Cape is about a league beyond the middle Cape, and is a high land like to the other Capes, and betwixt the middle, and the thirde commeth out a litle head or point of a land out of the maine, and diuers rocks haue aboard the shoare.

Before we came to the Capes, being about 6. leagues off them, wee had the land Southeast, and by East, and being past the Capes, the land runneth in againe East Northeast.

About two leagues beyond the farthest Cape there is a lowe glade about two miles long, and then the land riseth high againe, and diuers head-lands rise one beyond another, and diuers rockes lie at the point of the first head-land. The middest of these Capes is the neerest to the Southwards, I meane, further into the sea then any of the other, so that being to the Eastward of it, it may be discerned farre off, and being so to the Eastward it riseth with two small rockes.

This day we ankered for feare of ouershooting a towne called S. Iohns. Wee ran this day not aboue 8. leagues. In the afternoone this day there came a boate of the countrey from the shoare, with fiue men in her, and went along by vs, as we thought, to discerne our flagges, but they would not come neere vs, and when they had well looked vpon vs, they departed.

The fourth day in the morning, sailing by the coast, we espied a ledge of rockes by the shoare, and to the Westwards of them two great grene hils ioyning together, so that betweene them it was hollow like a saddle: and within the said rockes the Master thought the aforenamed Towne had stoode, and therefore we manned our boates, and tooke with vs cloth, and other marchandize, and rowed ashoare, but going along by the coast, we sawe that there was no towne, therefore wee went aboord againe.

From these two hils aforesaid, about two leagues to the Eastward, lie out into the Sea almost two miles a ledge of rockes, and beyond that a great Bay, which runneth into the North Northwestward, and the land in this place lieth North Northeast along the shoare: but the vttermost point of land in that place that we could see, lay Northeast, and by East from vs.

After that we were with a small gale of winde runne past that vttermost head-land, we sawe a great red cliffe, which the Master againe iudged to be the towne of S. Iohns, and then wee tooke our boate with marchandize, and went thither, and when we came thither, we perceiued that there was a towne vpon the toppe of the hill, and so wee went toward it, and when we were hard by it, the people of the towne came together a great sort of them, and waued vs to come in, with a peece of cloth, and so we went into a very faire Bay, which lieth to the Eastward of the cliffe, whereupon the towne standeth, and being within the cliffe, wee let fall our grapnell, and after that we had taried there a good space, they sent a boate aboord of vs, to shewe vs that they had golde, and they shewed vs a peece about halfe a crowne weight, and required to know our measure, & our weight, that they might shewe their Captaine thereof: and wee gaue them a measure of two elles, and a waight of two Angels to shew vnto him, which they tooke, and went on shoare, and shewed it vnto their Captaine, and then they brought vs a measure of two elles, one quarter and a halfe, and one Crusado-weight of gold, making vs signes that so much they would giue for the like measure, and lesse they would not haue. After this, we taried there about an houre, and when we sawe that they would doe no otherwise, and withall vnderstood, that all the best places were before vs, wee departed to our shippes and wayed, and ranne along the shoare, and went before with our boate, and hauing sailed about a league, we came to a point where there lay foorth a ledge of rockes, like to the others before spoken of, and being past that people, the Master spied a place which hee saide plainely was the towne of Don Iohn: and the night was come vpon vs, so that we could not well discerne it, but we ankered as neere vnto the place as we could.

The towne of Don Iohn.

The fift day in the morning we perceiued it to be the same towne in deede, and we manned our boates and went thither, and because that the last yeere the Portugals at that place tooke away a man from them, and after shot at them with great bases, and did beate them from the place, we let fall our grapnel almost a base shot off the shoare, and there we lay about two houres, and no boats came to vs. Then certaine of our men with the Hindes boate went into the

the Bay which lieth to the Eastward of the towne, and within that Bay they found a goodly fresh ruer, and afterwards they came and waued to vs also to come in, because they perceiued the Negroes to come downe to that place, which we did: and immediatly the Negroes came to vs, and made vs signes that they had golde, but none of them would come aboord our boates, neither could wee perceiue any boates that they had to come withall, so that we iudged that the Portugals had spoiled their boates, because we saw halfe of their towne destroyed.

Wee hauing stayed there a good space, and seeing that they would not come to vs, thrust our boates heads a shoare, being both well appointed, and then the Captaine of the Towne came downe being a graue man: and he came with his dart in his hand, and sixe tall men after him, euery one with his dart & his target, and their darts were all of yron, faire and sharpe, and there came another after them which caried the Captaines stoole: wee saluted him, and put off our caps, and bowed our selues, and hee like one that thought well of himselfe, did not moone his cap, nor scant bowed his body, and sate him downe very solemnly vpon his stoole: but all his men put off their caps to vs, and bowed downe themselues.

He was clothed from the loines downe with a cloth of that Countrey making, wrapped about him, and made fast about his loynes with a girdle, and his cap of a certaine cloth of the Countrey also, and bare legged, and bare footed, and all bare aboue the loynes, except his head.

His seruants, some of them had cloth about their loines, and some nothing but a cloth betwixt their legges, and made fast before, and behinde to their girdles, and cappes of their owne making, some like a basket, and some like a great wide purse of beasts skinnes.

All their cloth, cordes, girdles, fishing lines, and all such like things which they haue, they make of the bark of certaine trees, and thereof they can worke things very pretily, and yron worke they can make very fine, of all such things as they doe occupy, as darts, fishhookes, hooking yrons, yron heads, and great daggers, some of them as long as a woodknife, which be on both sides exceeding sharpe, and bended after the maner of Turkie blades, and the most part of them haue hanging at their left side one of those great daggers. Their weapons.

Their targets bee made of such pils as their cloth is made of, and very closely wrought, and they bee in forme foure square, and very great, and somewhat longer then they bee broad, so that kneeling downe, they make their targets to couer their whole body. Their bowes be short, and of a pretie strength, as much as a man is able to draw with one of his fingers, and the string is of the barke of a tree, made flat, and about a quarter of an inch broad: as for their arrowes, I haue not as yet seene any of them, for they had wrapped them vp close, and because I was busie I could not stand about it, to haue them open them. Their golde also they worke very well.

When the Captaine was set, I sent him two elles of cloth, and two basons, and gaue them vnto him, and hee sent againe for a waight of the same measure, and I sent him a weight of two Angels, which he would not take, nether would hee suffer the towne to buy any thing, but the basons of brasse: so that wee solde that day 74. basons vnto the men of the towne, for about halfe an Angel weight, one with another, and nine white basons, which we solde for a quarter of an Angell a peece, or thereabouts.

We shewed them all our other things which we had, but they did not esteeme them.

About two of the clocke, the Captaine who did depart in the morning from vs, came againe, and brought with him to present mee withall, a henne, and two great rootes, which I receiued, and after made me signes that the countrey would come to his towne that night, and bring great store of gold, which in deed about 4. of the clocke they did: for there came about 100. men vnder 3. Captaines, well appointed with their darts and bowes, and when they came to vs, euery man sticked downe his dart vpon the shoare, and the Captaines had stooles brought them, and they sate downe, and sent a young man aboord of vs, which brought a measure with him of an ell, and one fourth part, and one sixteenth part, and he would haue that foure times for a waight of one Angell and twelue graines: I offered him two elles, as I had done before for two Angels weight, which he esteemed nothing, but still stucke at

his foure measures aforesaid: yet in the ende, when it grew very late, and I made him signes that I would depart, he came to foure elles for the weight abouesaid, and otherwise he would not deale, and so we departed. This day we tooke for basons sixe ounces and a halfe and one eight part.

The sixt day in the morning we manned our boates and the skiffe well, for feare of the Portugals which the last yeere had taken away a man from the other ships, and went on shoare, and landed, because they had no boates to come to vs, and so the young man which was with vs the night before was sent aboord, who seemed to haue dealt and bargained before with the Portugals for he could speake a litle Portuguise, and was perfect in weights and measures: at his comming he offered vs, as he had done before, one Angell, and twelue graines for foure elles, and more he would not giue, and made signes, that if we would not take that, we should depart, which we did: but before we did indeede depart, I offered him of some rotten cloth three elles for his waight of an Angell and twelue graines, which he would not take, and then we departed making signes to him that we would go away, as indeede we would haue done, rather then haue giuen that measure, although the cloth was ill, seeing we were so neere to the places, which we iudged to be better for sale. Then we went aboord our ships, which lay about a league off, and came backe againe to the shoare for sand and balaste: and then the Captaine perceiuing that the boats had brought no marchandize but came onely for water and sand, and seeing that we would depart, came vnto them, making signes againe to know whether would we not giue the foure elles, and they made signes againe, that we would giue them but three, and when they sawe that the boates were ready to depart, they came vnto them and gaue them the weight of our Angell and twelue graines, which we required before and made signes, that if we would come againe, they would take three elles. So when the boates came aboord, we layde wares in them both, and for the speedier dispatch I and Iohn Sauill went in one boat, and the Maister Iohn Makeworth, and Richard Curligin, in the other, and went on shoare, and that night I tooke for my part fiftie and two ounces, and in the other boate they tooke eight ounces and a quarter, all by one weight and measure, and so being very late, we departed and went aboord, and tooke in all this day three pound.

The seuenth day we went a shoare againe, and that day I tooke in our boate three pound 19 ounces, so that we dispatched almost all the cloth that we caried with vs before noone, and then many of the people were departed & those that remained had litle golde, yet they made vs signes to fetch them some latten basons, which I would not because I purposed not to trifle out y time, but goe thence with speede to Don Iohns towne. But Iohn Sauill and Iohn Makeworth were desirous to goe againe: and I, loth to hinder them of any profite, consented, but went not my selfe: so they tooke eighteene ounces of gold and came away, seeing that the people at a certaine crie made, were departed.

While they were at the shoare, there came a young fellow which could speake a little Portuguise, with three more with him, and to him I solde 39 basons and two small white sawcers, for three ounces, &c. which was the best reckoning that we did make of any basons: and in the forenoone when I was at the shoare, the Master solde fiue basons vnto the same fellow, for halfe an ounce of golde.

This fellow, as farre as we could perceiue, had bene taken into the Castle by the Portugales, and was gotten away from them, for he tolde vs that the Portugales were bad men, and that they made them slaues if they could take them, and would put yrons vpon their legges, and besides he told vs, that as many Frenchmen or Englishmen, as they could take (for he could name these two very well) they would hang them: he told vs further, that there were 60 men in the castle, and that euery yeere there came thither two shippes, one great, and one small caruell, and further, that Don Iohn had warres with the Portugals, which gaue mee the better courage to goe to his towne, which lieth but foure leagues from the Castle, wherehence our men were beaten the last yeere.

60. Portugales in the castle of Mina.

The English in anno 1554 tooke away 5 Negroes.

This fellowe came aboord our shippe without feare, and assoone as he came, he demaunded, why we had not brought againe their men, which the last yeere we tooke away, and could tell

tell vs that there were fiue taken away by Englishmen: we made him answere, that they were in England well vsed, and were there kept till they could speake the language, and then they should be brought againe to be a helpe to Englishmen in this Countrey: and then he spake no more of that matter.

Our boates being come aboord, we wayed and set saile and a little after spied a great fire vpon the shoare, and by the light of the fire we might discerne a white thing, which they tooke to be the Castle, and for feare of ouershooting the towne of Don Iohn we there ankered two leagues off the shoare, for it is hard to fetch vp a towne here, if a ship ouershoot it. This day we tooke seuen pound, and fiue ounces of golde.

This towne lieth in a great Bay, which is very deepe.

The people in this place desired most to haue basons and cloth. They would buy some of them also many trifles, as kniues, horsetailes, hornes: and some of our men going a shoare, sold a cap, a dagger, a hat, &c.

They shewed vs a certain course cloth, which I thinke to be made in France, for it was course wooll, and a small threed, and as thicke as wosted, and striped with stripes of greene, white, yellow &c. Diuers of the people did weare about their neckes great beades of glasse of diuerse colours. Here also I learned some of their language, as followeth:

Mattea, mattea,	Is their salutation.	This language seemeth partly to be corrupt.
Dassee, dassee,	I thanke you.	
Sheke,	Golde.	
Cowrte,	Cut.	
Cracca,	Kniues.	
Bassina,	Basons.	
Foco, foco,	Cloth.	
Molta,	Much, or great store.	

The eight day in the morning we had sight of the Castle, but by reason of a miste that then fell we could not haue the perfect sight of it, till we were almost at the towne of Don Iohn, and then it cleared vp, and we saw it and a white house, as it were a Chappell, vpon the hill about it: then we halled into the shoare, within two English miles of Don Iohns towne, and there ankered in seuen fadome water. Here, as in many other places before, we perceiued that the currant went with the winde. Sight of the castle of Misa.

The land here is in some places low and in some high, and full of wood altogether.

The towne of Don Iohn is but litle, of about twentie houses, and the most part of the towne is walled in with a wall of a mans height, made with reede or sedge, or some such thing. Here we staied two or three houres after we had ankered, to see if any man would come vnto vs: and seeing that none did come, we manned our boates and put in marchandize, and went and ankered with our boates neere to the shoare: then they sent out a man to vs who made vs signes that that was the towne of Don Iohn, and that he himselfe was in the Countrey, and would be at home at the going downe of the Sunne, and when he had done, he required a reward, as the most part of them will doe which come first aboord, and I gaue him one ell of cloth and he departed, and that night we heard no more of him. Don Iohns towne described.

The ninth day in the morning we went againe with our boates to the shoare, and there came foorth a boate to vs, who made signes that Don Iohn was not come home, but would be at home this day: and to that place also came another boate from the other towne a mile from this, which is called Don Deuis, and brought with him gold to shew vs, making signes that we should come thither. I then left in this place Iohn Saull, and Iohn Makeworth, and tooke the Hinde, and went to the other towne and there ankered, and tooke cloth and went to shore with the boate, and by and by the boates came to vs and brought a measure of foure yards long & a halfe, and shewed vs a weight of an angell and twelue graines, which they would giue for so much, and not otherwise: so I staied and made no bargaine. And all this day the barke lay at Don Iohns towne, and did nothing, hauing answere that he was not come home.

The tenth day we went againe to the shoare, and there came out a boat with good store of

gold, and hauing driuen the matter off a long time, and hauing brought the measure to a nayle lesse then three elles, and their weight to an angell and twentie graines, and could not bring them to more, I did conclude with them and solde, and within one quarter of an houre I tooke one pound and a quarter of an ounce of golde: and then they made me signes to tary, till they had parted their cloth vpon the shoare as their manner is, and they would come againe, and so they went away, and layde the cloth all abroad vpon the sande peece by peece, and by and by one came running downe from the towne to them, and spake vnto them, and foorthwith euery man made as much haste as he could away, and went into the woods to hide his golde and his cloth: we mistrusted some knauery, and being waued by them to come a shoare, yet we would not, but went aboorde the Hinde, and perceiued vpon the hill 30 men which we iudged to be Portugals: and they went vp to the toppe of the hill and there mustered and shewed themselues, hauing a flagge with them. Then I being desirous to knowe what the Hart did, tooke the Hindes boate and went towards her, and when I came neere to them they shot off two pieces of ordinance which I marueiled at: I made as much haste as I could to her, and met her boate and skiffe comming from the shoare in all haste, and we met aboord together. They shewed me that they had beene a shoare all that day, and had giuen to the two sonnes of Don Iohn, to either of them three yardes and a halfe of cloth, and three basons betwixt them, and had deliuered him 3 yards of cloth more and the weight of an angell and 12 graines, and being on land did tarie for his answere, and in the meane time the Portugals came running from the hill vpon them, whereof the Negroes a litle before had giuen them warning, and bad them to go away but they perceiued it not. The sonne of Don Iohn conspired with the Portugales against them, so that they were almost vpon them, but yet they recouered their boate and set off from the shoare, and the Portugales shot their caliuers at them, but hurt no man, and then the shippe perceiuing it, shot off the two peeces aforesayde among them. Hereupon we layde bases in both the boates, and in the Skiffe and manned them well, and went a shoare againe, but because of the winde we could not land, but lay off in the sea about ten score and shot at them, but the hill succoured them, and they from the rockes and from the hilles shotte at vs with their halfe hakes, and the Negroes more for feare then for loue stoode by them to helpe them, and when we saw that the Negroes were in such subiection vnto them that they durst not sell vs any thing for feare of them we went aboord, and that night the winde kept at the East, so that we could not with our ship fetch the Hinde, but I tooke the boate in the night and went aboord the barke to see what was there to be done, and in the morning we perceiued the towne to be in like case layde with Portugales, so we wayed and went along the coast. This towne of Iohn de Viso standeth vpon an hill like the towne of Don Iohn, but it hath beene burned, so that there are not passing sixe houses in it: the most part of the golde that comes thither comes out of the countrey, and no doubt if the people durst for feare of the Portugals bring forth their gold, there would be had good store: but they dare not sell any thing, their subiection is so great to the Portugales. The 11 day running by the shoare we had sight of a litle towne foure leagues from the last towne that we came from, and about halfe a league from that, of another towne vpon a hill, and halfe a league from that also of another great towne vpon the shoare: whither we went to see what could there be done: if we could doe nothing, then to returne to the other towne, because we thought that the Portugales would leaue the towne vpon our departure. Along from the castle vnto this place are very high hilles which may be seene aboue all other hilles, but they are full of wood, and great red cliffes by the sea side. The boates of these places are somewhat large and bigge, for one of them will carrie twelue men, but their forme is alike with the former boates of the coast. There are about these townes few riuers: their language differeth not from the language vsed at Don Iohns towne: but euery one can speake three or foure words of Portuguise, which they vsed altogether to vs.

The Portugales of the castle of Mina inuaded our men.

The towne of Don Iohn de Viso.

We sawe this night about 5 of the clocke 22 boates running along the shoare to the Westward, whereupon we suspected some knauery intended against vs. The 12 day therefore we set sayle and went further along the coast, and descried more townes wherein were greater houses

houses then in the other townes, and the people came out of the townes to looke vpon vs, but we could see no boates. Two mile beyond the Eastermost towne are blacke rocks, which blacke rockes continue to the vttermost cape of the land, which is about a league off, and then the land runnes in Eastnortheast, and a sandy shoare againe: vpon these blacke rockes came downe certaine Negroes, which waued vs with a white flagge, but we perceiuing the principall place to be neere, would not stay, but bare still along the shoare: and as soone as we had opened the point of the land, we raysed another head-land about a league off the point, which had a rocke lying off it into the sea, and that they thought to be the place which we sought. When we came thwart the place they knew it, and we put wares into our boate, and the ship being within halfe a mile of the place ankered in fiue fadome water and faire ground. We went on shoare with our boate, and ankered about ten of the clocke in the forenoone: we saw many boates lying vpon the shoare, and diuers came by vs, but none of them would come neere vs, being as we iudged afraid of vs: because that foure men were taken perforce the last yeere from this place, so that no man came to vs, whereupon we went aboord againe, and thought here to haue made no saile: yet towardes night a great sort came downe to the water side, and waued vs on shoare with a white flagge, and afterwarde their Captaine came downe and many men with him, and sate him downe by the shore vnder a tree: which when I perceiued, I tooke things with me to giue him: at last he sent a boat to call to vs, which would not come neere vs, but made vs signes to come againe the next day: but in fine, I got them to come aboord in offering them things to giue to their captaine, which were two elles of cloth, one latten bason, one white bason, a bottle, a great piece of beefe, and sixe bisket cakes, which they receiued making vs signes to come againe the next day, saying, that their Captain was Grand Capitane as appeared by those that attended vpon him with their darts and targets, and other weapons.

Foure men taken away by the English.

This towne is very great and stands vpon a hill among trees, so that it cannot well be seene except a man be neere it: to the Eastward of it vpon the hill hard by the towne stand 2. high trees, which is a good marke to knowe the towne. And vnder the towne lieth another hill lower then it, whereupon the sea beates: and that end next the sea is all great blacke rockes, and beyonde the towne in a bay lieth another small towne.

A great towne.

The 13 day in the morning we tooke our boate and went to shoare, and stayed till ten a clocke and no man came to vs: we went about therefore to returne aboord, and when the Negroes saw that, they came running downe with a flagge to waue vs againe, so we ankered againe, and then one shewed vs that the Captaine would come downe by and by: we saw a saile in the meane time passe by vs but it was small, and we regarded it not. Being on shore wee made a tilt with our oares and sayle, and then there came a boate to vs with fiue men in her, who brought vs againe our bottle, and brought me a hen, making signes by the sunne, that within two houres the marchants of the countrey would come downe and buy all that we had: so I gaue them sixe Manillios to carry to their Capraine, and they made signes to haue a pledge of vs, and they would leaue vs another man: and we willing to doe so, put one of our men in their boate, but they would not giue vs one of theirs, so we tooke our man againe, and there tarried for the marchants: and shortly after one came downe arrayed like their Captaine with a great traine after him, who saluted vs friendly, and one of the chiefest of them went and sate downe vnder a tree, where the last yere the Captaine was wont to sit: and at last we perceiued a great many of them to stand at the ende of a hollow way, and behinde them the Portugales had planted a base, who suddenly shotte at vs but ouershot vs, and yet we were in a manner hard by them, and they shot at vs againe before we could ship our oares to get away but did no hurt. Then the Negroes came to the rocks hard by vs, and discharged calieuers at vs, and againe the Portugales shot off their base twise more, and then our ship shot at them, but the rockes and hilles defended them.

The like they doe in the countrey of Prete Ianni.

Then we went aboord to goe from this place, seeing the Negroes bent against vs, because that the last yeere M. Gainsh did take away the Captaines sonne and three others from this place with their golde, and all that they had about them: which was the cause that they became friends with the Portugales, whom before they hated, as did appeare the last yeere by the

Master Robert Gainshet voyage to Guinea in anno 1554.

The English were offered to build a towne in Guine.

the courteous intertainement which the Trinitie had there, when the Captaine came aboord the shippe, and brought them to his towne, and offered them ground to build a Castle in, and there they had good sales.

The 14 day we wayed and plyed backe againe to seeke the Hinde, which in the morning we met, and so we turned both backe to the Eastwardes to see what we could doe at that place where the Trinitie did sell her eight frises the last yeere. The Hinde had taken eighteene ounces and a halfe more of golde of other Negroes, the day after that we left them. This day about one of the clocke we espied certaine boates vpon the sand and men by them and went to them with marchandizes, and tooke three ounces of gold for 18 suffs of cloth, euery suffe three yards and a halfe after one angell and 12 graines the suffe, and then they made me signes that the next day I should haue golde enough: so the Master tooke the Hinde with Iohn Sauill and Iohn Makeworth, and went to seeke the place aforesaid, & I with Richard Pakeman remained in this place to see what we could do the next day: and when the Negroes perceiued our ship to go away, they feared that the other would follow, & so sent forth 2 boats to vs with 4 men in them, requiring vs to tary & to giue them one man for a pledge, and 2 of them should tary with vs for him, so Edward M. Morleis seruant seeing these men so earnest therein offered himselfe to be pledge, and we let him goe for two of them, one whereof had his waights and scales, and a chaine of golde aboute his necke, and another about his arme. They did eate of such things as we had and were well contented. In the night the Negroes kept a light vpon the shoare thwart of vs, and about one of the clocke we heard and saw the light of a base which shot off twise at the said light, and by and by discharged two calieuers, which in the end we perceiued to be the Portugals brigandine which followed vs from place to place, to giue warning to the people of the countrey, that they should not deale with vs.

A Portugale Brigandine.

The 15 day in the morning the Captaine came downe with 100 men with him, and brought his wife, and many others brought their wiues also, because their towne was 8 miles vp in the countrey, and they determined to lie by the sea side till they had bought what they would. When he was come he sent our man aboord, and required to haue two men pledges, and he himselfe would come aboord, and I sent him two, of whom he tooke but one, and so came aboord vs, he and his wife with diuers of his friends, and brought me a goate and two great rootes, and I gaue him againe a latten bason, a white bason, 6 manillios, and a bottell of Malmesie, and to his wife a small casket. After this we began to make our measure and weight: and he had a weight of his owne which held one angell and 14 graines, and required a measure of 4 elles and a halfe. In fine we concluded the 8 part for one angell and 20 graines, and before we had done, they tooke mine owne weight and measure.

The 16 day I tooke 8 li. 1 ounce of gold: and since the departure of the Hinde I heard not of her, but when our pledge went into the countrey the first night, he said he saw her east anker aboue fiue leagues from this place. The 17 day I sold about 17 pieces of cloth, & tooke 4. li. 4 ounces and a halfe of gold. The 18 day the captaine desired to haue some of our wine, and offered halfe a ducket of gold for a bottell: but I gaue it him freely, and made him and his traine drinke besides. And this day also I tooke 5 li. 5 ounces of gold. The 19 day we sold about 18 clothes, and tooke 4 li. 4. ounces and one quarter of golde.

The 20 day we tooke 3 li. sixe ounces and a quarter of golde. The 21 we tooke 8. li. 7. ounces and a quarter. The 22. 3. li. 8. ounces and a quarter. And this night about 4 of the clocke the Captaine who had layen all this while vpon the shoare, went away with all the rest of the people with him.

The 23 day we were waued a shoare by other Negroes, and sold them cloth, caskets, kniues, and a dosen of bels, and tooke 1. li. 10. ounces of gold. The 24 likewise we sold bels, sheetes, and thimbles, and tooke two li. one ounce and a quarter of gold. The 25 day we sold 7 dosen of smal bels and other things, and then perceiuing their gold to be done, we wayed and set sayle & went to leeward to seeke the Hinde, and about 5 of the clocke at night we had sight of her, and bare with her, and vnderstood that shee had made some sales. The 26 day wee receiued out of the Hinde 48 li. 3 ounces and one eight part of golde, which they

they had taken in the time that we were from them. And this day vpon the request of a Negro that came vnto vs from a captaine, we went to shoare with our marchandize, and tooke 7 li. and one ounce of gold. At this place they required no gages of vs, but at night they sent a man aboord vs, which lay with vs all night, because we might knowe that they would also come to vs the next day. The 27 day in both our shippes we tooke 8. li. one ounce, three quarters and halfe a quarter of golde. The 28 we made sales for the companie, and tooke one pound and halfe an ounce of gold. The 29 day in the morning we heard two calieuers shot off vpon the shore, which we iudged to be either by the Portugales or by the Negroes of the Portugales: we manned our boates and armed our selues and went to shoare, but could finde nothing: for they were gone. The 30 day we made more sales for the companie and for the Masters.

The 31 we sent our boate to shoare to take in sand for balast, and there our men met the Negroes, with whom they had made sale the day before a fishing which did helpe them to fill sand, and hauing no gold, sold fish to our men for their handkerchiefes and nightkerchiefes.

The 1. day of February we wayed and went to another place, and tooke 1. li. 9. ounces 3 quarters of gold. The 2 day we made more sales: but hauing viewed our victuals, we determined to tarie no long time vpon the coast, because the most part of our drinke was spent, & that which remained grew sowre. The 3 and 4 dayes we made some sales, though not great, and finding the wind this 4. day to come off the shoare, we set saile and ranne along the shoare to the Westwards: vpon this coast we found by experience that ordinarily about 2 of the clocke in the night the winde comes off the shoare at Northnortheast, and so continueth vntil eight of the clocke in the morning: and all the rest of the day and night it comes out of the Southwest: and as for the tide or currant vpon this shore, it goeth continually with the winde. The 5 day we continued sayling and thought to haue met with some English ships, but found none. Februarie. They returne for England.

The sixt day we went our course Southwest to fetch vnder the line, and tanne by estimation 24 leagues.

The 13 day wee thought our selues by our reckoning to be cleare off the Cape das Palmas, and ranne 12 leagues.

The 22 day we were thwart of the Cape de Monte, which is to the Westward of the Riuer de Sestos, about 30 leagues. Cape de Monte.

The first day of March in a Ternado we lost the Hinde, whereupon we set vp a light and shot off a piece but could not heare of her, so that then we strooke our saile and taried for her, and in the morning had sight of her againe three leagues a sterne off vs. March.

Vpon the 22 day we found our selues to be in the height of Cape Verde, which stands in 14. degrees and a halfe. Cape Verde in latitude 14 degrees & a halfe.

From this day till the 29 day we continued our course, and then we found our selues to be in 22 degrees. This day one of our men called William King, who had bene long sicke, died in his sleepe, his apparel was distributed to those that lackt it, and his money was kept for his friends to be deliuered them at his comming home.

The 30 day we found our selues to be vnder the Tropike.

The 31 day we went our course, and made way 18 leagues.

From the first day of Aprill to the 20 we went our course, and then found our selues to bee in the height of the Asores. Aprill.

The seuenth day of May we fell with the South part of Ireland, and going on shoare with our boate had fresh drinke, and two sheepe of the countrey people, which were wilde Kernes, and we gaue them golde for them, and bought further such other victuals as we had neede of, and thought would serue vs till we arriued in England. May.

The 14 day with the afternoone tide we went into the Port of Bristoll called Hungrode, and there ankered in safetie and gaue thankes to God for our safe arriuall. Their arriuall at Bristoll.

The

The second voyage made by Maister William Towrson to the coast of Guinea, and the Castle of Mina, in the yeere 1556. with the Tiger of London, a ship of 120 tunnes, the Hart of London of 60 tunnes, and a Pinnesse of sixteene tunnes.

THe fourteenth day of September, the yeere abouesayd, we departed from Harwich, and directed our course for the Isle of Sillie, to meete there with the Hart and Pinnesse, which were rigged and victualed at Bridoll, but arriuing there the eight and twentieth day we found them not, and therefore after long lying at Hull to tarrie for them, but not espying them, we turned backe to Plimmouth the 12 day of October, and being there, the Hart and the Pin-
November. nesse came to vs, so that the 15 of Nouember we all departed together from Plimmouth at one of the clocke in the after noone, and the 28 day we had sight of the Isle of Porto Santo,
December. and the next day in the morning of Madera.

The third day of December we fell with the Ile of Palma, and the 9 we were thwart of Cape Blanke, and found there certaine Caraucls fishing for Pargoes.

Sierra Leona. The 19 we found our selues in the height of Sierra Leona, and all this day we ranne thwart of certaine Currants, which did set to the West Southwestward so fast as if it had bene the ouerfall of a sand, making a great noyse like vnto a streame or tide-gate when the water is shoale: and to prooue whither we could finde ground in this place, we sounded and had 150 fadome, and no ground, and so departed.

The 30 of December we fell with the coast of Guinea, and had first sight of it about 4 leagues off. The best marke that we could take of the place to knowe it was three hilles, which lay Northeast and by East from vs: betwixt the Northermost two hilles there are two high and great trees standing in sight as it were a sailes breadth one from another, and a litle more to the Northwestwards are certaine hommocks. Hauing sayled somewhat into the shoare wee tooke our selues to be shotte somewhat past the riuer de Sestos, so that we kept about to fetch it. And a litle after we had sight of three sayles of shippes and two pinnesses which were in the weather of vs, and hauing sight of them we made our selues readie to meete them, and halled off our ships to fetch the winde as neere as we could: and hauing sayled about an houre or two, they also went about, and went as we went to make themselues readie, and when we had them in chase, they went away from vs: but when they had made themselues readie, they kept about againe, and came with vs verie finely appointed with their streamers, and pendants and ensignes, and noyse of trumpets very brauely: so when we met, they had the weather of vs, and we being determined to fight, if they had bene Portugals, waued them to come vnder our Lee, which they denied stoutly: then we demaunded of them whence they were, and they sayd of France, we told them againe that we were of London in England. They asked of vs what Portugals wee had seene, we answered, none but Fishermen: then they told vs that there were certaine Portugall ships gone to the Mina to defend it, and that
The riuer of Sestos. they met with another at the riuer de Sestos, which was a ship of two hundred which they had burned, and had saued none but the master and two or three Negroes, and certaine others which were sore burned which they left a shore there. Then they desired to come aboord of vs with their boates to talke with vs, and wee gaue them leaue. Then the captaine of the Admirall and diuers others came aboord very friendly, desiring vs to keepe them company because of the Portugals, and to goe to the Mina with them: wee told them that we had not watered, and that we were but now fallen with the coast, and they shewed vs that we were fiftie leagues past the riuer de Sestos: notwithstanding there was water enough to be had, and they would helpe vs to water with their owne boats because they would haue our companie. And told vs further, that they had bene sixe weekes vpon the coast, and had gotten but three tunnes of graines amongst them all: and when wee had heard them, we made our reckoning that although the Mina were cleare, yet if they did goe before vs, they would marre our market; and if it were not cleare, then if the Portugals were there and did take them, they
They admit certaine Frenchmen into their companie. would vnderstand that we were behind, and so would waite for vs. And further we made account that if we went with them we should doe as well as they, if the coast were cleare: if it were not cleare, then by them we were assured to be the stronger. Therefore hauing

considered

considered thus much of their gentle offers, wee told them that the next day wee would conferre more largely of the matter. Whereupon they desired me to come the next day to dinner to them, and to bring the masters of our ships with me, and such marchants as I thought good, promising to giue vs water out of their owne ships if we would take it, or els to tarie with vs and helpe vs to water with their own boats and pinnasses.

The 31 day in the morning the Admirall sent his boat aboord for me, and I tooke our masters and certaine of our marchants and went to him, who had prouided a notable banquet for vs, and intreated vs very friendly, desiring vs still to keepe his company, promising that what victuals were in his ships, or other things that might doe vs pleasure vntill the end, we should haue the one halfe of it, offering vs if we would to furle his Flags, and to bee at our commaundement in all things.

In the ende we agreed to come to an anker, and to send our boat on shore with the Admirals boat, and one of his pinnasses, and an Almaine which they had brought out of France, to seeke water, as for our pinnasse she came to an anker to seaward of vs all, and would not come at vs. All this night the boats continued on shore.

The first day of Ianuary our boats came to vs againe and had found no riuer. Whereupon we weighed and set saile, and ankred againe at another riuer.

The 2 day we went into the riuer and bargained, and tooke 5 small Elephants teeth.

The 3 day we tooke 5 more.

The fourth day the French Admirall and wee tooke fifteene small teeth. This day wee tooke thirtie men with vs and went to seeke Elephants, our men being all well armed with harquebusses, pikes, long bowes, crossebowes, partizans, long swordes, and swordes and bucklers: wee found two Elephants which wee stroke diuers times with harquebusses and long bowes, but they went away from vs and hurt one of our men. The fift day we set saile and ranne along the coast. An assault vpon Elephants.

The 6 day we fell with the riuer de S. Andre, at which place the land is somewhat high to the Westward of the riuer, and a faire Baie also to the Westward of it: but to the Eastward of it it is lowe land. Rio de S. Andre.

The 7 day we went into the Riuer and found no village, but certaine wild Negros not accustomed to trade. It is a very great riuer and 7 fadome water in some places at the entring. Here we filled water, and after set saile.

The 8 day we sailed along the shore and came to the red cliffes, and went forward in sailing the 9 day also.

The 10 day we came together to confer with captaine Blundel Admiral of the French ships, Ierom Baudet his vice admiral, and Iohn de Orleans master of a ship of 70 tunne, and with their marchants, and agreed that when God should send vs to any place where wee might make sale, that we should be of one accord and not one of vs hurt the market of the other, but certaine of our boates to make the price for all the rest, and then one boate to make sale for euery shippe. This night our boats going to the shore met with certaine Negros, who said that they had gold, and therefore we here cast anker. Captaine Blundel the French Admirall.

The 11 day all the day we tooke but one halfe angel weight of 4 graines, which we tooke by hand, for the people of this place had no weight: the Negros called this place Allow. Allow.

The 12 day we ran along the coast and found but one towne, but no boates would come out to vs, and therefore we went our course.

The 13 day I tooke my boat and went along the shore, and passed by diuers small townes, and was waued to come on shore at 3 places, but the sea went so high vpon the shore, that it was not possible for vs to land, neither could they come to vs if they had had boats, as I could see none but at one place, where there was one that would haue come vnto vs, but the Land-wash went so sore that it ouerthrew his boat, and one of the men was drowned, which the people lamented, and cried so sore, that we might easily heare them, and they got his body out of the sea, and caried it amongst them to their towne.

The 14 day we came within Saker-shot of the castle, & straightway they set forth an Almade to descry vs, and when they perceiued that we were no Portugals, they ranne within the towne againe: for there is a great towne by the Castle which is called by the Negros Dondou, Dondou a great towne.

Dondou. Without this there lie two great rockes like Ilands, and the castle standeth vpon a point which sheweth almost like an Iland. Before we came at this castle, we found the land for fiue or six leagues to be high land, and about seuen leagues before we came to the castle, lowe land, vntil we came at the castle, and then wee found the land high againe. This castle standeth about fiue leagues to the East of Cape de Tres puntas. Here I tooke the boate with our Negros and ranne alongst the shore till I came to the Cape and found two small townes, but no boates at them, neither any traffique to be had. At these places our Negros did vnderstand them well, and one of them went ashore at all the places and was well receiued of them. This night we ankred at the Cape de Tres puntas.

The castle of Mina. Cape de Tres puntas.

The 15 day I tooke our boat and went along the shore, & about 3 leagues beyond the Eastermost part of the Cape we found a faire Bay where we ran in, and found a smal towne and certaine boates which belonged to the same towne, but the Negros in a long time would not come to vs, but at the last by the perswasion of our owne Negros, one boat came to vs, and with him we sent George our Negro a shore, and after he had talked with them, they came aboord our boates without feare, and I gaue to their captaine a bason, and two strings of Margarets, and they shewed vs about 5 duckats weight of gold, but they required so much for it that wee would not take it, because the Frenchman and we had agreed to make price of our goods all in one boat, and the price being made then euery man to sell in his owne boat, and no man to giue more thē the price which should be set by vs al. This place is called Bulle, and here the Negros were very glad of our Negros, and shewed them all the friendship they could, when they had told them that they were the men that were taken away being now againe brought by vs.

Bulle.

The Negros here shewed vs that a moneth since there were 3 ships that fought together, & the two shippes put the other to flight: and before that at the castle of Mina there were 4 ships of the Portugals which met with one Frenchman, which Frenchman caused them all to flee, which shippe we tooke to be the Roebarge: for the Frenchmen of our company iudged her to be thereabout that time with her pinnasse also. And further, that after her went a shippe of twelue score named the Shaudet all alone, and after her a ship of fourescore, and both for the Mina. And there were two others also which they left, one at Cape Verde called the Leuriere of Diepe, and another at the riuer De Sestos, besides these 3 which all this time be in our company, whose names be these:

The Espoier of Hableneff which is the Admirall, whose captaine is Denis Blundell.

The Leuriere of Roan Viceadmirall, whose master is Ierome Baudet.

The other is of Hunfleur whose master is called Iohn de Orleans.

The sixteenth day I went along the shore with two pinnasses of the Frenchmen, and found a Baie and a fresh riuer, and after that went to a towne called Hanta, twelue leagues beyond the Cape. At this towne our Negros were well knowen, and the men of the towne wept for ioy when they saw them, and demanded of them where Anthonie and Binne had bene: and they told them that they had bene at London in England, and should bee brought home the next voyage. So after this, our Negros came aboord with other Negros which brought a weight with them, which was so small that wee could not giue them the halfe of that which they demaunded for it.

The Negros here told vs that there were fiue Portugall shippes at the Castle and one pinnasse, and that the Portugals did much harme to their Countrey, and that they liued in feare of them, and we told them againe, that we would defend them from the Portugals whereof they were very glad.

The 17 day we went a shore and the Frenchmen with vs, but did no great good, the Negros were so vnreasonable, we sold 80. Manellios for one ounce of gold.

Then wee departed and went to Shamma, and went into the riuer with fiue boates well appointed with men and ordinance, and with our noises of trumpets and drummes, for we thought here to haue found some Portugals but there were none: so wee sent our Negros on shore, and after them went diuers of vs, and were very well receiued, and the people were very glad of our Negros, specially one of their brothers wiues, and one of their aunts, which receiued them with much ioy, and so did all the rest of the people, as if they had bene their naturall brethren:

The Negros brought home by our men.

brethren: we comforted the captaine and told him that hee should not feare the Portugals, for wee would defend him from them: whereupon we caused our boats to shoote off their bases and harquebusses, and caused our men to come on shore with their long bowes, and they shot before the captaine, which he, with all the rest of the people, wondred much at, specially to see them shoot so farre as they did, and assaied to draw their bowes but could not. When it grew to be late, we departed to our ships, for we looked euery houre for the Portugals. * And here the Negros shewed vs that there was an English ship at the Mina, which had brought one of the Negros againe, which Robert Gaynsh tooke away.

* More. Robert Gaynsh.

The 18 day we went into the riuer with no lesse strength then before, and concluded with the Negros to giue them for euery Fuffe two yards and three nailes of Cloth, and to take for it one angel-duckat: so that we tooke in all 70 Duckats, whereof the Frenchmen had fortie, and wee thirtie.

The nineteenth day wee went a shore euery man for himselfe, and tooke a good quantitie of gold, and I for my part tooke foure pound and two ounces and a halfe of gold, and our Hartes boate tooke one and twentie ounces. At night the Negros shewed vs that the next day the Portugals would be with vs by land or by Sea: and when wee were ready to depart, we heard diuers harquebusses shoote off in the woods by vs which wee knew to bee Portugals, which durst come no neerer to vs, but shot off in the woods to see if they could feare vs and so make vs to leaue our traffique.

The 20 day we manned our fiue boats, and also a great boat of the Frenchmens with our men and the Admirals, 12 of them in their murrians and corsets, and the rest all well appoynted, with foure trumpets, a drumme and a Fife, and the boate all hanged with streamers of Silke and pendants very faire, and went into the riuer and traffiqued, our man of warre lying off and on in the riuer to waft vs, but we heard no more of the Portugals. This day the Negros told vs that there were certain ships come into Hanta, which towne is about 2 leagues to the Westward of this place.

Hanta.

This 21 day we manned our boats againe & went to a place a league from this to the Westwards, and there found many Negros with another Captaine, and sold at the same rate that wee had done with the others.

The 22 day we went a shore againe and traffiqued in like sort quietly, and I tooke 4 pound and six ounces of gold.

The 23 day about night the Negros with their captaine came to vs and told vs that the king of Portugals ships were departed from the Castle, meaning the next day to plie to the windward to come to vs, giuing vs warning to take heed to our selues: we told them againe that wee were very glad of their comming, and would be ready at all times to meet them, and to assure them that wee were glad of it, wee sounded our trumpets, and shot off certaine bases whereof the Negros were very glad, and requested vs that if the Portugals sought to hinder our traffique, to shew them all the extremitie that we could, promising vs that if they came by land, they would aduertise vs thereof.

The 24 we went a shore with our trumpets and drummes, and traffiqued, and I bade the captaine of the towne to dinner.

The 25 day we being a shore, our ships had descried fiue sailes of the king of Portugals, & our ships shot off ordinance to call vs away, and we threw euery man his caske ashore for water, and went to our ships, and by that time we had weighed and giuen order one to another what to do, it was night, so y that night nothing was done. We set saile and lay close all night to get the wind if we could: we were neere some of them, and one shot off a piece which wee iudged to be the Admirall of the Portugals, to cause the rest to come and speake with him: so all this night we made our selues ready for fight.

Fiue sailes of Portugals descried.

The 26 we came in with the shore and had sight of the Portugals where they rid at anker, and we bare with them, and we gaue all our men white scarffes, to the ende that the Frenchmen might know one the other if we came to boording: but the night came vpon vs that we could not fetch them, but we ankered within demie-Culuering shot of them.

The 27 day we weighed and so did the Portugals, and about eleuen of the clocke wee had

the

the wind of them, and then we went roome with them, which when they perceiued, they kept about to the shore againe, and wee after them, and when they were so neere the shore that they could not well runne any further on that boord, they kept about againe, and lay to the Seaward, and then we kept about with them, and were a head of them, and tooke in our topsailes and taried for them: and the first that came vp was a small barke which sailed so well that she cared not for any of vs, and caried good ordinance: and as soone as she came vp, she shot at vs, and ouershot vs, and then she shot at the Admirall of the Frenchmen, and shot him through in two or three places, and went forth a head of vs, because we were in our fighting sailes: then came vp another carauell vnder our Lee in like case which shot at vs and at the Frenchman, and hurt two of his men and shot him through the maine maste. And after them came vp the Admirall vnder our Lee also, but he was not able to doe so much harme as the small shippes, because he caried ordinance higher then they, neither were we able to make a good shot at any of them, because our shippe was so weake in the side, that she laid all her ordinance in the Sea: wherefore we thought to lay the great ship aboord, and as soone as the French Admirall went roome with him, he fell a sterne and could not fetch him, and after he fell asterne of two caruels more and could fetch none of them, but fell to Leeward of them all: and when he was to Leeward, he kept about to the shoreward, and left vs, and then we put out our topsailes and gaue them chase, and both the other Frenchmen kept the wind, and would not come neere vs, and our owne ship was a sterne so that she could not come to vs: and after we had folowed them about two houres to the seaward, they kept about againe towards the shore, thinking to pay vs as they went along by, and to haue the wind of the French Admirall which before ran in towards the shore, and we kept about with them, and kept still the wind of them thinking that our Viceadmiral and the other would haue folowed vs as wee willed them to do: but after that the Portugall was past by them, and euery one had shot at vs and our Viceadmirall, both our Viceadmirall and the two Frenchmen, & our owne pinnasse left vs in the laps, and ran to seaward, and we ran still along, and kept the wind of them to succour the French Admirall, who was vnder all of their Lees, and when they met with him, euery one went roome with him, and gaue him the broad side, and after they cast about againe, and durst not boord him, because they sawe vs in the weather of them, or els without doubt they had taken or sunke them, for three of them which were the smallest, went so fast that it was not possible for a ship to boord them, and caried such ordinance that if they had had the weather of vs, they would haue troubled 3 of the best ships that we had, and as for their Admirall and Viceadmirall they were both notablie appointed.

The fight with the Portugals.

The French forsake our men.

When the Frenchman was cleare of them, hee laie as neere the winde as hee could, and wee followed them still towardes the shore, and then the Admirall ranne to Sea after the rest, and left vs all alone: and when the Portugals perceiued that we were alone, and gaue them chase, they kept about with vs and we with them, to keepe the wind of them, and we ranne still within base shot of them, but they shot not at vs, because we had the weather of them, and sawe that they could do vs no hurt: and thus we folowed one another vntil night, and in the night we lost them, but as for all the rest of our ships, they packed on all the sailes that they could and ranne to sea, and as they themselues confesse, they praied for vs, but as for helpe at their hands we could haue none.

The 28 day we met with our Viceadmirall, our pinnasse, and two of the Frenchmen, and the third was fled which was a ship of fourscore tunne, and belonged to Roan: and when I had the sight of the rest of our ships, I tooke our skiffe and went to them to know why they lost vs in such a case, and Iohn Kire made me answere that his ship would neither reare nor steere, and as for the pinnasse, Iohn Dauis made me answere that she would doe nothing, and that he could cary her no further, for her rudder was broken, so that the Hart was glad to towe her. Then I went to the French Admirall, and found himselfe to be a man of good stomacke, but the one halfe of his men were sicke and dead: and then I talked with the smaller Frenchman, and he made mee answere that he could doe nothing, saying, that his ship would beare no saile, and had 16 of his men dead and sicke, so he made vs plaine answere that he was able to doe nothing. After this the Frenchmen durst not anker for feare of the Portugales.

The

The 29. day the master of the pinnasse came to vs and sayd that they were not able to keepe her any longer, and then wee viewed her and seeing there was no remedie, her rudder with all the iron worke being broken both aloft and belowe, wee agreed to breake her vp and to put the men into the Hart. So we tooke out of her foure bases, one anker, and certaine fire wood, and set her on fire, and afterwards ran along the coast.

The thirtie day we went in to the shore, and spake with certaine Negros, who told vs that some French shippes had bene there, but wee could not bargaine with them they were so vnreasonable.

The 31 day I went to shore but did not traffike.

The 1 day of Februarie we weighed, seeing we could not bring the Negros to any reason, and came to another place which standeth vpon an hill. Februarie.

The third day I went to a towne foure leagues from vs, and shot off two pieces, and the Captaine came to vs, and I sent Thomas Rippen a land who knew the Captaine, and assoone as he came on shore the Captaine knew him and diuers of the Negros who then began to aske for mee, and hauing told the Captaine that I was in the boate, hee made no longer tarying but by and by caused two boates to be put to the Sea, and came to me himselfe, and when he sawe me, he cryed to me before hee came to the boat and seemed to be the gladdest man aliue, and so did all the companie that knew mee, and I gaue him a reward as the maner of the Countrey is, and caused the Frenchmen to giue another, promising the next day to giue him wine: and that night because it was late, he would not talke of my price, but left me a pledge, and tooke another of me and so departed.

The 4 day going on shore, I found that the ships of France which had bin there, had done much hurt to our markets, but yet I tooke fiue ounces and a halfe of gold.

The fift day I tooke eight ounces and one eight part of gold: but I saw that the Negros perceiued the difference in Cloth betwixt ours and that which the Frenchmen had, which was better, and broader then ours: and then I told captaine Blundel that I would goe to the Leeward, because I perceiued that being there where his Cloth was sold, I should do no good, whereof hee was sorie.

The 6 day there came an almade & Negros aboord me, requesting me to come to their towne for they had much gold and many marchants: and so I went and found their old Captaine gone, and another in his place: but this night wee did no good, because the marchants were not come downe: so he required a pledge which I let him haue, and tooke another of him.

The 7 day George our Negro came to vs, who had followed vs at the least 30 leagues in a small boat, and when he came, the Negros and we soone concluded of price. I tooke this day fiue pound and one ounce, and 3 quarters of gold. This Negro we had left at Shamma at the time of the fight, who said that he saw the fight being on shore, and that when we were gone from the Portugals, the Portugals came into their riuer, and told them that the Englishmen had slaine two Portugals with a piece, which was in deed out of our ship, and they required harbour there, but the captaine of Shamma would not suffer them. George our Negro. Two Portugals slaine by the English.

The 8 day we tooke nineteene pound three ounces and a halfe.

The 9 day we tooke two pound six ounces and a halfe.

The 10 day three pound.

The 11 day came to vs Ierome Bawdet the Viceadmiral of the Frenchmen and his pinnasse, and he shewed vs that where we left them there was no good to be done, and sayd he would goe to the Eastward, but wee told him hee should not: and thereupon commaunded him to goe to his company which he was appointed to bee with, which hee refused to doe vntill wee had shot three or foure pieces at their pinnasse, and when the ship sawe that, she kept about, and ranne to Seaward, and durst come no neerer to vs, so the pinnasse went after her. We tooke this day one pound fiue ounces. The Frenchmen bridled by the English.

The 12 day there came one of the Frenchmens pinnasses to vs ladē with cloth, and would haue made sale, but I would not suffer him, and therefore tooke him and sent him aboord of

of our ship, and caused him to ride there all day. We tooke fiue pound six ounces and a halfe.

The 14 day we tooke of some Negros 4 ounces of gold.

The 16 we came to another towne.

The 17 day I went a shore and vnderstood that 3 of the Portugall ships were at the Castle, and the other two at Shamma. The captaine of this towne was gone to the principall towne, to speake with their king, and would returne shortly as they told me, and so he did, and brought me a weight and measure, and I sent a man to see that principall towne, and their king. The Portugall ships rid so neere vs, that within 3 houres they might be with vs, yet were all contented to tary for sales.

The 18 day certaine of the kings seruants came to vs, and we tooke one pound two ounces, and one eight part of gold.

The 10 day we tooke fiue pound one ounce.

The 20 day one pound and foure ounces.

The 21 I tooke foure pound and one ounce, and the Negroes enquired for fine cloth, and I opened two pieces which were not fine enough, as they sayd, but seeing that we had no other, they bought of them. At night I prouided a gift, or present, and sent one marchant and a mariner with it to the king, to certifie him of our want of victuals, by reason whereof we could not stay long: for in deed we searched our ship, and the most part of our beere was leaked out of all our barrels.

The 22 day we tooke three ounces and a halfe.

King Abaan. The 23 our men came from the king Abaan, and told vs, that he had receiued the very friendly, but he had litle gold, but promised, if we would tary, to send into all his countrey for gold for vs, and he willed our men at their comming home to speake to our king to send men and prouision into his countrey, to build a castle, and to bring Tailors with them, to make them apparell, and good wares, and they should be sure to sell them: but for that present the Frenchmen had filled them full of cloth.

The offer of the king to the English to build a Fort.

A towne in circuit as big as London.

This towne standeth about foure leagues vp in the land, and is, by the estimation of our men, as big in circuit as London, but the building is like to the rest of the countrey. They haue about this Towne great store of the wheate of the Countrey, and they iudge, that on one side of the towne there were one thousand rikes of Wheate, and another sort of Corne which is called Mill, which is much vsed in Spaine. About this towne they keepe good watch euery night, and haue to warne the watchmen certaine cordes made fast ouer their wayes, which lead into the towne, and certaine bels vpon them, so that if any man touch the cordes, the bels ring, and then the watchmen runne foorth of their watch houses to see what they be: and if they be enemies, if they passe the cord, they haue prouision with certaine nets hanged ouer the wayes, where they must passe, to let fall vpon them, and so take them, and otherwise then by the wayes it is not possible to enter the towne, by reason of the thickets and bushes which are about the same, and the towne is also walled round about with long cords, and bound together with sedge and certaine barkes of trees.

A prety deuise to descrie the enemie.

When our men came to the towne, it was about fiue of the clock in the morning, for there they trauell alwayes in the night by reason of the heate of the day: and about nine of the clocke, the king sent for them, for there may no man come to him before he be sent for, and then they would haue caried their present with them: but the Negros told them, that they must bee three times brought before him, before they might offer their gift: and when they came to him, he talked with them, and receiued them very friendly, and kept them about halfe an houre, and then they departed, and after that sent for them againe three times, and last of all, they brought him their present, which he receiued thankfully, and then caused a pot of wine of Palme to be brought foorth, and made them drinke: and before they drinke, both here and in all the Countrey, they vse certaine ceremonies.

The kings friendly entertainment of our men.

Their ceremonies in drinking. First, they bring foorth their pot of drinke, and then they make a hole in the ground, & put some of the drinke into it, and they cast the earth vpon it, which they digged forth before,

before, and then they set the pot vpon the same, then they take a litle thing made of a goord, and with that they take out of the same drinke, and put it vpon the ground in three places, and in diuers places they haue certaine bunches of the pils of Palme trees set in the ground before them, and there they put in some drinke, doing great reuerence in all places to the same Palme trees.

All these ceremonies first done, the king tooke a cup of gold, and they put him in wine, and hee dranke of it, and when he dranke, the people cried all with one voice, Abaan, Abaan, with certaine other words, like as they cry commonly in Flanders, vpō the Twelfe night, The kinning drinks: and when he had drunke, then they gaue drinke to euery one, and that done, the king licensed them to depart, and euery one that departeth from him boweth 3 times towards him, and waueth with both hands together, as they bow, and then do depart. The king hath commonly sitting by him 8 or 10 ancient men with gray beards.

This day we tooke one pound and 10 ounces of gold.

The 24 day we tooke 3 pound and 7 ounces.

The 25 we tooke 3 ounces and 3 quarters.

The 26 we tooke 2 pound and 10 ounces.

The 27 two pound and fiue ounces.

The 28 foure pound, and then seeing that there was no more gold to be had, we weighed and went foorth.

The first day of March we came to a towne called Mowre, but we found no boats nor people there: but being ready to depart, there came two Almades to vs from another towne, of whom we tooke two ounces and a halfe of gold: and they tolde vs that the Negros that dwelled at Mowre were gone to dwell at Lagoua. Mowre. Lagoua.

The second day we came thwart of the castle, and about two leagues off, and there saw all the fiue Portugall ships at anker, and this day by night we fetched Shamma. They returne.

The third day we had sight of one tall ship, of about two hundred tunnes, in the weather of vs, and within lesse then two leagues of our ships, and then we saw two more a sterne of her, the one a ship of fiue hundred or more, and the other a pinnesse: and these were a new fleet at that present arriued out of Portugall. Whereupon we wayed, and made shift to double out of the land, and then the winde comming to the South-southwest, the Hart going roome with them fell three leagues to the leewards of vs. These Portugals gaue vs the chase from nine of the clocke in the morning, till fiue at night, but did no good against vs. At last, we perceiuing the Admirall to be farre a sterne of his company, because his maine topmast was spent, determined to cast about with them againe, because we were sure to weather them, and the winde being as it was, it was our best course: but the Hart was so farre to the leeward, that we could not doe it, except we would lose her company, so that we tooke in some of our sailes, and went roome with him: which when he perceiued, he loofed to, and was able to lie as neere as he did before. At night, when we came to him, he would not speake to vs: then we asked of his company why he went so roome; and they made excuse that they were able to beare no saile by, for feare of bearing their foretopmast ouer boord: but this was a simple excuse. Ships of Portugall.

The fourth day, being put from our watring place we began to seethe our meat in salt water, and to rebate our allowance of drinke, to make it indure the longer: and so concluded to set our course thence, for our owne countrey.

The 12 of March I found my selfe thwart of Cape das palmas.

The 16 day we fell with the land, which we iudged to be the Cape Mensurado, about which place is very much high land. Cape Mensurado.

The 18 day we lost sight of the Hart, and I thinke the willfull Master ran in with the shore of purpose to lose vs, being offended that I tolde him of his owne folly.

The 27 day we fell in sight of two small Ilands, which lie by our reckoning sixe leagues off the headland of Sierra Leona: and before we came in sight of the same Ilands, we made our reckoning to be forty or thirty leagues at the least off them. Therefore all they that saile Two small Ilands by Sierra Leona. Note.

this

this way are to regard the currents which set Northnorthwest, or els they may be much deceiued.

The 14 of April we met with two great ships of Portugall, which although they were in the weather of vs, yet came not roome with vs, whereby we iudged that they were bound for Calicut.

The 18 day we were in the heigth of Cape verde.

The 24 we were directly vnder the tropike of Cancer.

The first day of May Henry Wilson our Steward died: and the next day died Iohn Vnderwood.

The fift day we were in the heigth of S. Michael.

A French brauado.

The 23 we had sight of a shippe in the weather of vs, which was a Frenchman of 90 tunne, who came with vs as stoutly and as desperately as might be, and comming neere vs perceiued that we had bene vpon a long voyage, and iudging vs to be weake, as in deed we were, came neerer vs, and thought to haue layed vs aboord, & there stept vp some of his men in armour, and commanded vs to strike saile: whereupon we sent them some of our stuffe, crossebarres, and chainesbot, and arrowes, so thicke, that it made the vpper worke of their shippe flit about their eares, and we spoiled him with all his men, and toare his shippe miserably with our great ordinance, and then he began to fall a sterne of vs, and to packe on his sailes, and get away: and we seeing that, gaue him foure or fiue good pieces more for his farewell; and thus we were rid of this French man, who did vs no harme at all. We had aboord vs a French man a Trumpetter, who being sicke, and lying in his bed, tooke his trumpet notwithstanding, and sounded till he could sound no more, and so died.

The 28 we conferred together, and agreed to go into Seuerne, and so to Bristoll, but the same night we had sight of the Lizard, and by reason of the winde, we were not able to double the lands end to go into Seuerne, but were forced to beare in with the Lizard.

The 29 day, about nine of the clocke in the morning, we arriued safely in Plimmouth, and praised God for our good arriuall.

The third and last voyage of M. William Towrson to the coast of Guinie, and the Castle de Mina, in the yeere 1577.

THe thirtieth day of Ianuary, the yeere abouesayd, we departed out of the sound of Plimmouth, with three ships, and a pinnesse, whereof the names are these;

1 The Minion Admirall of the fleet.
2 The Christopher Viceadmirall.
3 The Tyger.
4 A pinnesse called the Vnicorne: being all bound for the Canaries, and from thence, by the grace of God, to the coast of Guinie.

It is to be vnderstood, that at this time there was warre betwixt England and France.

The next day, being the last of this moneth, we met with two hulks of Dantzick, the one called the Rose, a ship of foure hundred tunnes, and the other called the Vnicorne, of an hundred and fifty tunnes, the Master of the Rose was called Nicholas Masse, and the Master of the Vnicorne Melchior White, both laden at Bourdeaux, and for the most part with wines. When we came to them, we caused them to hoise foorth their boats, and to come and speake with vs, and we examined euery one of them apart, what French mens goods they had in their shippes, and they said they had none: but by the contrarieties of their tales, and by the suspicion which we gathered of their false chartar-parties, we perceiued that they had French mens goods in them: we therefore caused one of them to fetch vp his bils of lading, and because he denied that he had any, we sent certaine with him, who caused him to goe to the place where he had hid them, and by the differences of his billes of lading, and his talke, we gathered, as before, that they had Frenchmens goods. Whereupon we examined them straightly, and first the Purser of the Vnicorne, which was the smaller shippe, confessed that they had two and thirty tunnes and a hogshead of a French mans. Then we examined the Master in like case, and he acknowledged the same to be true. Then we examined also the Master of the great ship, and he confessed that he had an hundred and eight and twenty tunnes

tunnes of the same French mans, and more they would not confesse, but sayd that all the rest was laden by Peter Lewgues of Hamburg, to be deliuered to one Henry Summer of Camphire, notwithstanding all their letters were directed to Hamburg, and written in Dutch without, and within in French.

When they had confessed that they had thus much French mens goods within their shippes, we conferred together what was best to be done with them. William Cretton and Edward Selman were of the opinion, that it should be good either to carry them into Spaine, and there to make sale of the goods, or els into Ireland, or to returne backe againe into England with them, if the winde would permit it. But I, waying what charge we had of our Masters, first by mouth, and afterwards by writing, that for no such matter we should in any case prolong the time, for feare of losing the voyage, and considering that the time of the yeere was very farre spent, and the money that we should make of the wines not very much, in respect of the commodity which we hoped for by the voyage, perswaded them that to goe into Ireland, the winde being Easterly as it was, might be an occasion that we should be locked in there with that winde, and so lose our voyage: and to cary them into Spaine, seeing they sailed so ill, that hauing all their sailes abroad, we kept them company onely with our foresailes, and without any toppe sailes abroad, so that in euery two dayes sailing they would haue hindered vs more then one; and besides that (the winde being Easterly) we should not be able to seaze the coast with them: besides all this the losse of time when we came thither was to be considered, whereupon I thought it not good to carry them any further.

And as for carying them into England, although the winde had bene good, as it was not, considering what charge we had of our Masters, to shift vs out of the way for feare of a stay by reason of the warres, I held it not in any wise conuenient.

But notwithstanding all this, certeine of our company not being herewith satisfied went to our Master to know his opinion therein, who made them a plaine answere, that to cary them into any place, it was not the best way nor the profit of their Masters. And he tolde them further, that if the time were prolonged one moneth longer before they passed the Cape, but a few men would go the voyage. All these things considered, we all paused, and determined at the last, that euery man should take out of the hulks so much as he could well bestow for necessaries, and the next morning to conclude what should be further done with them. So we tooke out of them for vs foureteene tunnes and a halfe of wine, and one tunne we put into the pinnesse. The French mens goods seazed in the time of the warre vpon the losse of Calez.

More we tooke out one hogshead of Aquauitæ.

Sixe cakes of rozzen.

A small halser for ties: and certeine chesnuts.

The Christopher tooke out,

Ten tunnes of wine, and one hogshead.

A quantity of Aquauitæ.

Shall-lines.

Chesnuts.

Sixe double bases with their chambers. And their men broke vp the hulks chests, and tooke out their compasses, and running glasses, the sounding leade and line, and candles: and cast some of their beefe ouer board, and spoiled them so much, that of very pity we gaue them a compasse, a running glasse, a lead and a line, certaine bread and candles, and what apparel of theirs we could finde in their ship, we gaue them againe, and some money also of that which William Crompton tooke for the ransome of a poore Frenchman, who being their Pilot downe the Riuer of Bordeux, they were not able to set him a shore againe, by reason of the foule weather.

The Tyger also tooke out of the smaller hulke sixe or seuen tunnes of wine, one hogshead of Aquauitæ, and certeine rozzen, and two bases he tooke out of the great hulke.

The first day of February in the morning we all came together againe sauing W. Crompton who sent vs word that he was contented to agree to that order which we should take.

Now Edward Selman was of this opinion, that it was not best to let the ships depart, but put

men into them to cary them into England, which thing neither we nor our Master would agree vnto, because we thought it not good to vnman our ships going outward, considering how dangerous the time was: so that in fine we agreed to let them depart, and giue them the rest of the wine which they had in their ships of the Frenchmens for the fraight of that which we had taken, and for their ordinance, rozzen, aquauitæ, chesnuts, and other things which the company had taken from them. So we receiued a bill of their handes, that they confessed how much Frenchmens goods they had, and then we let them depart.

The 10 day we reckoned our selues to be 25 leagues from the Grand Canarie, and this day about nine of the clocke our pinnesse brake her rudder, so that we were forced to towe her at the sterne of the Minion, which we were able to doe, and yet kept company with the rest of our ships. About eleuen of the clocke this day we had sight of the Grand Canarie.

The 11 day when we came to the Iland we perceiued that it was the Ile of Tenerif, & then indeed wee had sight of the Grand Canarie, which lieth 12 leagues to the Eastwards of Tenerif: and because the road of Tenerif is foule ground, and nothing was there to be gotten for the helping of our pinnesse, hauing the winde large, we agreed to go with the Grand Canarie.

The 12 day we came into the roade of the towne of Canarie, which lieth one league from the same towne. And after we had shot off diuers pieces of ordinance to salute the towne and the castle, the gouernour and captaines of the Iland sent to vs which were the captaines of the ships, requiring vs to come a shore. And when we came to them they receiued vs very frendly, offering vs their owne Iennets to ride to the towne, and what other friendship they could shew vs: and we went to the towne with two English Marchants which lay there, and remained in their house that day. The second day following we came aboord to deliuer our marchandise, and to get our pinnesse mended.

Two English Marchants Ligiers in the Grand Canary.

The 14 day came into the road the Spanish fleet which was bound to the Emperours Indies, which were in number nineteene saile, whereof sixe were ships of foure hundred and fiue hundred a piece, the rest were of two hundred, an hundred and fifty, and of an hundred. When they were come to an ancre they saluted vs with ordinance, and so we did them in like case. And afterwards the Admirall (who was a knight) sent his pinnesse to desire me to come to him; and when I came to him he receiued me friendly, and was desirous to heare somewhat of the state of England and Flanders. And after he had made me a banquet, I departed; and I being gone vnto the boat, hee caused one of his gentlemen to desire Francisco the Portugall, which was my interpreter, to require me to furle my flagge, declaring that hee was Generall of the Emperours fleet. Which thing (being come aboord) Francisco shewed me: and because I refused to furle it, and kept it foorth still, certaine of the souldiers in the ships shot diuers harquebush shot about the ship, and ouer the flagge: and at the same time there came certeine gentlemen aboord our ship to see her: to whom I sayd, that if they would not cause those their men to leaue shooting, I would shoot the best ordinance I had thorow their sides. And when they perceiued that I was offended, they departed, and caused their men of warre and souldiers to shoot no more, and afterwards they came to me againe, and tolde me that they had punished their men. That done, I shewed them the ship, and made them such cheere as I could, which they receiued very thankfully: and the day following they sent for mee to dine with them, and sent me word that their General was very sory that any man should require me to furle my flagge, and that it was without his consent: and therefore he requested me not to thinke any vngentlenesse to be in him, promising that no man of his should misdemeane himselfe.

The Spanish West Indian fleet of nineteene saile.

The 17 day we set saile in the road of Grand Canarie, and proceeded on our voyage.

The 20 in the morning we had sight of the coast of Barbarie, and running along the shore we had sight of Rio del Oro, which lieth almost vnder the tropike of Cancer.

Rio del Oro.

The 21 day we found our selues to be in 20 degrees and a halfe, which is the heigth of Cape Blank.

The 25 we had sight of the land in the bay to the Northward of Cape Verde.

Francis Castelin.

The 26 I tooke Francisco and Francis Castelin with me, and went into the pinnesse, and so went to the Tyger which was neerer the shore then the other ships, and went aboord her, and with

with her and the other ships we ranne West and by South, and West-southwest, vntill about foure of the clocke, at which time we were hard aboord the Cape, and then we ran in South-west, and beyond the Cape about foure leagues we found a faire Iland, and besides that two or three Ilands, which were of very high rocks, being full of diuers sorts of sea foule, and of pigeons, with other sorts of land-foules, and so many, that the whole Iland was couered with the dung thereof, and seemed so white as if the whole Iland had bene of chalke; and within those Ilands was a very faire bay, and hard aboord the rocks eighteene fadom water, and faire ground. And when we perceiued the bay, and vnderstanding that the Frenchmen had a great trade there, which we were desirous to know, we came to an ancre with the Tyger. And after that the Minion and the Christopher ancred in like case: then we caused the pinnesse to runne beyond another Cape of land, to see if there were any place to trade in there.

Cape verde.

Fower Ilands.

A great trade of the French men at Cape verde.

It being neere night I tooke our cocke and the Tygers skiffe, and went to the Iland, where we got certaine foules like vnto Gannards: and then I came aboord againe and tooke two of the Gannards which we had taken, and caried them to the captaine of the Christopher, and when I had talked with him, I found him not willing to tary there, neither was I desirous to spend any long time there, but onely to attempt what was to be done. The Master of the Christopher tolde me he would not tary, being not bound for that place.

The 27 the Captaine of the Tyger and Edward Selman came to me, and Iohn Makeworth from the Christopher, and then we agreed to take the pinnesse, & to come along the shore, because that where we rid no Negros came to vs, and the night before our pinnesse brought vs word that there was a very faire Iland. And when I came beyond the point I found it so, and withall a goodly bay, and we saw vpon the maine certaine Negros which waued vs on shore, and then we came to an ancre with the pinnesse, and went a shore with our cocke, and they shewed vs where their trade was, and that they had Elephants teeth, muske, & hides, and offered vs to fetch downe their Captaine, if we would send a man with them, and they would leaue a pledge for him: then we asked them when any ship had bene there; and some of them sayd not in eight moneths, others, in sixe moneths, and others in foure, and that they were Frenchmen.

A faire Iland where the French trade.

Elephants teeth muske, and hides.

Then we perceiuing the Christopher not willing to tary, departed from them, & set saile with the pinnesse and went aboord the Tyger.

The 10 day of March we fell with the coast of Guinea, fiue leagues to the Eastward of Cape de Monte, beside a riuer called Rio das Palmas.

Cabo de Monte.

The 11 we went to the shore, and found one man that could speake some Portuguise, who tolde vs that there were three French ships passed by; one of them two moneths past, and the other one moneth past. At this place I receiued nineteene Elephants teeth, and two ounces and halfe a quarter of golde.

The 12 we set saile to go to the riuer de Sestos.

The riuer de Sestos.

The 13 at night we fell with the same riuer.

The 14 day we sent in our boats to take water, and romaged our shippes, and deliuered such wares to the Christopher and Tyger, as they had need of.

The 15 we came together, and agreed to send the Tyger to another riuer to take in her water, and to see what she could do for graines.

After that we tooke marchandise with vs, and went into the riuer, and there we found a Negro which was borne in Lisbone, left there by a ship of Portugal which was burned the last yere at this riuer in fighting with three Frenchmen; and he told vs further, that two moneths past there were three Frenchmen at this place; and sixe weeks past there were two French ships at the riuer; and fifteene dayes past there was one. All which ships were gone towards the Mina. This day we tooke but few graines.

The 19 day considering that the Frenchmen were gone before vs, and that by reason of the vnholesome aires of this place foureteene of our men in the Minion were fallen sicke, wee determined to depart, and with all speed to go to the Mina.

The 21. wee came to the riuer de Potos, where some of our boats went in for water, and I went in with our cocke, and tooke 12 small Elephants teeth.

Rio de Potos.

The 23. day, after we had taken as many teeth as we could get, about nine of the clocke we set saile to go towards the Mina.

The 31 we came to Hanta, and made sale of certaine Manillios.

They descrie fiue saile of the Portugals.

The first Aprill we had sight of fiue saile of Portugals, whereupon we set saile and went off to sea to get the winde of them, which wee should haue had if the winde had kept his ordinary course, which is all the day at the Southwest, and West-southwest: but this day with a flaw it kept all the day at the East, and East-southeast, so that the Portugals had the winde of vs, and came roome with the Tyger and vs vntill night, and brought themselues all saue one, which sailed not so well as the rest, within shot of vs: then it fell calme, and the winde came vp to the Southwest, howbeit it was neere night, and the Christopher, by meanes of her boat, was about foure leagues to the leewards of vs. We tacked and ranne into the weather of the Admirall, and three more of his company, and when we were neere him we spake to him, but he would not answere. Then we cast about and lay in the weather of him; and casting about he shot at vs, and then wee shot at him, and shot him foure or fiue times thorow. They shot diuers times thorow our sailes, but hurt no man. The Tyger and the pinnesse, because it was night, kept out their sailes, & would not meddle with them. After we had thus fought together 2 houres or more, and would not lay him aboord because it was night, we left shooting one at the other, and kept still the weather of them. Then the Tyger and the pinnesse kept about and came to vs, and afterwarde being neere the shore, we three kept about and lay to the sea, and shot off a piece to giue warning to the Christopher.

The fight.

This night about 12 of the clocke, being very litle winde, and the Master of the Tyger asleepe, by the ill worke of his men the ship fel aboord of vs, and with her sheare-hooks cut our maine saile, and her boat being betwixt vs was broken and suncke, with certaine marchandise in her, and the ships wales were broken with her outleger: yet in the ende we cleared her without any more hurt, but she was in hazzard to be broken downe to the water.

The second day we had sight of the Christopher, and were neere vnto her, so that I tooke our boat and went to her. And when I came thither, they shewed me, that after the Portugals had left vs, they went all roome with him, and about twelue a clocke at night met him, and shot at him, and hee at them, and they shot him thorow the sailes in diuers places, and did no other great hurt. And when we had vnderstood that they had bene with him as well as with vs, we agreed altogether to seeke them (if wee might finde them) and keepe a weather our places of traffique.

The third day we ran all day to the Southwestwards to seeke the Portugals, but could haue no sight of them, and halled into the shore.

Laguo.

Perinnen.

Weamba.

Perecow.

Egrand.

The fourth day, when we had sight of land, we found that the currant had set vs thirty leagues to the Eastwards of our reckoning, which we woondered at: for the first land we made was Lagua. Then I caused our boat to be manned, and the Christophers also, and went to the shore and tooke our Negro with vs. And on shore we learned that there were foure French ships vpon the coast; one at Perinnen, which is six leagues to the Westward of Laguoa: another at Weamba, which is foure leagues to the Eastward of Laguoa; a third at Perecow, which is foure leagues to the Eastward of Weamba: and the fourth at Egrand, which is foure leagues to the Eastward of Perecow.

When we had intelligence of these newes we agreed to go to the Eastwards with the French men to put them from their traffique, and shot off two or three pieces in our boats to cause the ships to way: and hauing bene about one houre vnder saile, we had sight of one of the French men vnder saile, balling off from Weamba to whome we gaue chase, and agreed in the night for feare of ouershooting them, that the Minion should first come to ancre, and after that about three houres, the Tyger and the Christopher to beare along all night.

The 5. day we found three of the French ships at ancre: one called La foye de Honfleur, a ship of 220 tunnes, another called the Ventereuse or small Roebarge of Honfleur, of 100 tunnes, both appertaining to Shawdet of Honfleur, the third was called the Mulet de Batuille a ship of 120 tunnes, and this ship belonged to certaine Marchants of Roan.

When we came to them, we determined to lay the Admiral aboord, the Christopher the Vice-

Viceadmiral, and the Tyger the smallest: but when we came nere them they wayed, and the Christopher being the headmost & the weathermost man, went roome with the Admirall: the Roebarge went so fast that wee could not fetch her. The first that we came to was the Mulet, and her wee layed aboord, and our men entred and tooke her, which ship was the richest except the Admirall: for the Admirall had taken about 80 pound of golde, and the Roeberge had taken but 22 pound: and all this we learned of the Frenchmen, who knew it very well: for they were all in consort together, and had bene vpon the coast of Mina two moneths and odde dayes: howbeit the Roebarge had bene there before them with another ship of Diepe, and a caruuel, which had beaten all the coast, and were departed one moneth before our arriuing there, and they three had taken about 700 pound of golde. The English boord the Frenchmen.

Assoone as we had layed the ship aboord, and left certaine men in her to keepe her, we set saile and gaue chase to the other two ships, and chased them all day and night, and the next day vntill three a clocke in the afternoone, but we could not fetch them: and therefore seeing that we brought our selues very farre to leeward of our place, we left the chase, and kept about againe to go with the shore.

The 7 day I sent for the captaine, marchants & Masters of the other ships, and when they came we weighed the golde which we had from the Frenchmen, which weighed fifty pound and fiue ounces of golde: this done we agreed to put men out of euery ship into the prise.to keepe her. Fifty pound of golde taken in the French prise.

The 12 day we came to the further place of the Mina called Egrand, and being come to an ancre, discharged all the marchants goods out of the prise, and would haue sold the ship with the victuals to the Frenchmen, but because she was leake they would not take her, but desired vs to saue their liues in taking them into our owne ships: then we agreed to take out the victuals and sinke the ship, and diuide the men among our ships.

The 15 at night we made an end of discharging the prise, and diuided all the Frenchmen except foure which were sicke and not able to helpe themselues; which foure both the Christopher and the Tyger refused to take, leauing them in their ship alone in the night, so that about midnight I was forced to fetch them into our ship.

The 15 of April, moouing our company for the voyage to Benin, the most part of them all refused it. Benin.

The 16, seeing the vnwillingnesse of the company to goe thither, we determined to spend as much time vpon the coast as we could, to the end we might make our voyage, and agreed to leaue the Minion here at Egrand, the Tyger to go to Pericow which is foure leagues off, and the Christopher to goe to Weamba, which is ten leagues to the weatherward of this place: and if any of them both should haue sight of more sailes then they thought good to meddle withall to come roome with their fellowes; to wit, first the Christopher to come with the Tyger, and then both they to come with vs.

We remained in this place called Egrand, vntill the last day of April,in which time many of our men fell sicke: and sixe of them died. And here we could haue no traffique with the Negros but three or foure dayes in the weeke, and all the rest of the weeke they would not come at vs. Our men die of sickenesse.

The 3 of May not hauing the pinnesse sent vs with cloth from the other ships, as they promised, we solde French cloth, and gaue but three yards thereof to euery fuffe.

The 5 day the Negros departed, and told vs they would come to vs againe within foure dayes, which we determined there to tary, although we had diuers of our men sicke.

The 8 day, all our cloth in the Minion being sold, I called the company together, to know whether they would tary the sale of the cloth taken in the prise at this place or no: they answered, that in respect of the death of some of their men, and the present sicknesse of twentie more, they would not tary, but repaire to the other ships, of whom they had heard nothing since the 27 of April: and yet they had our pinnesse with them, onely to cary newes from one to another. Sicknesse.

The 9 day we determined to depart hence to our fellowes, to see what they had done, and to attempt what was to be done at the towne of Don Iohn.

The

The 10 day in the morning we sat saile to seeke the Christopher and the Tyger.

The 11 day the Captaine of the Christopher came to vs, and told vs that they could finde small doings at the places were they had bene.

The 12 William Crompton and I in our small pinnesse went to the Tyger and the Christopher at Perenine.

The 13 we sent away the Tyger to Egrand, because we found nothing to doe at Perenine, worth the tarying for.

The 14 our great pinnesse came to vs, and presently we put cloth into her, and sent her backe to Weamba, where she had bene before, and had taken there ten pound of golde.

The 15 the Minion came to vs, and the next day we went a shore with our boats, and tooke but one ounce of golde.

Mowre. The 19 day hauing set saile we came to an ancre before Mowre, and there we tarried two dayes, but tooke not an ounce of golde.

The 21 we came to an ancre before Don Iohns towne.

The 22 we manned our boats and went to shore, but the Negros would not come at vs: then the Captaine of the Christopher and I tooke a skiffe and eight men with vs, and went and talked with the Negros, and they sayd that they would send a man to the great towne, where Don Iohn himselfe lay, to aduertise him of our comming.

The great towne of Don Iohn.

The 23 we went ashore againe, and the Negros tolde vs that this day the marchants of Don Iohn would come downe: so we tarried there vntill night, and no man would come to vs: but diuers of the Negros made vs signes to depart.

The 24 the Captaine of the Christopher tooke his boat & went to Mowre, and when he came thither, certaine Negros came to him to know the price of his wares, but in the end there came an Almade, which he iudged came from the castle, and caused all the Negros to depart from him: and when he saw they would come no more to him, he went ashore and tooke certaine men with him, and then the Negros cast stones at them, & would not suffer them to come vp to their towne. And when they saw that, they tooke certaine of the Almades, and put them to the sea, and afterwards departed. The same morning I went a shore at Don Iohns towne, and tooke a white flag with me, but none of the Negros could come to me, which caused vs to iudge that the Portugals were in the towne. After this, our boat came to vs well manned, and I sent one man vp to the towne with a white flag in his hand, but when he was come thither, all the Negros went away & would not speake with him. Then I sent one alone into the woods after them, but they in no case would come to vs. When we saw that, we tooke twelue goats and fourteene hennes, which we found in the towne, and went aboord without doing any further hurt to the towne: and when I came aboord, I found our pinnesse come from Cormatin, which had taken there two pound & fiue ounces of golde. Then after much ado with the froward Mariners, we went thitherwards with our ship, and the Christopher went to Mowre.

Cormatin.

The 25 day the Master of the Christopher sent his boat to the shore for balast, and the Negros would haue beaten the company from the shore, whereupon the company resisted them, and slew and hurt diuers of them, and hauing put them to flight, burned their towne, and brake all their boats.

A fight with the Negros.

The 26 day our pinnesse came to vs from Cormatin, and had taken two pound & eleuen ounces of golde: and Iohn Shirife tolde vs that the Negros of that place were very desirous to haue a ship come backe againe to their towne.

The 27 we wayed and went to Cormatin.

The 28 the Christopher came to vs from Mowre, and traffiqued there two dayes.

The second day of Iune the Tyger came to vs from Egrand, and the pinnesse from Weamba, and they two had taken about fifty pound of golde since they departed from vs.

The 4 day we departed from Cormatin to plie vp to Shamma, being not able to tary any longer vpon the coast for lacke of victuals, and specially of drinke.

The 7 day we had sight of fiue of the king of Portugals ships which came to an ancre besides the castle.

The

The 8 day George and Binny came to vs, and brought with them about two pound of golde.

The 10 day in the morning I tooke our small pinnesse, and the Captaine of the Christopher with me, and manned her well, and went to the castle to view the Portugals ships, and there we found one ship of about 300 tunne, and foure caruels: when we had well viewed them, we returned backe againe to our ships which we found seuen leagues at sea.

The 11 day in the morning we found our selues wel shot toward Shamma, & the Tyger with vs, but the Minion & the pinnesse had not wayed that night, so that we were out of sight of them: and hauing brought our selues in the weather of the Portugals ships, we came to an ancre to tary for the Minion, or els we might haue fetched Shamma. At night the Minion and the pinnesse came vp to vs, but could not fetch so farre to the weatherward as we, and therefore they ancred about a league a weather The castle, and we waied in the Christopher, and went roome with her.

The 12 day the Tyger came roome with vs, and she and the Christopher finding themselues to stand in great need of victuals, would haue gone with the Portugals ships to haue fetched some of them forth: but our master and company would in no case consent to goe with them, for feare of hanging when we came home: and the other two ships being fully minded to haue gone, and fearing that their owne company would accuse them, durst not go to them.

After this, by reason of the want of victuals in the pinnesse, which could receiue no victuals from the other shippes, but from vs onely, we tooke out all our men, and put twelue Frenchmen into her, and gaue them victuals to bring them to Shamma.

The 19 day the Tyger and Minion arriued at Shamma, and the Christopher within two leagues off them, but could not fetch the winde by reason of the scantnesse of the winde, which hath bene so scant, that in fifteene dayes we haue plied to the windewards but twelue leagues, which before we did in one day and a night. *Note.*

The 20 day I tooke our pinnesse, and went to the towne of Shamma to speake with the captaine, and he tolde me that there was no golde there to be had, nor so much as a hen to be bought, and all by reason of the accord which he had made with the Portugals, and I seeing that departed peaceably from him.

The 21 I put such things as we had into our small pinnesse, and tooke one marchant of our ship, and another of the Tyger, and sent her to Hanta, to attempt, if she could doe any thing there. That night they could doe nothing but were promised to haue golde the next day.

The next day (which was the 22) being come, we sent our pinnesse to Hanta againe, but there neither the captaine nor the Negros durst traffike with vs, but intised vs from place to place, and all to no purpose.

This day we put away our pinnesse, with fiue and twenty Frenchmen in her, and gaue them such victuals as we could spare, putting fifteene of them to the ransome of sixe crownes a man. They put the Frenchmen with victuals into the pinnesse.

The 23 of June our pinnesse came to vs from Hanta, and tolde vs that the Negros had dealt very ill with them, and would not traffike with them to any purpose.

The 24 we tooke our boat and pinnesse and manned them well, and went to the towne of Shamma, and because the Captaine thereof was become subiect to the Portugals we burned the towne, and our men seeking the spoile of such trifles as were there found a Portugals chest, wherein was some of his apparell, and his weights, and one letter sent to him from the castle, whereby we gathered that the Portugall had bene there of a long time. Shamma burnt by the English.

The 25 day, about three of the clocke at afternoone, we set saile, and put into the sea, for our returne to England. Their returne homeward.

The last day of this moneth we fell with the shore againe, and made our reckoning to be eighteene leagues to the weatherward of the place where we set off. When we came to make the land, we found our selues to be eighteene leagues to the leeward of the place, where we set off, which came to passe by reason of the extreame currant that runneth to the Eastward: when The currant.

when we perceiued our selues so abused, we agreed to cast about againe, and to lie as neere the winde as we could, to fetch the line.

S. Thome Iland. The seuenth of Iuly we had sight of the Ile of S. Thome, and thought to haue sought the road to haue ancred there: but the next morning the winde came about, and we kept our course.

The ninth, the winde varying, we kept about againe, and fell with the Iland of S. Thome, and seeking the road, were becalmed neere the Iland, and with the currant were put neere the shore, but could haue no ground to ancre: so that we were forced to hoise out our pinnesse, and the other ships their skiffs to towe from the Iland, which did litle good, but in the ende the winde put vs three leagues off the shore.

The tenth day the Christopher and the Tyger cast about, whereby we iudged them to haue agreed together, to goe seeke some ships in the road, and to leaue vs: our men were not willing to goe after them, for feare of running in with the Iland againe, and of putting our selues into the same danger that we were in the night before: but we shot off a piece, and put out two lights, and they answered vs with lights againe: whereupon we kept our course, and thought that they had followed vs, but in the morning we could not see them, so that they left vs willingly, and we determined to follow them no more. But the eleuenth day we altered our opinion and course, and consented to cast about againe for the Iland, to seeke our ships; and about foure of the clocke in the afternoone we met with them.

The 13 we fell againe with the Iland of S. Thome; and the same night we found our selues directly vnder the line.

The description of the Ile of S. Thome. This Iland is a very high Iland, and being vpon the West side of it, you shall see a very high pike, which is very small, and streight, as it were the steeple of a church, which pike lieth directly vnder the line, and at the same South end of the Iland to the Westward thereof lieth a small Iland, about a mile from the great Iland.

The third of August we departed frō the Ile of S. Thome, & met the winde at the South-west.

The 12 day we were in the height of Cape verde.

The Iland of Salt. The 22 day we fell with one of the Iles of Cape verde, called the Ile of Salt, and being informed by a Scotish man that we tooke among the Frenchmen vpon the coast, that there were fresh victuals to be had, we came to an ancre there.

The 23 day in the morning we manned our skiffe, and went a shore, and found no houses, but we saw foure men, which kept themselues alwayes farre from vs, as for cattell we could finde none, but great store of goats, and they were so wilde, that we could not take aboue three or foure of them: but there we had good store of fish, and vpon a small Iland which lay by the same we had great store of sea-birds.

At night the Christopher brake her cable, and lost an ancre, so that she could tary no longer, so we all wayed, and set saile. Vpon the same Iland we left the Scotish man, which was the occasion of our going aland at that place, but how he was left we could not tell: but, as we iudged, the people of the Iland found him sleeping, and so caried him away: for at night I went my selfe to the Iland to seeke him, but could hear nothing of him.

The 24 day the Master of the Tyger came aboord vs, & tolde vs that his men were so weake, and the shippe so leake, that he was not able to keepe her aboue the water, and therefore requested vs to go backe againe to the Iland, that we might discharge her, and giue her vp: but we intreated him to take paine with her awhile, and we put a French Carpenter into her, to see if he could finde the leake. This day we tooke a view of all our men, both those that were hole, and the sicke also, and we found that in all the three ships, were not aboue thirty sound men.

The great inconuenience by late staying vpon the coast of Guinie.

The 25 we had sight of the Ile of S. Nicholas, and the day following, of the other Iles, S. Lucia, S. Vincent, and S. Anthony; which foure Iles lie the one from the other Northwest and by West, Southeast and by East.

The 26 we came againe with the Iland of S. Anthony, and could not double the Cape. This day Philip Iones, the Master of the Christopher, came aboord vs, who had beene aboord the

Tyger,

Tyger, and tolde vs that they were not able to keepe the Tyger, because she was leake, and the Master very weake, and sayd further, he had agreed with the Master and the company, that if the next day we could double the Iland, we should runne to the leeward of it, and there discharge her: but if we could not double it, then to put in betwixt the Iland of S. Vincent and S. Anthony, to see if we could discharge her.

The third day of September I went aboord the Tyger, with the Master and Marchants with me, to view the shippe and men: and we found the shippe very leake, and onely six labouring men in her, whereof one was the Master gunner: so that we seeing that they were not able to keepe the ship, agreed to take in the men, and of the goods what we could saue, and then to put the ship away.

The fift day we went to discharge the Tyger.

The eight day, hauing taken out the artillery, goods, victuals, and gold of the Tyger, we gaue her vp 25 degrees by North the line. The Tyger giuen vp.

The 27 we had sight of two of the Iles of the Azores, S. Mary, and S. Michael.

The fourth of October we found ourselues to be 41 degrees and a halfe from the line.

The sixt day the Christopher came to vs, and willed vs to put with the Cape, for they also were so weake, that they were not able to keepe the sea, and we being weake also, agreed to goe for Vigo, being a place which many English men frequent.

The 10 day the Christopher went roome with the Cape, but we hauing a mery wind for England, and fearing the danger of the enemies, which ordinarily lie about the Cape: besides, not knowing the state of our countrey and Spaine, and although it were peace, yet there was little hope of friendship at their hands, considering the voyage that we had made, and we also being so weake, that by force and violence we could come by nothing, and doubting also that the king of Portugall knowing of our being there, might worke some way with the Counsell of Spaine to trouble vs: and further, considering that if we did put in with any harbor, we should not be able to come out againe, till we sent for more men into England, which would be a great charge, and losse of time, and meanes of many dangers. All these things pondred, we agreed to shoot off two pieces of ordinance, to warne the Christopher, and then we went our course for England: she hearing our pieces followed vs, and we carried a light for her, but the next day in the morning it was thicke, and we could not see her in the afternoone neither, so that we suspected that either she was gone with Spaine, or els that she should put foorth more sailes then we in the night, and was shot a head of vs, so that then we put forth our top-sailes, and went our course with England.

At the time when the Christopher left vs, we were within 120 leagues of England, and 45 leagues Northwest and by West from Cape Finister: and at the same time in our ships we had not aboue sixe Mariners and sixe Marchants in health, which was but a weake company for such a ship to seeke a forren harbour.

The 16 day, about sixe of the clocke at night, we met with a great storme at the West-south-west, & West, and our men being weake, and not able to handle our sailes, we lost the same night our maine saile, foresaile, and spreetsaile, & were forced to lie a hulling, vntill the eighteenth day, and then we made ready an olde course of a foresaile, and put it to the yard, and therewith finding our selues far shot into the sleeue, we bare with our owne coast, but that foresaile continued not aboue two houres, before it was blowen from the yard with a freat, and then we were forced to lie a hull againe, vntil the nineteenth day of October in the morning, and then we put an olde bonnet to our foreyard, which, by the good blessing and prouidence of God, brought vs to the Ile of Wight, where we arriued the 20 of October in the afternoone. Extreame weakenesse of our men.

The commodities and wares that are most desired in Guinie, betwixt Sierra Liona and the furthest place of the Mine.

MAnils of brasse, and some of leade.
Basons of diuers sorts, but the most lattin.
Pots of course tinne, of a quart and more.

Some wedges of yron.
Margarites, and certaine other sleight beads.
Some blew Corall.
Some horse tailes.
Linnen cloth principally.
Basons of Flanders.
Some red cloth of low price, and some kersie.
Kettles of Dutch-land with brasen handles.
Some great brasse basons graued, such as in Flanders they set vpon their cupboords.
Some great basons of pewter, and ewers grauen.
Some lauers, such as be for water.
Great kniues of a low price.
Sleight Flanders-caskets.
Chests of Roan of a lowe price, or any other chests.
Great pinnes.
Course French couerings.
Packing sheets good store.
Swords, daggers, frise mantels, and gownes, clokes, hats, red caps, Spanish blankets, axe heads, hammers, short pieces of yron, sleight belles, gloues of a lowe price, leather bags, and what other trifles you will.

Certaine Articles deliuered to M. Iohn Lok, by Sir William Gerard Knight, M. William Winter, M. Beniamin Gonson, M. Anthony Hickman, and M. Edward Castelin the 8 of September 1561, touching a voyage to Guinea.

A remembrance for you M. Lok at your comming to the coast of Guinie.

First, when God shal send you thither, to procure, as you passe alongst the coast, to vnderstand what riuers, hauens, or harboroughs there be; and to make your selfe a plat thereof, setting those places which you shall thinke materiall in your sayd plat, with their true eleuations.

Also you shall learne what commodities doe belong to the places where you shall touch, and what may be good for them.

The English marchants intend to fortifie in Ghinea, in the king of Habaans country.

It is thought good, that hauing a fort vpon the coast of Mina in the king of Habaans country, it would serue to great purpose: wherfore you are especially sent to consider where the fort might be best placed, and vpon what ground: wherein are to be noted these things following.

1. That the ground so serue, that it ioyne to the sea on the one part, so as shippes and boats may come to lade and vnlade.
2. What molde of earth the ground is of.
3. What timber or wood may be had, and how it will be caried.
4. What prouision of victuals may be had in the countrey: and what kinde of our victuals will best serue to continue.
5. The place must be naturally strong, or such as may be made strong with a small charge, and afterwards kept with a few men.
6. How water may be prouided, if there be none to be had in the ground where the fort shall stand, or neere to it.
7. What helpe is to be had from the people of the country, either for the building of it, or for the defence thereof.

The king of Haban.

To mooue the king of Haban a farre off, for the making of a fort, and to note how he will like it; but vse your communication so, that although there might fall out good cause for the doing of it, yet he do not vnderstand your meaning.

Search the countrey so farre as you may, both alongst the coast, and into the land.

To learne what became of the marchants that were left at Benin.

The

The matters which shall be of importance to be noted we nothing doubt that you will omit, wherefore we referre the order of these affaires to your good discretion.

Also we pray you as occasion shall serue that you ayd and helpe our factours, both with your counsell and otherwise; and thus God send you safely to returne.

William Gerrard, William Winter, Beniamin Gonson,
Anthony Hickman, Edward Castelin.

A letter of M. Iohn Lok to the worshipfull company of Marchants aduenturers for Guinie, written 1561, shewing reasons for his not proceeding in a voyage then intended to the foresayd countrey.

WOrshipfull sirs; since the arriuall of M. Pet and Buttoll Monioy (as I vnderstand) for the voyage it is concluded that the Minion shall proceed on her voyage, if within 20 dayes she may be repaired of those hurts she hath receiued by the last storme: or in the moneth of Ianuary also, if the wind wil serue therfore. Wherefore for that your worships shall not be ignorant of my determined purpose in the same, with the reasons that haue perswaded me thereunto; I haue thought good to aduertise you thereof, trusting that your worships will weigh them, as I vprightly and plainly meane them. And not for any feare or discouragement that I haue of my selfe by the raging of the stormes of the sea, for that (I thanke the Lord) these haue not beene the first that I haue abiden, neither must I fhey shalbe the last. First the state of the ship, in which, though I thinke not but M. Pet can do more for her strengthening then I can conceiue, yet for all that, it will neither mend her conditions, nor yet make her so stanch that any cabin in her shalbe stanch for men to lie drie in: the which sore, what a weakening it will be to the poore men after their labour, that they neither can haue a shift of apparell drie, nor yet a drie place to rest in, I referre to your discretion. For though that at Harwich she was both bound and caulked as much as might be, both within and without, yet for all that she left not, afore this flaw, in other weathers, being stressed, to open those seames, and become in the state she was before; I meane, in wetting her men: notwithstanding her new worke. And my iudgement, with that little experience I haue had, leadeth me to thinke that the ship whose water works and footings be spent and rotten cannot be but leake for men. Next, the vnseasonable time of the yere which is now present. And how onely by meanes of the vnseasonable times in the returne from the voyage home, many thereby haue decayed, to the great misery and calamity of the rest, and also to the great slander of the voyage (which I much respect) the last and other voyages haue declared. And what it is to make the voyage in vnseasonable time, that hath the second voyage also declared. Wherefore weying and foreseeing this (as I may wel terme it) calamity and vnexitable danger of men, and that by men she must be brought home againe (except that God will shew an extraordinary miracle) I purpose not nor dare I venture with a safe conscience to tempt God herein. Againe, forsomuch as she is alone, and hath so little helpe of boat or pinnesse in her trade, & also for her watering, where a long time of force must be spent, ny going, to the accomplishment of your expectations, will be to small effect for this time, because I shall want both vessell and men to accomplish it. And I would not gladly so spend my time and trauell, to my great charges and paine, and after, for not falling out accordingly, to lose both pot and water, as the prouerbe is. As for the Primrose, if she be there, her trade will be ended or euer we come there, so that she of force, by want of prouision, must returne: yea, though we should carry with vs a supply for her, yet is the meeting of her doubtfull, and though we met her, yet will the men not tarry, as no reason is they should: howbeit my opinion of her is that she is put into Ireland. The Flowerdeluce was in Milford. Thus for that your worships might vnderstand the whole cause why I doe not proceed, I haue troubled you at this time with this my long Letter. And, as God is my Iudge, not for feare of the Portugals, which there we shall meet (and yet alone without ayde) as here is a shippe which was in Lisbon, whose men say that there are in a readinesse (onely to meet vs) foure great ships, of the which one is accounted 700 tunnes, & other pinnesses: yet not for feare

of them, nor raging of the seas (whose rage God is aboue to rule) but onely for the premisses: the sequell whereof must by reason turne to a great misery to the men; the which I for my part (though it might turne me to as much gaine as the whole commeth to) yet would I not be so tormented, as the sight thereof would be a corsiue to my heart, and the more, because foreseeing the same, I should be so leud, as yeelding, to haue runne into the danger thereof, and therefore I haue absolutely determined with my selfe not to goe this voyage. Howbeit if in a seasonable time of the yeere I had but one ship sufficient, though much lesse by the halfe, I would not refuse (as triall being made thereof should appeare) or if I had ability of my selfe to venture so much, it should well be seene. And this I speake to giue you to vnderstand that I refuse not this for feare: If you purpose to proceed heerein, send some one whom you please; to whom I will not onely deliuer the articles which I haue receiued, but also will giue some particular notes which I haue noted in the affaires which you haue committed vnto mee, with the best helpe and counsell I can. Thus the liuing God keepe your worships all. Bristoll this 11 of December 1561.

Your worships to comand to his power.
Iohn Lok.

The relation of one William Rutter to M. Anthony Hickman his master touching a voyage set out to Guinea in the yeere 1562, by Sir William Gerard, Sir William Chester, M. Thomas Lodge, the sayd Antony Hickman, and Edward Castelin, which voyage is also written in verse by Robert Baker.

WOrshipfull sir, my duty remembred, this shalbe to declare vnto you the discourse of this our voyage, since our departure out of England from Dartmouth; at which time I gaue you to vnderstand of our departure, which was the 25 of February 1562. Then hauing a prosperous winde we departed from thence, and sailed on our voyage vntill we arriued at Cauo verde the 20 of March, making no abode there, but sailed along the coast to our first appointed port Rio de Sestos, at which port we arriued the third of Aprill in the morning, hauing the sight of a Frenchman, who assoone as he perceiued vs, set saile and made to the sea: in the meane time we came to an anker in the rode: and after that he had espied our flag, perceiuing vs to be Englishmen, he bare with the shore, & hailed our ships with his ordinance, at which time we the merchants of both the ships were in the riuer in traffike, and had vnderstanding of the Negroes that he had bene there three dayes before our comming: so we concluded together, that if he sent his pinnesse to traffike, we would not suffer him, vntill we had taken further order with their captaine & marchants. In the afternoone the pinnesse came into the riuer, whose men we willed to make no traffike vntill we had talked further with their captaine, whom we willed that night to come aboord our admirall; which was done. At which sayd time M. Burton and Iohn Munt went aboord the Minion where the Frenchmen were, & there concluded that they should tary by vs eight dayes, and suffer vs quietly to traffike, wherewith they were not well pleased. Wherevpon the next morning they departed from vs, sailing alongst the coast to the Eastward towards Potis, which he did to hinder our traffike that way: wherefore the marchants of the Minion & we concluded (forasmuch as at that present we vnderstood that there were no sailes past alongst) that we should go before, to the end we might not be hindred of our traffike by the Frenchmen; which thing we did: and at our comming thither we found the Frenchman in traffike to the West of Potis, by whom we passed, & arriued at Rio de Potis the 12 of April, where we remained in traffike vntill the 15 of the sayd moneth, and then departed from thence along the coast toward Sant Andre, where we appointed by agreement to tary for the Minion: and the 17 at night we came to the riuer of S. Andre; in which very day the Minion came vnto vs, telling vs that they met at cauo das Palmas a great ship and a caruell of the king of Portugals bound to the Mina, who gaue chase vnto them, and shot freely at them, and the Minion in her defence returned her the like: but God be praised the Minion had no hurt for that time. In the end we concluded to hasten towards cauo de tres puntas to haue put them from the castle, if by any meanes wee might; and when wee were come to the Cape, we lay a hull one night and

Capo verde.
Rio de Sestos.
The Minion.
Rio de Potis.
Rio de S. Andre.
Cauo das palmas.
Cauo de tres puntas.

two

two dayes, and doubting they had bene past, the Minion went neere the shore, and sent her merchants to a place called Anta, where beforetime we had traffike, and the next morning very early being the 21 of the sayd moneth, we againe had sight of the ship and the caruell a good way to sea-boord of vs. Then we presently set saile, and bare with the formost of them, hoping to haue got betweene the castle and them, but we came short of our purpose, which was no small griefe vnto vs all; and when they had gotten the castle to friend, they shot at vs freely, and we at them, and the castle at vs; but we profited litle. In the afternoone we set saile & came to the town of Don Iuan called Equi, where the 22 in the morning we went a shore to traffike, but the Negros would not vntill they had newes from Don Luis, for at that time Don Iuan was dead, and the 23 came Don Luis his sonne and Pacheco minding to traffike with vs, at which said day came two gallies rowing along the shore from the castle, minding to keepe vs from our traffike. The 24 we set saile and chased the galies to the castle againe. The Negroes being glad of that required vs to goe to Mowre, which is some 3 leagues behind, and thither would they come for that they stood in feare of the Portugals, and there we remained for the marchants that came out of the countrey which were come with their gold, but Anthonio don Luis his sonne, and Pacheco were aboord the Minion. And the 25 in the morning came the two galies from the castle againe vnto vs, the weather being very calme, they shot at vs and hit vs 3 times, and shortly after the wind came from the shore, at which instant we descried the ship, & the caruell comming towards vs, then we weighed and set saile, and bare as neere vnto them as we could: but it was night or euer wee met with them, and the night being very darke we lost them. The next day plying to the shore, at night we agreed to go with Cormantin, but the next morning being the 28 we were but a litle distant from the great ship and the 2 galies, hauing no wind at all, and the caruell hard aboord the shore. Then being calme, came the 2 galies rowing to the sterne of the Minion, and fought with her the most part of the forenoone: and in the fight a mischance hapned in the Minions steward-roome by means of a barrell of pouder that tooke fire, wherewith were hurt the master gunner, the steward, and most part of the gunners; which the galies perceiuing, began to be more fierce vpon them, and with one shot cut halfe her foremast in twaine, that without present remedie shee was not able to beare saile, and presently vpon this the great ship sent her boat to the galies, who suddenly departed from vs. And after their departure we went aboord the Minion to counsell what were best to be done, at which time they were sore discomfited. Whereupon we deuised what was best to be done: and because wee knew that the Negros neither would nor durst traffike so long as the galies were on the coast; it was therefore agreed that we should prepare our selues to depart to Rio de Sestos, and so we departed that day. The 14 of May in the morning we fell with the land, and when wee came to it, we doubted what place it was, and sent our boates on land to know the trueth, and we found it to be Rio de Barbos, which is to the Eastward of sant Andre, and there remained in getting of water vntill the 21, where we lost the day before 5 of our men by meanes of ouerthrowing our blacke pinnasse. The 22 we departed from thence to Rio de Sesto, where we arriued the 2 of Iune, and the 4 wee departed from Rio de Sesto, and arriued (God bee thanked) the 6 of August within sight of the Stert in the West part of England, our men being very sicke and weake. We haue not at this present aboue 20 sound men that are able to labour, and we haue of our men 21 dead, and many more very sore hurt and sicke. Master Burton hath bene sicke this 6 weekes, and at this present (God strengthen him) is so weake that I feare he will hardly escape. Herein inclosed your worship shall receiue a briefe of all the goods sold by vs, & also what commodities we haue receiued for the same. Thus I leaue to trouble your worship, reserving all things els to our generall meeting, and to the bringer hereof. From aboord the Primerose the 6 of August 1563.

Anta.

Equi.

Two galies.

Mowre.

Cormantin.

Much hurt done in the Minion with firing a barrel of gunpouder.

They returne.

Rio de Barbos.

The blacke pinnasse.

Rio de Sesto.

Your obedient seruant
William Rutter.

There are brought home this voiage An. 1563. Elephants teeth 166. weighing 1758 pounds. Graines 22 buts full.

The

The first voyage of Robert Baker to Guinie, with the Minion, and Primrose, set out in October, 1562. by Sir William Garrard, Sir William Chester, M. Thomas Lodge, Anthony Hickman, & Edward Castelin.

AS men whose heads be fraught
with care, haue seldom rest:
(For through the head the body strait
with sorowes is opprest:)
So I that late on bed
lay wake, for that the watch
Pursued mine eye, and causde my hed
no sleepe at all to catch:
To thinke vpon my chaunce
which hath me now betide,
To lie a prisoner here in France,
for raunsome where I bide:
And feeling still such thoughts
so thicke in head to runne,
As in the sommer day the moats
doe fall into the Sunne,
To walke then vp I rose,
fansie to put to flight:
And thus a while I doe purpose
to passe away the night.
The God of sleepe. Morpheus I perceiu'd
had small regarde of me,
Therefore I should be but deceiu'd
on bed longer to lie.
And thus without delay
rising as voide of sleepe,
The Moone. I horned Cynthia sawe streight way
in at my grate to peepe:
Who passing on her way,
eke knowing well my case,
How I in darke dungeon there lay
alwayes looking for grace:
To me then walking tho
in darke withouten light,
She wipte her face, and straight did show
the best countnance she might:
Astonneth eke my head
and senses for a space,
And olde fansies away now fled
she putteth new in place.
Then leaning in my grate
wherein full bright she shinde,
And viewing her thus on her gate
she mazeth streight my minde:
And makes me thinke anon
how oft in Ginnie lande
She was my friend, when I haue gone
all night vpon the sande,
Walking and watching efte
least any boate or ship
At any time, while we had slept
perhaps by vs might slip.
And streight with ardent fire
my head inflameth shee,
Eke me inspires with whole desire
to put in memorie,
Those daungers I haue bid
and Laberinth that I
Haue past without the clue of threede,
eke harder ieopardie.
I then gin take in hand
straight way to put in rime,
Such trauell, as in Ginnie lande
I haue past in my time.
But hauing writte a while
I fall faint by the way,
And eke at night I lothe that stile
which I haue writte that day.
And thinke my doings then
vnworthy sure, to be
Set forth in print before all men,
for euery one to see.
Eke with dispaire therefore
my pen I cast away,
And did intende this neuer more
hereafter to assay.
My fellow prisoner then
sir Edward Gages sonne
Sir Edward Gages sonne, whose name was Geory Gage.
Willes me to take againe my pen
and ende that I begonne.
By this our friends (sayth he)
shall right well vnderstande
And knowe the great trauels that we
haue past in Heathen lande.
Take pen therefore againe
in hande, I you require,
And thinke (saith he) thereof no paine
to graunt this my desire.
Then once againe my hed
my hand a worke doth sette:
But first I fall vpon my bed
and there deepe sighes I fette,
To see that this to taske
is giuen me silly wight:
And of Minerua helpe I aske
that she me teach aright.

Helpe

Helpe now without delay,
helpe, helpe, ye Muses nine,
O Cleo, and Calliope,
shewe me how to define
In condigne stile and phrase
eche thing in euery line,
To you I giue loe all the praise
the trauell only mine.
Giue eare then ye that long
to know of my estate,
Which am in France in prison strong
as I wrote home of late:
Against all lawe or right
as I doe thinke in deede,
The warre at Newe hauen. Sith that the warre is ended quite,
and pease is well agreed.
Yet least perchaunce you might
much maruell, how that I
Into a Frenchmans powre should light
in prison here to lie:
Giue nowe attentiue heede,
a straunge tale gin I tell,
How I this yeare haue bene besteede,
scaping the gates of hell,
More harde I thinke truly,
in more daunger of life,
Than olde Orpheus did when he
through hell did seeke his wife,
Whose musike so did sounde
in pleasant play of string,
That Cerberus that hellish hounde
(who as the Poets sing
Hauing three huge heads great,
which doe continually
Still breath out firy flames of heate
most horrible to see)
Did giue him leaue to passe
in at the gates of Hell:
Of which gate he chiefe porter was
the Poets thus me tell.
And how he past alone
through great king Plutos Court
Caron passenger of Hell. Yea ferried ouer with Charon
and yet he did no hurt.
Well to my purpose now,
in Hell what hurt had hee?
Perchance he might strange sights inow
and vgly sprits there see:
Perhaps eke Tantalus,
there making of his mone,
Who staru'd always: and Sysiphus
still rolling vp the stone.
Yet Orpheus passed by,
and went still on his way,
Tl ere was no torment came him nigh
or heate to make him stay.
And I a Gods name woulde
at hazarde play my life
In Guinie lande, to seeke for golde,
as Orpheus sought his wife.
At which saide lande of Guinie
I was eke once before,
His first voyage 1562.
And scapt the death as narrowly
as Orpheus did and more.
Which first ill lucke will I
recite, then iudge you plaine,
If loue plagued me not now rightly
this yeare to goe againe.
The other yeere before
when Neptune vs had brought
Safely vnto that burning shore,
for which so long we sought,
One day when shippe was fast
in sea at anker holde,
The sailes vpfirll'd, all businesse past
the boteswaine then I tolde,
That he forthwith shoulde see
the small pinnesse well mande,
Eke all things therin prest to be
that we shoulde haue a lande,
And gunner see that ye
want not bowe, pike, or bill,
Your ordinance well primed be
with lintstocks burning still.
With merchandize a shore,
we hied to traffike then,
Making the sea some vs before,
by force of nine good men.
And rowing long, at last
a riuer we espie,
In at the which we bare full fast
to see what there might be.
And entring in, we see
a number of blacke soules,
Whose likelinesse seem'd men to be,
but all as blacke as coles.
Their Captaine comes to me
as naked as my naile,
Not hauing witte or honestie
to couer once his taile.
By which I doe here gesse
and gather by the way,
That he from man and manlinesse
was voide and cleane astray.

And

And sitting in a trough,
a boate made of a logge,
The very same wherein you know
we vse to serue a hogge,
Aloofe he staide at first,
put water to his cheeke,
A signe that he would not vs trust
vnlesse we did the like.
That signe we did likewise,
to put him out of feare,
And shewd him much braue marchandise
to make him come vs neare.
The wilde man then did come,
by signes nowe crieth the fiend
Of those gay things to giue him some
and I should be his friend.
I traffikt there that time
for such things as they had,
At night to ship I caried him,
where I with clothes him clad,
Yea, made him there good cheere,
and he by signes againe
Tolde vs that he would fraight vs then
after a day or twaine.
And eene thus as we were
in talke, looking about,
Our boate he sawe with wares that there
was tied at sterne without:
Which boate he viewing still,
as then well stuft with ware,
We thinking he had ment no ill,
had thereof little care.
And the next morne, againe
we caried him a shore,
Eke bartred there that day with them
as we had done before.
But when Phœbus began
somewhat for to draw neare
To Icarus his Court, the sonne
of Dedalus most deare,
(Whose chaunce it is to dwell
amids the Ocean flood,
Because that he obseru'd not well
his fathers counsell good)
We then with saile and ore
to ship began to hie,
That we might fetch aboorde, before
the day had lost his eye.
To ship we come at last
which rid foure leagues from shore
Refresht vs after trauaile past,
taken that day before.

Then, as it was our guise,
our boate at sterne we tie,
Eke therein leaue our marchandise,
as they were wont to be.
With troughes then two or three
this Captaine comes by night
Aboord our boate, where he with wares
himselfe now fraighteth quight.
The watch nowe hearing this,
the boate they hal'd vp fast:
But gone was all the marchandise,
and they escapte and past.
The next morne then by day
againe we went to shore,
Amends to haue for that which they
had stolne the night before.
But all in vaine was it,
our signes were now too bad,
They would not vnderstand a whit
of any thing they had.
But as though they had wrong
for to reuenged be,
As we row'd downe the streame along
after comes hee and hee.
A hundred boats come fro
the steremost towne I say,
At least meets vs as many mo
before, to make vs stay.
In euery boat two men,
and great long targets twaine:
Most of their darts had long strings then
to picke and pull againe.
Now gunners to your charge,
giue fier all arow,
Ech slaue for feare forsakes his barge,
and ducks in water low.
We downe the streame amaine
do row to get the sea,
They ouertake vs soone againe,
and let vs of our way.
Then did the slaues draw neere,
with dart and target thicke,
With diuelish fixed eyes they peere
where they their darts may sticke.
Now Mariners do push
with right good will the pike,
The haileshot of the harquebush
the naked slaue doth strike.
Through targe and body right
that downe he falleth dead
His fellow then in heauie plight,
doth swimme away afraid.

The theft of the Negroes.

A conflict betweene the Negroes & our men.

To

To bathe in brutish bloud,
then fleeth the graygoose wing,
The halberders at hand be good,
and hew that all doth ring.
Yet gunner play thy part,
make haileshot walke againe,
And fellowes row with like good heart
that we may get the maine.
Our arrowes all now spent,
the Negros gan approch:
But pikes in hand already hent
the blacke beast fast doth broch.
Their captaine being wood,
a villaine long and large,
With pois'ned dart in hand doth shroud
himselfe vnder his targe.
And hard aboord he comes
to enter in our boat,
Our maisters mate, his pike eftsoones
strikes through his targe and throat.
The capteine now past charge
of this brutish blacke gard,
His pike he halde backe which in targe
alas was fixed hard:
And wresting it with might,
to pull it forth in hast,
A deadly dart strikes him too right
and in his flesh sticks fast,
He stands still like a man,
and shrinkes not once therfore,
But strikes him with his owne dart then
which shot at him before.
Then presse they on, and shake
their darts on euery side,
Which in our flesh doth light, and make
both deadly wounds and wide.
The gunner in that stound
with two darts strooke at last,
Shrinks not yet though the double wound
with streames of bloud out brast.
And eke the maisters mate,
of stomacke bolde and stout,
For all his wound receiu'd of late,
yet stirred not a foot.
But kept his standing still,
till that a deathful dart
Did strike him through the ribs so ill
that scarce it mist his hart.
The dart out hal'd quickly,
his guts came out withall,
And so great streames of bloud that he
for faintnesse downe gan fall.

The Negros seeing this,
how he for dead doth lie,
Who erst so valiant prou'd iwis,
they gladly shout and crie:
And then do minde as there
to enter in his place,
They thinke so many wounded were
the rest would yeld for grace.
We then stand by the pike,
and foure row on our boat,
Their darts among vs fast they strike
that few were free I wot.
In legge and eke in thigh,
some wounded eke in th'arme,
Yea many darts stucke vs hard by,
that mist and did no harme.
By little thus at last,
in great danger of life
We got the sea, and almost past
the danger erst so rife.
Then gin they all retire
sith all their darts were spent
They had nought to reuenge their ire,
and thus away they went.
Our boat to ship doth roe,
where two ores make soft way
Sixe of vs nine were wounded so, Sixe of our men wounded.
the seuenth for dead there lay.
Lo, heare how cruelly
the fiends ment vs to kill,
Causelesse you see, if they truly
on vs might had their will.
And yet we gaue before
much merchandize away,
Among those slaues, thinking therfore
to haue friendship for aye.
And Orpheus past I wot
the passage quietly,
Among the soules in Charons boat,
and yet to say truly
I neuer read that he
paid for his passage there,
Who past and repast for to see
if that his wife there were.
Nor yet that he paid ought,
or any bribe there gaue
To any office, while he sought
his wife againe to haue.
Whereby I surely gesse
these men with whom that we
Haue had to do, are fiends more fierce
then those in hell that be.

Well we now scaping thus
the danger I haue tolde,
Aboord we come, where few of vs
could stand now being colde.
Our wounds now being drest,
to meat went they that list,
But I desired rather rest,
for this in minde I wist.
That if I might get once
a sleepe that were full sound,
I should not feele my weary bones
nor yet my smarting wound.
And lying long aloft
vpon my bed in paine,
Vnto Morpheus call'd I oft
that he would not disdaine
To heare me then poore wight,
but sende me helpe with speed
That I might haue gobd rest this night
of which I had great need.
Me thought then by and by,
there hung a heauie waight,
At ech eye lid, which clos'd mine eye
and eke my head was fraight.
And being streight a sleepe,
I fell into a sweauen,
That of my wound I tooke no keepe
I dream'd I was in heauen.
Where as me thought I see
god Mars in armor bright,
His arming sword naked holdes he
in hand, ready to fight.
Castor and Pollux there
all complet stand him by,
Least if that Mars conuinced were
they might reuenged be.
Then came marching along
the great blacke smith Vulcan,
Hauing a staffe of yron strong,
and thus at last began:
O Mars, thou God of might,
what is the cause that thou
Hast chaleng'd me with thee to fight?
lo present am I now.
Wherfore if that thou hast
any great grudge to me,
Before this day be spent and past
it shall reuenged be.
Then spake god Mars and said,
for that thou churlish wight,
Thy brutish blacke people hast made
with those white men to fight
Which cal'd on me for aid,
I bid thee warre for this.
Then answered Vulcan straight and said
that that coast sure was his.
And therefore he would still
his blacke burnt men defend,
And if he might, all other kill
which to that coast did wend,
Yea thus (said he) in boast
that we his men had slaine,
And ere that we should passe this coast
he would vs kill againe.
Now marcheth Mars amaine
and fiercely gins to fight,
The sturdie smith strikes free againe
whose blowes dint where they light.
But Iupiter that sat
in his great royall throne
Hearing this noise marueil'd thereat,
and streightway sendeth one
To know the cause thereof:
but hearing them in fight,
Commandeth them for to leaue off
by vertue of his might,
And of Vulcan demands
the cause: then answered he,
O mightie Ioue whose power commands
and rules all things that be,
Who at a word hast power
all things to destroy cleane,
And in the moment of an houre,
canst them restore againe,
The same God licence me
to speake now here my minde:
It is not, Ioue, vnknowne to thee.
how that I was assign'd,
And pointed king of most
of all the Ginnie land,
A people lo is on my coast
which doth me now withstand.
They do my people strike,
they do this day them kill,
To whom I minde to do the like
if I may haue my will.
Then Iupiter bespake:
O Vulcan then said he,
Let this thy rage and anger slake
for this time presently,
But if at any time
these men chance there againe,
Doe as thou list, the charge is thine
I will not meddle then.

I know

I know them well (said he)
these men need not to seeke,
They haue so fruitfull a countrey
that there is none the like.
But if they can not be
therewith content, but still
Will seeke for golde so couetously,
worke then with them thy will.
And therewith straight doth send
a pursuiuant in post,
To whom (saith he) see that thou wend
vnto the windie coast,
To Eolus, the king
command him thus from me,
That he straight way without lingring
do set at libertie,
His seruant Zephirus,
which now is lockt so low,
Eke that he do command him thus,
that he straight way do go
To Vulcans coast in hast,
One shippe. a ship where he shall finde,
Which ship he must with gentle blast
and eke with moderate winde,
Conduct safe to that coast
which Albion was hight,
And that no stormes do them withstand
by day or eke by night.
I sleeping all this space,
as it were in a trance,
The noise of them that hal'd apace
did waken me by chance.
Then looking out to know
what winde did blow in skie,
The maister straight came to me tho
and thus said by and by.
All our ill lucke is past,
we haue a merie winde,
I hope England, if this winde last,
yet once againe to finde.
When this I vnderstand,
to Ioue I vowed then,
Forswearing cleane the Ginnie land
for comming there againe.
And passing on in post
with fauorable windes,
We all arriu'd on Englands coast
with passing cheerefull mindes.

The second voyage to Guinie, and the riuer of Sesto, set out in the Moneth of Nouember 1563, by Sir William Gerrard, Sir William Chester, Sir Thomas Lodge, Maister Beniamin Gōston, Maister William Winter, Maister Lionell Ducket, Anthonie Hickman, and Edward Castelin, with two ships, the one called the Iohn Baptist, wherein went for Maister, Laurence Rondell: and the other the Marlin, wherein went also for Maister, Robert Reuell, hauing for Factors, Robert Baker, Iustinian Goodwine, Iames Gleidell, and George Gage: and written in verse by the foresaid Robert Baker.

YOu heard before, that home I got
from Ginnie at the last,
But by and by, I quite forgot
the sorrowes I had past.
And ships rigged also,
with speed to ship againe,
I being then requir'd to go,
did not denie them plaine,
But granted them to go,
vnhappie foolish wight,
When they command, eke there to do
the best seruice I might.
In fine, to go our way
now serueth time and tide,
We hauing nothing vs to stay,
what should we longer bide?
The hempen band with helpe
of Mariners doth threat
The anker. To wey and reare that slouthfull whelpe
vp from his mothers teat.
The Maister then gan cheere
with siluer whistle blast
His Mariners, which at the Ieere
are laboring wondrous fast.
Some other then againe,
the maineyard vp to hoise,
The hard haler doth hale a maine,
while other at a trice
Cut saile without delay:
the rest that be below,
Both sheats abaft do hale straitway
and bolcins all let go.
The Helme a Mariner
in hand then strait way tooke,
The Pilot eke what course to stir
within his care did looke.
Againe with siluer blast,
the Maister doth not faile,
To cause his mates forthwith in hast
abroad to put more saile.

We then lanch from the shore,
sith warre we knew it right,
And kept in sea aloofe therefore
two dayes and eke a night.
And, as it is the guise,
to toppe a man we send,
Who straight a saile or two espies,
with whom we then do wend.
Aloofe would some with one,
and roomeward would the rest:
But with the tallest ship we gone,
whom we thinke to be best.
At last, in comming neere
as captaines vse to do,
I hale them, and of whence they were
I did desire to know:
Of France when they had said,
we weaued them a maine,
But they nothing therewith dismaid
did like to vs againe.
We then our selues aduant
through hope of purchase here,
Amaine say we, ye iolly gallant
or you shall buie it dere.
To arme the maine top tho
the boatswaine goeth eke,
His mate to the foretop also
makes hast to do the like.
To top both stones and darts
good fellowes hoise apace:
The quarter maisters with glad hearts
do know ech one his place.
Our topsailes strike we tho
and fit our sailes to fight,
Our bulwarke at maine mast also
is made likewise aright.
Vpon our poope eke then
right subtilly we lay
Pouder, to blow vp all such men,
as enter theraway.
Our Trumpetter aloft
now sounds the feats of war,
The brasen pieces roring oft
fling forth both chaine and bar.
Some on the yardes againe
do weaue with naked swoord,
And crying loud to them amaine
they bid vs come aboord.
To bath hir feet in blond
the graigoose fleeth in hast:
And Mariners as Lions wood,
do crie aboord as fast.

Now firie Faulkons flie
right greedie of their pray,
And kils at first stone dead truely
ech thing within their way.
Alarme ye now my mates I say,
see that ye nothing lacke,
At euery loope then gins straightway
a harquebush to cracke.
Their saile to burne, we shoot
our arrowes of wilde fire,
And pikes burning therewith about
lads tosse with like desire.
Eke straightway forth for wine
the steward call I then,
With fiery spice enough therein
I drinke vnto my men,
And then euen with a woord
our lime pot prest to fall,
This iolly gallant we clap aboord
and enter him withall.
Their nettings now gan teare
with dint of heauie stone,
And some mens heads witnesse did beare
who neuer could make mone.
The harquebush acroke
which hie on top doth lie,
Discharg'd full of haileshot doth smoke
to kill his enemie.
Which in his enemies top
doth fight, there it to keepe,
Yet he at last a deadly lope
is made from thence to lepe.
Then entreth one withall
into this Frenchmans top,
Who cuts ech rope, and makes to fall
his yard, withouten stop.
Then Mariners belowe,
as carelesse of the pike,
Do hew, and kill still as they goe,
and force not where they strike.
And still the trumpets sound
with pleasant blast doth cheare
Ech Mariner, so in that stound
that they nothing did feare.
The Maister then also,
his mates to cheare in fight,
His Whistle chearefully doth blow,
whereby strait euery wight
So fierce begins to be,
that Frenchmen gin to stoe,
And English men as right worthy
do catch for pillage tho.

What

What would you more I say
but tell the truth alway:
We vsde our matters so this day
we caried him away,
Vnto a Port in Spaine,
which sure is call'd the Groine,
Whereas we for French lading plaine
receiued readie coine.
Well thus this good lucke past,
we through salt Seas did scoure,
To Ginney coast eke come at last,
O that vnhappie houre.
My hand alas for feare
now shakes, of this to write,
Mine eye almost full fraught with teare,
eke lets me to indite.
What should I here recite
the miserie I had,
When none of you will scarce credit
that ere it was so bad?
Well, yet I would assay
to tell it, if I might,
But O Minerua, helpe me aye,
my wits astond be quite.
Yea helpe, ye muses nine,
let no thought me withstand,
Aid me this thing well to define,
which here I take in hand.
Well, thus it fortuned tho,
in Ginney now arriu'd,
Nine men in boat to shore we go,
where we traffike espide,
And parting at midday
from ship, on good intent
In hope of traffike there I say
to shore away we went.
Our ships then riding fast
in sea at anker bight,
We minded to dispatch in hast,
eke to returne that night.
But being hard by land,
there suddenly doth rise
A mightie winde, wherewith it raind
and thundred, in such wise,
That we by shore did ride,
where we best Port might finde,
Our ships we thinke from anker slide,
a trice before the winde.
This night Vulcan begins
on vs reueng'd to be,
And thunderbolts about he flings
most terrible to see,
Admixt with fierie flame
which cracks about our eares.
And thus gins he to play his game,
as now to him appeares.
He Eolus hath feed
herein to be his friend,
And all the whirling windes with speed
among vs doth he send.
Thus hard by shore we lay,
this wet and weary night,
But on next morne and all the day
of ship we had no sight.
For Vulcan all this night
from fierie forge so fast
Sent thunder bolts with such great light,
that when the night was passed,
The next day there remaind
so great smoke all about,
Much like a mist, eke therewith raine,
that we were wet throughout.
And thus in smoke mindes he
to part vs from our ship:
Thus nere a one ech other see,
and so haue we the slip.
Our ships then backe againe,
thinking we were behinde,
Do saile by shore a day or twaine
in hope there vs to finde.
And we the contrary,
do row along the shore
Forward thinking our ships to be
still sailing vs before.
They sailing thus two dayes or three,
and could not finde vs than
Do thinke that in that foule night we
were drowned euery man.
Our ship then newes doth beare,
when she to England wends
That we nine surely drowned were,
and thus doth tell our friends:
While we thus being lost,
aliue in miserie
Do row in hope yet on this coast,
our ships to finde truly.
Well thus one day we spent,
the next and third likewise,
But all in vaine was our intent,
no man a saile espies:
Three dayes be now cleane past
since any of vs nine,
Of any kinde of food hath tast,
and thus gan we to pine,

Till

Till at the last bare need
bids vs hale in with land,
That we might get some root or weed
our hunger to withstand:
And being come to shore,
with Negros we intreat,
That for our wares which we had there
they would giue vs to eat.
Then fetch they vs of roots,
and such things as they had,
We gaue to them our wares to boote
and were thereof right glad.
To sea go we againe,
in hope along the shore
To finde our ships, yet thinking plaine
that they had beene before.
And thus with saile and ore
twelue dayes we went hard by
The strauge vncomfortable shore
where we nothing espie,
But all thicke woods and bush
and mightie wildernesse,
Out of the which oft times do rush
strange beasts both wilde and fierse,
Whereof oft times wee sec,
at going downe of Sunne,
Diuers descend in companie,
and to the sea they come.
Where as vpon the sand
they lie, and chew the cud:
Sometime in water eke they stand
and wallow in the floud.
The Elephant we see,
a great vnweldie beast,
With water fils his troonke right hie
and blowes it on the rest.
The Hart I saw likewise
delighted in the soile,
The wilde Boare eke after his guise
with snout in earth doth moile.
A great strange beast also,
the Antelope I weene
I there did see, and many mo,
which erst I haue not seene.
And oftentimes we see
a man a shore or twaine,
Who strait brings out his Almadie
and rowes to vs a maine.
Here let we anker fall,
of wares a shew we make,
We bid him choose among them all,
what wares that he will take
To bring to vs some fish,
and fresh water therefore,
Or else of meat some daintie dish,
which their cookes dresse a shore.
They bring vs by and by
great roots and beries eke,
Which grow vpon the high palme tree,
such meat as they do like.
We drinke eke of their wine
much like our whey to see:
Which is the sappe as I haue seene
that runnes out of a tree.
Thus do they bring ech thing
which they thinke to be good,
Sometime wilde hony combes they bring
Which they finde in the wood,
With roots and baggage eke
our corps we thus sustaine
From famine though it be so weake,
that death was figured plaine
In euery ioynt for lacke
of sustenance and rest.
That still we thinke our hearts would
with sorowes so oppresr. (breake
We now alongst the coast
haue saild so many a mile,
That sure we be our ships be lost,
what should we do this while?
In Heathen land we be,
impossible it is
That we should fetch our owne countrey
in such a boat as this.
We now gan to perceiue
that wee had ouerpast
The Melegate coast so much,
that we were come at last
Vnto the coast of Myne,
for Niegros came aboord
With weights to poise their golde so fine,
yea speaking euery word
In Portugesse right well
demanding traffike there?
If we had any wares to sell,
and where our ships then were?
We answered them againe,
we had *two* ships at sea, Two ships.
The which would come trafike with the
we thought within a day.
The cause why we thus said,
was hope to be well vsde:
But seeing this, as men dismaid
away we went and musde

Whither

Whither our ships were gone,
what way were best for vs:
Shall we here perish now saith one?
no, let vs not do thus:
We see all hope is past
our ships to finde againe,
And here our liues do shorten fast
in miserie and paine:
For why the raging heat
of Sunne, being so extreme,
Consumes our flesh away in sweat,
as dayly it is seene.
The Ternados againe
so often in a weeke,
With great lightnings, thunder and raine
with such abundance eke,
Doe so beat vs by night,
that we sleepe not at all,
Whereby our strength is vaded quite,
no man an ore can hale.
How hard liue we, alas?
three whole dayes oft be past,
Ere we poore men (a heauie case)
of any thing doe tast.
These twentie dayes ye see,
we haue sit still ech one,
Which we do of necessitie,
for place to walke is none.
Our legs now vs deceiue,
swolne euery ioint withall,
With this disease, which, by your leaue,
the Scuruie men doe call.
We cannot long endure
in this case as we be,
To leaue our boat I am right sure,
compeld we must agree.
Three wayes for vs there is,
and this is my request,
That we may of these three deuise,
to choose thereof the best.
The Castle of the Mine
is not farre hence, we know,
To morrow morne we there may be,
if thither you will goe.
There Portingals do lie,
and christened men they be:
If we dare trust their curtesie,
the worst is hanging glee.
Our miserie may make
them pitie vs the more,
Nine such yong men great pains would
for life to hale an ore.

Their Gallies may perhaps
lacke such yong men as we,
And thus it may fall in our laps,
all Galeyslaues to be,
During our life, and this
we shall be sure to haue,
Although we row, such meate as is
the allowance of a slaue.
But here we rowe and sterue,
our misery is so sore:
The slaue with meat inough they serue,
that he may teare his ore.
If this you will not like,
the next way is to goe:
Vnto the Negros, and to seeke
what friendship they will shew.
But what fauour would ye
of these men looke to haue:
Who beastly sauage people be,
farre worse then any slaue?
If Cannibals they be
in kind, we doe not know,
But if they be, then welcome we,
to pot straight way we goe.
They naked goe likewise,
for shame we cannot so:
We cannot liue after their guise,
thus naked for to go.
By rootes and leaues they liue,
as beasts doe in the wood:
Among these heathen who can thriue,
with this so wilde a food?
The piercing heate againe,
that scorcheth with such strength,
Piercing our naked flesh with paine,
will vs consume at length.
The third and last is this,
(if those two you refuse)
To die in miserable wise,
here in the boate you chuse.
And this iudge by the way,
more trust is to be giuen,
Vnto the Portingals alway,
sith they be christned men,
Then to these brutish sort,
which beastly are ye see:
Who of our death will make a sport,
if Canibals they be.
We all with one consent,
now death despising plaine:
(Sith if we die as innocent,
the more it is our gaine)

[take

Our

Our sayle we hoyse in hast,
with speed we mind to go
Vnto the castell, now not past
a twentie leagues vs fro.
And sayling all this day,
we spied late in the night,
As we past by thus on our way,
vpon the shore a light.
Then sayd our Boateswaine thus,
by this great light a shore,
Trafique there seemes, will you let vs
anker this night therefore,
And trie if we may get,
this next morning by day,
Some kind of food for vs to eate,
and then to goe our way ?
We anker there that night,
the next morning to shore :
And in the place, where we the light
did see the night before,
A watch house now there stood,
vpon a rocke without :
Hard by a great blacke crosse of wood,
which putteth vs in doubt,
What place that this should be,
and looking to the shore,
A Castell there we gan espie,
this made vs doubt the more.
Wherein we saw did stand
a Portingall or twaine :
Who held a white flag in his hand,
and waued vs amaine.
Our flesh as fraile now shakes,
whereby we gan retire,
And he at vs a shot then makes,
a Negro giuing fire.
A piece discharged thus,
the hissing pellet lights,
I thinke within a yard of vs,
but none of vs it hits.
We wisht then we had there
a good ship, eke or twaine,
But helpelesse now, we rowe a shore
to know th'end of our paine.
The neerer that we went
to them vnto the shore,
To yeld our selues, as first we ment
they still did shoot the more.
Now Canons loud gan rore,
and Culuerins now crackt,
The Castell eke it thundred sore,
as though the wals weere sackt.
Some shot doth light hard by,
some ouer vs againe :
But though the shot so thicke doth flie,
yet rowe we in a maine,
That now so neere we be
vnto the castell wall,
That none of them at vs we see,
can make a shot at all.
We ment a land to goe,
their curtesie to trie :
But from the wal great stones they throw,
and therewith by and by,
The Negros marching downe,
in battell ray do come,
With dart and target from the towne,
and follow all a dromme.
A bowe in hand some hent,
with pois'ned arrow prest,
To strike therewith they be full bent,
a pined English brest.
But stones come downe so fast
on vs on euery side,
We thinke our boats bottom would brast
if long we thus abide.
And arrowes flie so thicke,
hissing at euery eare,
Which both in clothes and flesh do sticke,
that we, as men past feare,
Cry now, Launch, launch in hast,
bale of the boate amaine :
Foure men in banke let them sit fast
and rowe to sea againe.
The other fiue like men,
do manfully in hand,
Take vp each kind of weapon then,
these wolues here to withstand.
A harquebush takes one,
another bends his bowe,
Among the slaues then downe fals one
and other hurt I trowe.
At those Portingals then shoot we,
vpon the Fort which stand,
In long fine white shirts as we see,
and lintstocks in their hand.
And of these shirts so white
we painted some full red,
Striking their open corps in sight,
with dint of arrow head.
For we sawe they had there
no Gallies vs to take,
Where threatnings the could vs not feare
or make vs once to shake.

Then

Then Canons loud gan rore,
and pellets flie about,
And each man haleth hard his ore
and mooued not a foote.
Yea, though the poulder sent
the pellets thicke away,
Yet spite of them cleane through we went
at last, and got the sea,
And pieces charging fast,
they shot after vs so,
That wonder was it how we past
the furie of our foe.
The pined arme felt not
as now, the heauie ore:
With foure such ores was neuer boat,
I thinke, row'd so before.
To seaward scaping so,
three Negroes we see there,
Came rowing after vs to know,
what countrey men we were?
We answered Englishmen,
and that thither we came,
With wares to trafique there with them,
if they had meant the same.
They Portuguse doe speake
right naturall iwis:
And of our ship to know they seeke,
how big and where she is.
We answered them againe
we had two ships at sea,
Right well appointed full of men,
that streight would take their way
Along the coast for gold,
they tary but for vs,
Which came with wares there to haue sold
but that they vs'd vs thus.
Then gan they vs to pray,
if we lackt any thing,
To anker there all that whole day,
and they to vs would bring
All things that we doe want,
they sory say they be:
But we their words yet trusting scant,
refuse their curtesie.
We aske them of this hold
what place that it should be,
Then they againe thus straight vs told
that Portingals there lie.
And how that point they sayd,
which there hard by we see,
Was one of Cape three points that lay
the Westernmost of three.

Cape three points.

Withouten further speech,
we hoise our saile to sea:
Minding a friendlier place to seech,
and thus we part our way.
We mind truly to prooue
the Portingals no more:
But now t'assay rather what loue
Negros will shew a shore.
We then with saile and ore,
went backe againe in hast!
A thirtie leagues I thinke, and more
from thence where we were chast.
And here we anker fall,
aboord the Negros come:
We gaue gay things vnto them all,
and thus their hearts we wonne.
At last aboord comes one,
that was the kings chiefe sonne:
To whom by signes I made great mone,
how that I was vndone,
Had lost our ships, and eke
were almost staru'd for meate,
And knew not where out ships to seeke,
or any thing to eate.
I offred him our wares,
and bid him take them all:
But he perceiuing now the teares,
which from our eyes did fall,
Had great pitie on vs,
and sayd he would haue nought,
But streight by signes he will'd vs then,
that we should take no thought.
As one whom God had sent,
and kept for vs in store,
To know in hast away he went,
the Kings pleasure on shore.
And came foorthwith againe,
yea, bade vs come a land:
Whereof God knowes we were ful faine,
when this we vnderstand.
Each man bankes to his ore,
to hale the boate a land:
Where as we see vpon the shore,
fiue hundred Negros stand.
Our men rowing in a maine,
the billow went so hie,
That straight a waue ouerwhelms vs cleane
and there in sea we lie.
The Negros by and by,
came swimming vs to saue:
And brought vs all to land quickly,
not one durst play the knaue.

The Kings sonne after this,
a stout and valiant man,
In whom I thinke Nature iwis,
hath wrought all that she can,
He then I say commaunds
them straight to saue our boate,
To worke forthwith goe many hands,
and bring the same a floate.
Some swimme to saue an ore,
some diue for things be lost:
I thinke there helpe to bale a shore,
fiue hundred men almost.
Our boate thus halde vp drie,
all things streight way were brought
The which we mist or could espie,
no man that durst keepe ought.
Then vs they led away,
knowing we wanted meate,
And gaue to vs, euen such as they
themselues do daily eate.
Was neuer Owle in wood
halfe so much wondered at,
As we were then poore men, alas,
which there among them sat.
We feared yet our part,
and wisht a moneth were past,
For each man there went with his dart,
which made vs oft agast.
We lay vpon the ground,
with them there all that night:
But fearing still a deadly wound,
we could not sleepe a whit.
Two dayes thus past we well,
no man vs offred wrong:
The cause thereof I gin you tell,
they thought this them among:
Our ships had bene at sea,
and would come there before
Two dayes, to fetch vs thence away,
and giue them wares good store.
But when they thus heare tell
how that our ships be lost,
And that we know not very well,
when ships will come to coast:
They then waxe wearie streight,
and they which did before
At sundry times giue vs to eate,
did giue vs now no more.
Our lowance waxt so small,
that neuer nine I gesse,
Were seru'd the like, yet still withall,
it waxed lesse and lesse.

Some run now in the wood,
and there for rootes do seeke,
Base meat would here be counted good
too bad that we mislike.
Our clothes now rot with sweat,
and from our backs do fall,
Saue that whom nature wils for shame,
we couer nought at all.
One runs to seeke for clay
to fashion straight a pot,
And hardens it in Sunne all day:
another faileth not
To fetch home wood for night,
and eke for fire sought,
That we our roots and things seeth might
if any home were brought.
The rest the wood doth seeke,
eke euery bush and tree
For berries and such baggage like,
which should seeme meate to bee.
Our fingers serue in steed,
both of pickaxe and spade,
To dig and pull vp euery weed,
that grew within the shade.
Eke digd for rootes the ground,
and searcht on euery brier
For berries, which if we had found,
then streight way to the fire:
Where we rost some of those,
the rest seeth in a pot,
And of this banket nought we lose,
nor fragment resteth not.
The night as beasts we lie
the bare hard earth vpon,
And round by vs a great fire light
to keepe wild beasts vs from.
But what should I recite,
or couet to declare
My sorowes past, or eke t'endite
of my hard Ginnie fare?
I cease here to enlarge
my miserie in that land,
A toy in head doth now me charge,
as here to hold my hand.
In fine, what would ye more,
the heat did so exceed,
That wanting cloths it scorcht so sore
no man could it abide.
The countrey eke so wilde,
and vnhealthfull withall,
That hungry stomacks neuer fill'd,
doth cause faint bodies fall.

Our

Our men fall sicke apace,
and cherishing haue none:
That now of nine, within short space
we be left three alone.
Alas, what great agast
to vs three liuing yet,
Was it to see, that death so fast
away our fellowes fet?
And then to Ioue on hie
we call for helpe and grace,
And him beseech vnfainedly,
to fetch vs from this place.
From this wild heathen land,
to Christendome againe,
Or else to lay on vs his hand,
and rid vs from our paine.
Least that we ouerprest
with too much miserie,
Perhaps as weake breake our behest
which we owe God on high.
And least we liuing here
among this heathen, might
Perchance for need do that which were
right hainous in his sight.
Well, to my purpose then,
when we to Ioue thus crie,
To helpe vs hence poore silly men
from this our miserie.
He hearing vs at length,
how we to him doe call,
He helps vs with his wonted strength,
and straight thither withall.
A French ship sends at last,
with whom we three go hence:
But six in earth there lie full fast,
and neuer like come thence.
This Frenchman as I say,
through salt and surging seas,
Vs brought from Ginnie land, away
to France, the Lord we praise.
And warre he proues it plaine
when we entred his ship,
A prisner therefore I remaine,
and hence I cannot slip
Till that my ransome be
agreed vpon, and paid,
Which being leuied yet so hie,
no agreement can be made.
And such is lo my chance,
the meane time to abide
A prisner for ransome in France,
till God send time and tide.
From whence this idle rime
to England I doe send:
And thus till I haue further time,
this Tragedie I end.

R. Baker.

A meeting at Sir William Gerards house the 11 of July 1564. for the setting foorth of a voyage to Guinea, with the Minion of the Queens, the Iohn Baptist of London, and the Merline of M. Gonson.

AT this meeting were these chiefe aduenturers, Sir William Gerrard, sir William Chester, sir Thomas Lodge, Anthonie Hickman, and Edward Castelin. Where it was agreed that Francis Ashbie should be sent to Deptford to M. Gonson for his letters to Peter Pet to goe about the rigging of the Minion vpon the Queenes maiesties charges, and so the said Francis to repaire with the same letters to Gillingham with money to supplie our charge there.

Also that euery one of the fiue partners shall foorthwith call vpon their partners to supply towards this new rigging and victualling, 29 li. 10s. 6d. for euery 100 li. value.

Also that euery one of the fiue partners shall foorthwith bring in 50 li. towards the furniture of the premisses.

Likewise it is agreed that if M. Gonson giue his consent that the Merline shall be brought about from Bristoll to Hampton, that a letter be drawen whereunto his hand shall be, before order be giuen for the same.

The successe of this Voiage in part appeareth by certaine briefe relations extracted out of the second voyage of Sir Iohn Hawkins to the West Indies, made in the sayd yeere 1564. which I thought good to set downe for want of further instructions, which hitherto I could not by any meanes come by, albeit I haue vsed all possible indeuour for the obtaining of the same: Take them therefore in the meane season as foloweth.

MAster Iohn Hawkins, with the Iesus of Lubeck a ship of 700. tunnes, and the Salomon,

a ship of 7 score, the Tiger a barke of 50, and the Swalow of 30 tunnes, being all well furnished with men to the number of one hundred threescore and ten, as also with ordinance and victuall requisite for such a voiage, departed out of Plimmouth the 18 day of October in the yeere of our Lord 1564. with a prosperous winde: at which departing, in cutting the foresaile, a marueilous misfortune happened to one of the officers in the ship, who by the pullie of the sheat was slaine out of hand being a sorowfull beginning to them all. And after their setting out 10 leagues to the Sea, hee met the same day with the Minion a ship of the Queens Maiesties, whereof was captaine Dauid Carlet, & also her consort the Iohn Baptist of London being bound to Guinea likewise, who hailed one the other after the custome of the sea, with certaine pieces of ordinance for ioy of their meeting: which done, the Minion departed from him to seeke her other consort the Merline of London, which was a sterne out of sight, leauing in M. Hawkins companie the Iohn Baptist her other consort.

The Minion of the Queene.

Thus sailing forwards on their way with a prosperous wind vntil the 21 of the same moneth, at that time a great storme arose, the wind being at Northeast about 9 of the clocke at night, and continued 23 houres together, in which storme M. Hawkins lost the company of the Iohn Baptist aforesaid, and of his pinnasse called the Swallow, the other 3 ships being sore beaten with the storme. The 23 day the Swalow, to his no small reioicing, came to him againe in the night 10 leagues to the Northward of Cape Finister, hauing put roomer and not being able to double the Cape, in that there rose a contrary wind at Southwest. The 25 the wind continuing contrary, he put into a place in Galicia called Ferol, where he remained 5 daies and appointed all the masters of his ships an order for the keeping of good company.

The 26 day the Minion came in also where he was, for the reioycing whereof he gaue them certaine pieces of ordinance after the curtesie of the Sea for their welcome, but the Minions men had no mirth because of their consort the Merline, who at their departure from M. Hawkins vpon the coast of England, they went to seeke, and hauing met with her, kept company two dayes together, and at last by misfortune of fire (through the negligence of one of the gunners) the pouder in the gunners roome was set on fire, which with the first blast stroke out her poope, and therewithall lost 3 men, besides many sore burned (which escaped by the Brigandine being at her sterne) and immediatly to the great losse of the owners, and most horrible sight of the beholders, she sunke before their eies. The 30 day of the moneth M. Hawkins with his consorts and company of the Minion hauing now both the Brigandines at her sterne, weighed anker, and set saile on their voiage hauing a prosperous wind thereunto. The 4 of Nouember they had sight of the Iland of Madera, and the 6 day of Teneriffa, which they thought to haue bene the Canarie, in that they supposed themselues to haue bene to the Eastward of Teneriffa but were not: but the Minion beyng 3 or 4 leagues a head of vs kept on her course to Teneriffa, hauing better sight thereof then the other had, and by that means they parted company.

The fring and sicking of the Merline bound for Guinea.

The foresaid Sir Iohn Hawkins passing on his voiage by Cauo Verde, and Sierra Leona, and afterward crossing ouer the maine Ocean comming to the towne of Burboroata vpon the coast of Terra firma in the West Indies, had further information of the euill successe of this Guinean voyage, as in the same hereafter is verbatim mentioned.

The 29 of April, we being at anker without the road, a French ship called the green Dragon of Newhauen, whereof was captaine one Bon Temps came in, who saluted vs after the maner of the sea, with certaine pieces of ordinance, and we resaluted him with the like againe: with whom hauing communication, he declared that hee had bene at the Mina in Guinea, and was beaten off by the Portugals gallies, and enforced to come thither to make sale of such wares as he had: and further that the like was hapned vnto the Minion: also that captaine Dauid Carlet, & a marchant, with a dozen mariners were betraied by the Negros at their first arriuall thither, remaining prisoners with the Portugals, besides other misaduentures of the losse of their men hapned through the great lacke of fresh water, with great doubts of bringing home the ships: which was most sorowfull for vs to vnderstand.

The voyage of M. George Fenner to Guinie, and the Islands of Cape Verde, in the yeere of 1566. with three ships, to wit, the Admirall called the Castle of Comfort, the May Flower, and the George, and a pinnasse also:

Written by Walter Wren.

THe 10 day of December, in the yeere abouesayd, we departed from Plimmouth, and the 12 day we were thwart of Vshant.

The 15 day in the morning being Sunday, wee had sight of Cape Finister, and the same night we lost the company of our Admiral, wherefore we sayled along the coast of Portugall, hoping that our Admiral had bene before vs.

The 18 day we met with a French ship of whom wee made inquirie for our Admirall, but he could not tell vs newes of him: so we followed our course to the Ilands of the Canaries.

The 25 day in the morning we fell with a small Iland called Porto Santo, & within 3 houres wee had sight of another Iland called Madera which is 6 leagues from Porto Santo.

The said 25 day being the day of the Natiuitie, we hoised out our boat, and set master Edward Fenner captaine of the May Flower aboord vs, being in the George, with the master whose name was Robert Cortise and others of the sayd shippe, and feasted them with such checre as God had sent vs.

The 28 day we fel with an Iland called Tenerif, which is 27 leagues from the said Iland, and on the East side thereof we came to an anker in 40 fadome water, within a base shot of the shore, in a litle Baie wherein were 3 or 4 small houses: which Baie and houses were distant from a litle towne called Santa Cruz, a league or thereabout, and as we rode in the said Baie, we might see an Iland called The grand Canarie which was 6 or 7 leagues from vs.

The 29 day the May Flower for that she could not set into ỹ road where we were at an anker, by reason the wind was off the shore, & because she bare more roomer frō the land then we did, in the morning came bearing in with the towne of Santa Cruz, thinking to come to an anker in the road against the towne, and before she came within the reach of any of their ordinance, they shot at her foure pieces which caused her to come roome with vs, and came at last to an anker by vs. And about one of the clocke in the afternoone, the forenamed captaine of the May Flower wrote a letter a shore, directing it to the head officer of the towne of Santa Cruz, to the intent to vnderstand the pretense of the shooting off the said ordinance.

The letter being written, Robert Courtise master of the May Flower, and Walter Wren were appointed to deliuer the same a land at 3 or 4 houses to bee conueid to the foresayd towne, and so went with six men in the boate, and rowed to the shore as neere as they might, for setting the boat on ground, for the sea went cruelly at the shore.

The people stood in number 30 persons with such armour as they had: the foresayd Wren called to them in Spanish, declaring to thē that they had a letter which they would very gladly haue conueid vnto the towne, shewing that they would traffique with them as marchants, desiring their helpe for the conueiance of the same letter. With that one of the Spaniards willed vs to come on land, and we should be welcome, but doubting the worst, the said Walter answered them that they would not come on land, vntill they had answere of their letter which they had brought.

Whereupon one of the Spaniards vnraied himselfe, and lept into the water, and swam to the boat, whom we receiued. And he saluted vs, and demaunded what our request was: we made him answere, that by misfortune we lost the companie of our Admirall, and being bound to this Iland to traffique for wines and other things necessary for vs, do here mind to stay vntill he come.

Concerning our letter he made vs answere, that he would with all diligence cary it, and deliuer it according to the direction, and so the said Walter knit the letter in a bladder, and deliuered it vnto him, and also gaue him foure roials of Spanish money for his paines: and promising that we should haue answere of it, he tooke his leaue and swamme againe on shore, where the people stood ready to receiue him. And after that they had talked with him, and vnderstood

derstood our meaning, some of them threw vp their hats, & the other put them off holding them in their hands, and made vs very curteous signes, alwaies desiring that the boat would come a land, but we resaluting them rowed backe againe aboord.

The 30 day the Gouernors brother of Santa Cruz came aboord the May Flower with sixe or seuen Spaniards with him, who concluded with the Captaine that we might come a shore and traffique with them, but that day we did not, for we had no sufficient pledge of theirs for our assurance. Our Captaine entertained them well, and at their departure gaue them foure pieces of ordinance for a farewell, and bestowed vpon them two cheeses with other things.

The said Gouernors brother promised our Captaine that hee should haue sufficient pledges the morrow folowing, which was not done, whereupon wee grew suspicious, and went not that day a shore.

The first day of Ianuary our captaine sent Nicholas Day and Iohn Sumpter a shore, who were very well entertained with as many of our company as went after them.

In the said Iland is a maruellous high hill called the Pike, which is a far off more like a cloud in the aire, then any other thing: the hill is round and somewhat small at the top, it hath not bene knowen that euer any man could goe vp to the top thereof. And although it stand in 28 degrees which is as hote in Ianuary, as it is in England at Midsommer, yet is the top of the said hil Winter and Sommer seldome without snow.

In this Iland about two leagues from the said Santa Cruz is a citie called Anagona.

The third day wee departed about the Westerne point of the Iland, about 12 or 14 leagues from Santa Cruz, into a Baie which is right agaynst the house of one Petro de Souses, in which Baie we came to an anker the 5 day, where we heard that our Admirall had bene there at an anker 7 dayes before vs, and was gone thence to an Iland called Gomera, whereupon wee set saile presently to seeke him.

They meet their Admirall againe. The 6 day we came to an anker against the towne of Gomera, where we found our Admirall, which was very ioyful of our comming, and we also of his sight.

In the sayd road we found Edward Cooke in a tall ship, and a shippe of the Coppersmiths of Loudon, which the Portugals had trecherously surprised in the Baie of Santa Cruz, vpon the coast of Barbarie, which ship we left there all spoiled.

Our General & marchants bought in the said towne for our prouision, 14 buts of wine, which cost 10 duckats a but, which were offred vs at Santa Cruz in Tenerif for 8, 9, and 10 duckats.

The 9 day we departed from this road to another Baie, about 3 leagues off and there tooke in fresh water: & so the 10 day we set saile towards Cape Blanke, which is on the coast of Guinea.

The 12 day we fell into a Baie to the Eastward of Cape Pargos, which is 35 leagues from Cape Blanke. But hauing no knowledge of that coast, we went with Cape Blanke, and at the fall of the land we sounded and had 16 fadome water two leagues from the shore. The land is very lowe and white sand. Vpon the fall of the sayd coast beware how you borow in 12 or 10 fadome, for within 2 or 3 casts of the lead you may be on ground.

A good caution.

The 17 day we set saile from Cape Blanke, directing our course South and by East & South among, and so fell into a Baie to the Eastward of Cape Verde, about 16 leagues, and about sixe leagues from the shore. The sayd land seemed vnto vs as if it had bene a great number of shippes vnder saile, being indeed nothing els but the land which was full of Hummoks, some high some lowe, with high trees on them. We bare with the said land till we were within 3 leagues of the shore, and then we sounded, and found 28 fadome water, blacke oase. This day we saw much fish in sundry sculs swimming with their noses with the brim of the water.

Cape Verde. Passing along this coast we might see two small round hils, seeming to vs about a league one from the other, which is the Cape, and betweene them are great store of trees, and in all our dayes sailing we saw no land so high as the said two hils.

The 19 day we came to an anker at the Cape, in a roade fast by the Westermost side of two hils in 10 fadome of water where you may ride in flue or sixe fadome, for the ground is faire, and alwayes you shall haue the winde off the shore. And as soone as we were all at an

anker

anker our Generall came aboord vs, and with him the master of the Admirall, whose name was William Bats, and with them the captaine of the Viceadmirall, whose name was master Edward Fenner, and Robert Curtise the master, and dined aboord of vs being in the George, wherein was Captaine Iohn Heiwood, and Iohn Smith of Hampton master, and there we concludéd to goe a land, which was halfe a mile from vs: and by the counsel of William Bats both Captaine and marchants and diuers of the companie went without armour: for he sayd, that although the people were blacke and naked, yet they were ciuill: so that hee would need giue the venter without the consent of the rest to go without weapon. Thus they rowed to shore, where we being in the shippe might see a great companie of Negros naked, walking to and fro by the sea side where the landing place was, waiting for the comming of our men, who came too soone, and landed to their losse as it felt out afterwards.

The foolish rashnes of Wil. Bats pera uading the cumpany to land vnarmed.

There went a shore the Admirals skiffe, and the May Flowers boate, and in them the number of 20 persons or thereabouts, as M. George Fenner the Generall, his brother M. Edward Fenner, Thomas Valentine, Iohn Worme and Francis Leigh marchants, Iohn Haward, William Bats, Nicholas Day, Iohn Tomson and others.

At their comming to the shore there were 100 Negros or vpward, with their bowes and arrowes: our Captaines and merchants talked with them, & according to the vse of the country, the one demanded pledges of the other, & they were content to deliuer 3 of their Negros for 5 of our men. Our 5 mens names were these, Iohn Haward, Wil. Bats, Nich. Day, Ioh. Tomson, & Iohn Curtise: these were deliuered them, and we receiued 3 Negros into our Admirals skiffe.

Our men being a shore among the Negros, began to talke with them, declaring what ware and marchandize we had, as woollen cloth, linnen cloth, iron, cheese & other things. The Negros answered againe, they had ciuet, muske, gold and graines, which pleased our captaines and marchants very well. Then the Negros desired to haue a sight of some of our wares, to the which our marchants were content, and foorthwith sent aboord one of the boats for part of their marchandise, and in the meane time while the boate went to the ship, our fiue men were walking on the shore with the Negros, and our Generall and marchants staied in the other boat by the sea side, hauing the 3 Negros with them.

Ciuet, muske, gold & graines, the commodities of Cape Verde.

Our boate then came againe and brought iron and other marchandise, with bread, wine, and cheese which they gaue vnto them. Then two of the Negros (which were the pledges) made themselues sicke, desiring to goe a shore, promising to send other two for them. Captaine Haiward perceiuing that our men had let the Negros come a shore, asked what they meant, and doubting the worst began to drawe toward the boate, and two or three of the Negros folowed him. And when hee came to the boate they began to stay him, and he made signes vnto them that hee would fetch them more drinke and bread: notwithstanding, when he was entering into the boate, one of them caught him by the breeches and would haue staied him, but hee sprang from him and leapt into the boate, and as soone as hee was in, one of the Negros a shore beganne to blow a pipe, and presently the other Negro that was in our boate sitting on the boates side, and master Wormes sword by him, suddenly drew the sword out of the scabberd, and cast himselfe into the Sea and swamme a shore, and presently the Negros laied handes on our men that were on shore, and tooke three of them with great violence, and tore all their apparell from their backes and left them nothing to couer them, and many of them shot so thicke at our men in our boates, that they could scarse set hand to any Oare to rowe from the shore, yet (by the helpe of God) they got from them with their boates although many of them were hurt with their poysoned arrowes: and the poison is vncurable, if the arrow enter within the skin and drawe blood, and except the poison bee presently suckt out, or the place where any man is hurt bee foorthwith cut away, hee dieth within foure dayes, and within three houres after they bee hurt or pricked, wheresoeuer it be, although but at the litle toe, yet it striketh vp to the heart, and taketh away the stomacke, and causeth the partie marueilously to vomite, being able to brooke neither meat nor drinke.

The Negros trecherie.

The Negros hauing vsed our men with such cruelty, whose names were Nicholas Day, William

liam Bats, and Iohn Tomson, led them away to a towne which was within a mile of the water side, or thereabout.

A French interpreter for Cape Verde.

The 20 day we sent to land a boate or skiffe wherein were eight persons, and one of them was the foresayd Iohn Tomson and our interpreter which was a Frenchman, (for there was one of the Negros which spake good French:) and they caried with them two harquebusses, two targets and a mantell.

The cause of sending them was to learne what ransome they demaunded for Bats and Day whom they detained. And when they came to the shore and told the Negros what they desired, they went and fetched them from among the trees, and brought them loose among fortie or fiftie of them. And being come within a stones cast of the sea side, William Bats brake from them, and ran as fast as he could into the sea towards the boat, and he was not so soone in the water but hee fell downe, either being out of breath or his foote failing him in the sand being soft: so that the Negros came and fell on him and tooke him and haled him, that we thought they had torne him in pieces: for they tore againe all the apparell from his backe, so that some of them caried our men againe to the towne, and the rest shot at vs with their poisoned arrowes, and hurt one of our men called Androwes in the smal of the leg, who being come aboord, (for al that our Surgeons could do) we thought he would haue died.

The danger of poysoned arrowes.

Our Generall (notwithstanding all this villanie) sent agayne to them, and offered them any thing that they desired for the raunsome of our men, but they would not deliuer them: giuing vs this answere: That there was in the foresayd roade, three weekes before wee came, an English shippe which had taken three of their people, and vntill wee did bring or send them againe, wee should not haue our men although wee would giue our three shippes with their furniture.

The answere of the Negros.

The 21 day a French shippe of the burden of 80 tunnes (or thereabouts,) came to the place where we were, being bound to traffique at the Cape: we told them of the detaining of our two men by the Negros: and seeing that these Frenchmen were very well welcome to the Negros, we wished them to see whether they could procure them againe of the Negros, and bring them along with them, and our Generall promised the Frenchmen 100 li. to obtaine them. So wee committed the matter to the Frenchmen and departed.

Of our men that were hurt by the Negros arrowes, foure died, and one to saue his life had his arme cut off. Androwes that was last of all hurt, lay lame not able to helpe himselfe: onely two recouered of their hurts. So we placed other men in the roomes of those that we lost, and set saile.

The 26 day betweene Cape Verde and Bona vista we sawe many flying fishes of the bignesse of herrings, whereof two flew into our boat, which we towed at our sterne.

Bona vista.

The 28 day we fell with an Iland called Bona vista, which is from Cape Verde 86 leagues. The Northside of the sayde Iland is full of white sandie hils and dales, and somewhat high land.

The sayd day wee came to an anker within the Westermost point, about a league within the point, and found in our sounding faire sand in ten fadome water, but you may go neere till you be in fiue or six fadome, for the ground is faire.

As soone as we were at an anker, our Generall sent his pinnasse a land, and found fiue or sixe small houses, but the people were fled into the mountains: and the next day he sent a shore againe, and met with two Portugals, who willingl w at aboord with his men, and at their comming he welcommed them, although they were but poore & simple, and gaue each of them a paire of shoes, and so set them a shore againe.

The 30 day we weighed & sailed into a Bay within a smal Iland about a league from vs, and tooke plentie of diuers sortes of fishe. The foresayd Iland lieth in sixteene degrees. And if you meane to anker in the said Bay, you may borow in foure or fiue fadome of the South-

A good admonition.

ermost point of the sayd Iland, which you may see when you ride in the road. But beware of the middle of the Baie, for there lieth a ledge of rocks, which at a lowe water breaketh, yet there is three fadome water ouer them.

The last day of Ianuarie our Generall with certaine of his men went a shore in the Baie to the houses, where he found 12 Portugals. In all the Iland there were not aboue 30 persons, which were banished men for a time, some for more yeeres, some for lesse, and amongst them there was one simple man which was their captaine. Banished Portugals.

They liue vpon goats flesh, cocks, hennes, and fresh water: other victuals they haue none, sauing fish, which they esteeme not, neither haue they any boats to take them.

They reported that this Iland was giuen by the king of Portugall to one of his gentlemen, who hath let it foorth to rent for one hundreth duckats a yeere, which rent is reared onely in goats skinnes. For by their speaches there hath bene sent foorth of the sayd Iland into Portugall 40000 skins in one yeere. Great store of goates.

We were to these men marueilously welcome, and to their powers very wel entertained, and they gaue vs the flesh of as many hee-goates as wee would haue, and tooke much paines for vs in taking them, and bringing them from the mountains vpon their asses.

They haue there great store of the oyle of Tortoises, which Tortoise is a fish which swimmeth in the Sea, with a shell on his backe as broad as a target. It raineth not in this Iland but in three moneths of the yeere, from the midst of July to the midst of October, and it is here alwayes very hote. Kine haue bene brought hither, but by reason of the heate and drought they haue died.

The 3 of February wee departed from this Iland, and the same day fell with another Iland called the Iland of Maiyo, which is 14 leagues from the other Iland: there is in the midst of the way between these two Ilands a danger which is alwayes to be seene. The Ile of Maiyo.

We ankred in the Northwest side of the sayd Ile in a faire Baie of eight fadomes water and faire sand, but here we staied not, but the fourth day weighed and sailed to another Iland called S. Iago, which lieth off the said Iland of Maiyo East and by South, and about fiue leagues one from the other. Being come within the Westermost point, we saw a faire road, and a small towne by the water side, and also a fort or platforme by it: there we purposed to come to anker, and our marchants to make some sale. But before we came within their shot, they let flie at vs two pieces, whereupon we went roomer and sailed along the shore two or three leagues from the road, where we found a small Baie and two or three small houses, where we came to an anker in 14 fadome faire ground. S. Iago.

Within an houre after we had ankered we might see diuers horsemen and footmen on the land right against vs riding and running to and fro.

The next day being the fift of Februarie, a great companie of their horsemen and footemen appeared on the shoare side, vnto whom our Generall sent to vnderstande whether they would quietly trafike with vs: And they sent him worde againe, desiring that they might speake with him, promising that if he came to trafike as a marchant he should be welcome, and also that he should haue any thing that he or the marchant would with reason demaund.

When this answere was brought vnto our Generall he was very glad thereof and the whole companie, and presently (with as much speede as he could) he caused his boates to be made readie: but doubting the villanie of the Portugales, he armed his boates putting a double base in the head of his pinnesse, and two single bases in the head of the Skiffe, and so sent to the May-floure and the George, and willed them in like sort to man their two boates.

These boates being thus manned and well appointed, our Generall entered into his Skiffe, and with the rest rowed to the shoare where were threescore horsemen or more, and two hundreth footemen readie to receiue them. Our Generall marueiled that they came in so great a number and all armed, and therefore with a flagge of truce sent to them to knowe their pleasure; and they answered him with many faire promises and othes, that their pretence was all true, and that they meant like Gentlemen, and Marchantes to trafike with him, declaring also that their Captaine was comming to speake with him, and therefore desired our Generall to come and speake with him himselfe.

With this answere the boate returned, and then our Generall caused his pinnesse to rowe to them, and as he came neere the shoare they came in a great companie with much obeysance, opening their hands and armes abroade, bowing themselues with their bonnets off, with as much humble salutations outwardly as they might: earnestly desiring our Generall and

Marchants to come on lande to them, whereunto he would not agree without sufficient gages of Gentlemen and Marchants. At length they promised to sende two gages to our Generals contentment, promising fresh water, victuall, money, or Negroes for ware, if it were such as they liked: and therefore desired our Generall and Marchants to sende them a shoare in writing the quantitie of their wares, and the names of them: all which our Generall departed to performe, looking for their answere the morrowe following. And being gone a litle from the shoare, he caused his bases, curriers, and harquebusses to be shot off, and our ships in like case shot off fiue or sixe pieces of great ordinance, and so came aboord to prepare the note. The Portugales most of them departed, sauing those that were left to watch and to receiue the note, which about foure or fiue a clocke in the afternoone was sent, and it was receiued. But all the purposes of the Portugals were villainously to betray vs (as shal appeare hereafter) although we meant in truth and honestie, friendly to trafike with them.

The treason of the Portugals in S. Iago to our men.

There was to the Westwards of vs and about two leagues from vs, a towne behinde a point fast by the sea side, where they had certaine Carauels, or shippes and also two Brigandines, whereof they (with all the speede that they might) made readie foure Carauels, and both the brigandines which were like two Gallies, and furnished them both with men and ordinance as much as they could carrie, and as soone as it was night, they came rowing and falling towardes vs: so that the land being high and weather somewhat cloude or mystie, and they comming all the way close vnder the shoare we could not see them till they were right against one of our ships called the May-floure.

By this time it was about one or two of the clocke in the morning, and the May-floure roade neerer them then the other two by a base shotte, so they made a sure account either to haue taken her or burnt her. In the meane time our men that had the watch (litle thinking of such villainous treacheries after so many faire wordes) were singing and playing one with the other and made such a noyse, that (being but a small gale of winde, and riding neere the lande) they might heare vs from the shoare: so that we supposed that they made account that we had espyed them, which indeede we had not, neither had any one piece of ordinance primed, or any other thing in a readinesse.

They came so neere vs that they were within gunshot of vs, & then one of our men chanced to see a light, & then looking out spied the 4 ships, and suddenly cried out, Gallies, gallies, at which cry we were all amazed, and foorthwith they shot at vs all the great ordinance that they had, and their harquebusses, and curriers, and so lighted certaine tronkes or pieces of wilde fire, and all of them with one voice (as well they on the shoare as they in the shippes) gaue a great shoute, and so continued hallowing with great noyses, still approaching neerer and neerer vnto the May-floure. We (with all the speede that we might) made readie one piece of ordinance and shotte at them, which caused them somewhat to stay, so they charged their ordinance and shot at vs freshly againe, and while they shotte this second time at vs, we had made readie three pieces which we shot at them, but they approched still so neere, that at last we might haue shot a sheafe arrowe to them. Wherevpon we hauing a gale of winde off the shoare hoysed our foresayle, and cut our cable at the hawse, and went towarde our Admirall, and they continued following and shooting at vs, and sometime at our Admirall, but our Admirall shotte one such piece at them, that it made them to retire, and at length to warpe away like traiterous villaines, and although they thus suddenly shot all their shot at vs, yet they hurt neither man or boye of ours, but what we did to them we know not.

The Ile of Fuego.

But seeing the villanie of these men we thought it best to stay there no longer, but immediatly set sayle towardes an Iland called Fuego, 12 leagues from the said Iland of S. Iago. At which Island of Fuego we came to an anker the 11. day of this moneth, against a white chappell in the West end of the sayd Iland, within halfe a league of a litle towne, and within a league or thereabout of the vttermost point of the said Island.

In this Island is a marueilous high hill which doth burne continually, and the inhabitants reported that about three yeeres past the whole Island was like to be burned with the abundance of fire that came out of it.

About

About a league from the chappel to the Westward is a goodly spring of fresh water, where we had as much as we would. Wheate they haue none growing here, but a certaine seede that they call Mill, and certaine peason like Guinie peason, which Mill maketh good breade, but they haue here good store of rother beasts and goates. Their marchandize is cotton, which groweth there. Mill. Cotton in Fuego

The inhabitants are Portugals which haue cõmandement from the king to trafike neither with Englishmen nor Frenchmen for victuall or any other thing, except they be forced so to doe.

There lieth off this Island another called Ila Braua, which is not passing two leagues ouer, it hath good store of goates and many trees, but there are not passing three or foure persons dwelling in it. The Ile of Braua.

The 25 day of February we departed towardes the Islands of Azores: and on the 23 day of March we had sight of one of them called Flores, and then wee might see another Island to the Northward of it called Cueruo, lying two leagues or thereabouts off the other. They returne. March.

The 27 we came to an anker in Cueruo ouer against a village of about twelue simple houses; but in the night by a gale of winde, which caused vs to drawe our anker after vs we hoysed sayle and went to the aforesayd Island of Flores, where we sawe strange streames of water running downe from the high cliffes by reason of the great abundance of raine that had suddenly fallen.

The 29 day we came againe to Cueruo and cast anker, but a storme arose and continued seuen or eight houres together, so that we let slip a cable and anker, and after the storme was alayed we came againe thinking to haue recouered the same, but the Portugals had either taken it, or spoiled it: the cable was new and neuer wet before, and both the cable and anker were better worth then 40 li. So that we accompt our selues much beholding to the honest Portugales.

The 18 day of April we tooke in water at the Island of Flores, and hauing ankered, our cable was fretted in sunder with a rocke and so burst, where wee lost that cable and anker also, and so departed to our coast. April.

Then wee set sayle to an Islande named Faial, about the which lie three other Islands, the one called Pico, the other Saint George, and the other Graciosa, which we had sight of on the eight and twentieth day.

The 29 we came to an anker in the Southwest side of Faial in a faire bay, and 22 fadom water against a litle towne where we had both fresh water and fresh victuall. In this Iland by the report of the inhabitants, there groweth certaine greene woad, which by their speeches is farre better then the woad of S. Michael or of Tercera. Woad.

The 8 day of May we came to Tercera where we met with a Portugall ship, and being destitute of a cable and anker, our Generall caused vs to keepe her companie, to see if she could conueniently spare vs any. The next morning we might see hearing with vs a great shippe and two Carauels, which we iudged to be of the king of Portugals Armada, and so they were, whereupon we prepared our selues for our defence. The said ship was one of the kings Galliasses, about the burden of foure hundred tunnes, with about three hundred men in her, the shippe being well appointed with brasse pieces both great and small, and some of them so bigge that their shot was as great as a mans head, the other two Carauels were also very warlike and well appointed both with men and munition. May. A Portugall Goliasse of 400 tunnes.

As soone as they were within shotte of vs, they waued vs amaine with their swords, we keeping our course, the greatest shippe shot at vs freely and the caranell also, and we prepared our selues, and made all things cleare for our safegard as neere as we could. Then the great shippe shot at vs all her broad side, and her foure greatest pieces that lay in her sterne, and therewith hurt some of our men, and we did the best we could with our shot to requite it. At last two other Carauels came off the shoare, and two other pinnesses full of men, and deliuered them aboord the great shippe, and so went backe againe with two men in a piece of them. The ship and the Carauell gaue vs the first day three fights, and when the night was come they left off shooting, yet notwithstanding kept hard by vs all the night. In the meane A fight between one English ship and 7 Portugals.

time we had as much as wee could doe all the night to mende our ropes, and to strengthen our bulwarkes, putting our trust in God, and resoluing our selues rather to die in our defence then to bee taken by such wretches.

The next day being the 10 of May in the morning, there were come to aide the said Portugals foure great Armadas or Carauels more which made seuen, of which 4 three of them were at the least 100 tunnes a piece, the other not so bigge, but all well appointed and full of men. All these together came bearing with vs being in our Admirall, and one of the great Carauels came to lay vs aboorde (as we iudged) for they had prepared their false nettings, and all things for that purpose, so that the Gallias came vp in our larboord side, and the Carauell in our starboord side.

Our Captaine and Master perceiuing their pretence, caused our gunners to make all our ordinance readie with crossebarres, chaineshotte and haileshot: so the ship and Carauell came vp, and as soone as they were right in our sides, they shotte at vs as much ordinance as they could, thinking to haue layde vs presently aboord: whereupon we gaue them such a heate with both our sides, that they were both glad to fall asterne of vs, & so paused the space of two or three houres being a very small gale of winde.

Then came vp the other fiue and shot all at vs, and so fell all asterne of vs, & then went to counsell together.

Then our small barke named the George came to vs, and wee conferred together a great space. And as the Portugall shippes and Carauels were comming to vs againe, our barke minding to fall asterne of vs and so to come vp againe, fell quickly vpon the lee, and by reason of the litle winde, it was so long before she could fill her sailes againe, that both the shippe and Carauels were come vp to vs, and she falling in among them made reasonable shift with them, but they got a head of her, so that she could not fetch vs: then 5 of the Carauels followed her, but we saw she defended her selfe against them all.

Then came the great shippe and the Carauell to vs, and fought with vs all that day with their ordinance.

The May-floure our other consort being very good by the winde, tooke the benefite thereof and halde all that day close by the winde, but could not come neere vs. So when night againe was come, they gaue ouer their fight and followed vs all the night.

In these many fights it could not otherwise be but needes some of our men must be slaine, (as they were indeede) and diuers hurt, and our tackle much spoyled: yet for all this we did our best indeuour to repaire all things, and to stand to it to the death with our assured trust in the mercie and helpe of God.

This night the May-floure came vp to vs, and our Captaine tolde them his harmes and spoyles, and wished them if they could spare halfe a dosen fresh men to hoyse out their boate and sende them to him, but they could not spare any, and so bare away againe. Which when our enemies sawe in the next morning that we were one from another, they came vp to vs againe and gaue vs a great fight with much hallowing and hooping, making accompt either to boorde vs or els to sinke vs: but although our companie was but small, yet least they should see vs any whit dismayed, when they hallowed we hallowed also as fast as they, and waued to them to come and boorde vs if they durst, but that they would not, seeing vs still so couragious: and hauing giuen vs that day foure fights, at night they forsooke vs with shame, as they came to vs at the first with pride.

The 7 Portugals depart with shame from one English ship.

They had made in our ship some leakes with their shot which we againe stopped with al speed, and that being done, we tooke some rest after our long labour and trouble.

The next day in the morning the May-floure came to vs, and brought vs sixe men in her boate which did vs much pleasure, and we sent to them some of our hurt men.

Iune. Then we directed our course for our owne countrey, and by the second day of Iune we were neere to our owne coast and sounded being thwart the Lyzard.

The third day we had sight of a shippe which was a Portugall, who bare with vs, and at his comming to vs (the weather being calme) our Captaine caused him to hoyse foorth his boate to come aboord to speake with him, and at their comming our Captaine and Marchants demanded

demanded of them what ware they had, and whither they were bound, and they made answere that their lading was sugar and cotton. Then our Captaine and Marchants shewed them fiue Negroes that we had, and asked them whither they would buy them, which they were very desirous to doe. and agreed to giue for them 40 chests of sugar, which chests were small hauing not aboue 36 loaues in a piece: so they with their boate did fetch fiue of the chestes and deliuered them and went for more, and when they had laden their boate and were come againe, we might see bearing with vs a great ship and a small, which our Captaine supposed to be men of warre or Rouers, and then willed the Portugales to carie their sugar to their ship againe, purposing to make our selues readie for our defence. But the Portugales earnestly intreated our Captaine not so to forsake them, and promised him (if he would safegard them) to giue him aboue the bargaine ten chests of sugar: whereupon our Captaine was content, and the Portugall not being good of sayle, we spared our topsayles for her; so at last the foresaid ship bare with vs, and (seeing that we did not feare them) gaue vs ouer. And the next morning came two others bearing with vs, and seeing vs not about to flie a iot from them forsooke vs also.

A Portugall ship (notwithstanding all their vilanies) defended by our men from Rouers.

The 5 day of June we had sight of the Stert, and about noone we were thwart of the bay of Lime, and so sounded and had 35 fadom water.

The sixt day we came in at the Needles and so came to an anker vnder the Isle of Wight at a place called Meadhole, and from thence sayled to Southhampton where we made an ende of this voyage.

The Ambassage of M. Edmund Hogan, one of the sworne Esquires of her Maiesties person, from her Highnesse to Mully Abdelmelech Emperour of Marocco, and king of Fes and Sus: in the yeere 1577, written by himselfe.

I Edmund Hogan being appointed Ambassadour from the Queenes Maiestie to the aboue named Emperour and King Mully Abdelmelech, departed with my company and seruants from London the two and twentie day of April 1577, being imbarked in the good ship called the Gallion of London, and arriued in Azafi a port of Barbarie the one and twentie day of May next following. Immediatly I sent Leonell Edgerton a shoare with my letters directed to Iohn Williams and Iohn Bampton, who dispatched a Trottero to Marocco to knowe the kings pleasure for my repaire to the Court, which letters came to their hands on the Thursday night.

M. Hogan his arriuall at Azafi in Barbarie. May.

They with all speede gaue the king vnderstanding of it, who being glad thereof speeded the next day certaine Captaines with souldiers and tents, with other prouision to Azafi: so that vpon Whitsunday at night the said Captaines with Iohn Bampton, Robert Washborne, and Robert Lion, and the kings officers came late to Azafi.

In the meane time I remained a boord, and caused some of the goods to be discharged for lightning of the shippe, and I wrote in my letter that I would not lande, till I knewe the Kings pleasure.

The 22 day being Saturday, the Make-speede arriued in the roade about two of the clocke in the afternoone.

The 27 day, being Whitsunday, came aboord the Gallion Iohn Bampton, and others, giuing me to vnderstande how much the King reioyced of my safe arriuall, comming from the Queenes Maiestie, and how that for my safe conduct to the Court he had sent foure Captaines and an hundred souldiers well appointed, with a horse furnished which he vsed himselfe to ride on with all other furniture accordingly: they wished mee also to come on lande in the best order I could, as well for my selfe as my men, which I did, hauing to the number of tenne men, whereof three were trumpetters.

The ships being foure appointed themselues in the best order they could for the best shew, and shot off all their ordinance to the value of twentie Markes in powder.

At my comming a shoare, I found all the souldiers well appointed on horsebacke, the Captaines and the Gouernour of the towne standing as neere the water side as they could, with a lennet

a Iennet of the kings, and receiued mee from the boate declaring how glad his Maiestie was of my safe arriuall, comming from the Queenes Maiestie my Mistresse, and that hee had sent them to attend vpon me, it being his pleasure that I should tarie there on shore fiue or sixe dayes for my refreshing.

So being mounted vpon the Iennet, they conducted mee through the Towne into a faire fielde vpon the Sea-side where was a tent prouided for mee, and all the ground spread with Turkie carpets, and the Castle discharged a peale of ordinance, and all things necessarie were brought into my tent, where I both tooke my table and lodging, and had other conuenient tents for my seruants.

The souldiers enuironed the tents, and watched about vs day and night as long as I lay there, although I sought my speedier dispatch.

In Barbarie they haue no Innes but they lodge in open fielder where they can find water.

On the Wednesday towards night, I tooke my horse and traueiled ten miles to the first place of water that we could finde, and there pitched our tents till the next morning, and so traueiled till ten of the clocke, and then pitched our tents till foure, and so traueiled as long as day light would suffer about 26 miles that day.

The next day being Friday I traueiled in like order but eight and twentie miles at the most, and by a Riuer being about sixe miles within sight of the Citie of Marocco we pitched our tents.

Immediatly after came all our English marchants, and the French on horsebacke to meete me, and before night there came an Alcayde from the king with fiftie men, & diuers mules laden with victuall and banket, for my supper, declaring vnto me how glad the king shewed himselfe to heare of the Queenes Maiestie, and that his pleasure was I should be receiued into his countrey as neuer any Christian the like: and desired to knowe what time the next day I would come into his citie, because he would that all the Christians as also his nobilitie should meete me, and willed Iohn Bampton to be with him early in the morning, which he did.

The singular humanitie of the king to our Ambassadour.

About seuen of the clocke being accompanied with the French and English marchants, and a great number of souldiers, I passed towards the citie, and by that time I had traueiled 2 miles, there met me all the Christians of the Spaniards and Portugals to receiue me, which I knowe was more by the kings commandement then of any good wils of themselues: for some of them although they speake me faire hung downe their heads like dogs, and especially the Portugales, and I countenanced them accordingly.

The Spaniards and Portugales were commanded by the king in paine of death, to meete the English Ambassadour.

So I passed on till I came within two English miles of the Citie, and then Iohn Bampton returned, shewing me that the king was so glad of my comming, that hee could not deuise to doe too much, to shewe the good will that hee did owe to the Queenes Maiestie, and her Realme.

His counsellors met me without the gates, and at the entrie of the gates, his footmen & guard were placed on both sides of my horse, and so brought me to the kings palace.

The king sate in his chaire with his Counsell about him, as well the Moores as the Elchies, and according to his order giuen vnto me before, I there declared my message in Spanish, and made deliuerie of the Queenes Maiesties letters, and all that I spake at that present in Spanish, hee caused one of his Elchies to declare the same to the Moores present, in the Larbe tongue.

Which done, he answered me againe in Spanish, yeelding to the Queenes Maiestie great thankes, and offering himselfe and his countrey to bee at her Graces commaundement, and then commaunded certaine of his Counsellers to conduct mee to my lodging, not being farre from the Court.

The house was faire after the fashion of that countrey, being daily well furnished with al kind of victuall at the kings charge.

The same night he sent for mee to the Court, and I had conference with him about the space of two houres, where I throughly declared the charge committed vnto mee from her Maiestie, finding him conformable, willing to pleasure and not to vrge her Maiestie with any demaundes,

demaundes, more then conueniently shee might willingly consent vnto, hee knowing that out of his countrey the Realme of England might be better serued with lackes, then hee in comparison from vs.

Further he gaue me to vnderstand, that the king of Spaine had sent vnto him for a licence, that an Ambassadour of his might come into his countrey, and had made great meanes that if the Queenes maiesty of England sent any vnto him, that he would not giue him any credit or intertainment, albeit (said he) I know what the king of Spaine is, and what the Queene of England and her Realme is: for I neither like of him nor of his religion, being so gouerned by the Inquisition that he can doe nothing of himselfe. The king of Spaine sought to disgrace the Queene & her Ambassadour.

Therefore when he commeth vpon the licence which I haue granted, he shall well see how litle account I will make of him and Spaine, and how greatly I will extoll you for the Queenes maiestie of England.

He shall not come to my presence as you haue done, and shall dayly: for I minde to accept of you as my companion and one of my house, whereas he shall attend twentie dayes after he hath done his message.

After the end of this speech I deliuered Sir Thomas Greshams letters, when as he tooke me by the hand, and led me downe a long court to a palace where there ranne a faire fountaine of water, and there sitting himselfe in a chaire, he commanded me to sit downe in another, and there called for such simple Musicians as he had.

Then I presented him with a great base Lute, which he most thankfully accepted, and then he was desirous to heare of the Musicians, and I tolde him that there was great care had to prouide them, and that I did not doubt but vpon my returne they should come with the first ship. He is willing to giue them good intertainment with prouision of victuall, and to let them liue according to their law and conscience wherein he vrgeth none to the contrary. The king of Barbarie sent into England for Musicians.

I finde him to be one that liueth greatly in the feare of God, being well exercised in the Scriptures, as well in the olde Testament as also in the New, and he beareth a greater affection to our Nation then to others because of our religion, which forbiddeth worship of Idols, and the Moores called him the Christian king.

The same night being the first of Iune, I continued with him till twelue of the clocke, and he seemed to haue so good liking of me, that he tooke from his girdle a short dagger being set with 200 stones, rubies and turkies, and did bestow it vpon me, and so I being conducted returned to my lodging for that time. A rich gift bestowed vpon our Ambassadour.

The next day because he knew it to be Sunday & our Sabboth day he did let me rest. But on the Munday in the afternoone he sent for me, and I had conference with him againe, and musicke.

Likewise on the Tuesday by three of the clocke he sent for me into his garden, finding him layd vpon a silke bed complayning of a sore leg: yet after long conference he walked into another Orchard, where as hauing a faire banketting-house and a great water, and a new gallie in it, he went aboord the gallie and tooke me with him, and passed the space of two or three houres, shewing the great experience he had in Gallies, wherein (as he said) he had exercised himselfe eighteene yeres in his youth.

After supper he shewed me his horses and other commodities that he had about his house, and since that night I haue not seene him, for that he hath kept in with his sore legge, but he hath sent to me daily.

The 13 of Iune at sixe of the clocke at night I had againe audience of the king, and I continued with him till midnight, hauing debated as well for the Queenes commission as for the well dealing with her marchants for their traffike here in these parts, saying, he would do much more for the Queenes maiesty and the Realme, offering that all English ships with her subiects may with good securitie enter into his ports and dominions as well in trade of marchandise, as for victuall & water, as also in time of warre with any her enemies to bring in prises and to make sales as occasion should serue, or else to depart againe with them at their pleasure. Iune. The offers of the king to our English merchants.

Likewise for all English ships that shall passe along his coast of Barbarie, & thorow the

straites into the Leuant seas, that he would graunt safe conduct that the said ships and marchants with their goods might passe into the Leuant seas, and so to the Turks dominions, and the king of Argiers, as his owne, and that he would write to the Turke and to the king of Argier his letters for the well vsing of our ships and goods.

Also that hereafter no Englishmen that by any meanes may be taken captiues, shall be solde within any of his dominions: whereupon I declared that the Queenes maiesty accepting of these his offers was pleased to confirme the intercourse & trade of our marchants within this his countrey, as also to pleasure him with such commodities as he should haue need of, to furnish the necessities and wants of his countrey in trade of marchandize, so as he required nothing contrarie to her honour and law, and the breach of league with the Christian princes her neighbours.

A good prouiso.

The same night I presented the king with the case of combes, and desired his maiestie to haue special regard that the ships might be laden backe againe, for that I found litle store of salt-peter in readinesse in Iohn Bamptons hands. He answered me that I should haue all the assistance therein that he could, but that in Sus he thought to haue some store in his house there, as also that the Mountayners had made much in a readinesse: I requested that he would send downe, which he promised to doe.

The eighteene day I was with him againe and so continued there till night, and he shewed me his house with pastime in ducking with water-Spaniels, and baiting buls with his English dogges.

At this time I moued him againe for the sending downe to Sus, which he granted to doe, and the 24. day there departed Alcayde Mammie, with Lionell Edgerton, and Rowland Guy to Sus, and caried with them for our accompts and his company the kings letters to his brother Muly Hammet, and Alcayde Shauan, and the Viceroy.

The 23. day the king sent me out of Marocco to his garden called Shersbonare, with his gard, and Alcayde Mamoute, and the 24. at night I came to the court to see a Morris dance, and a play of his Elchies. He promised me audience the next day being Tuesday, but he put it off till Thursday: and the Thursday at night I was sent for to the king after supper, and then he sent Alcayde Rodwan, and Alcayde Gowry to conferre with me, but after a little talke I desired to be brought to the King for my dispatch. And being brought to him, I preferred two bils of Iohn Bamptons which he had made for prouision of Salt-peter: also two bils for the quiet traffique of our English Marchants, and bils for sugars to be made by the Iewes, as well for the debts past, as hereafter, and for good order in the Ingenios. Also I moued him againe for the Salt-peter, and other dispatches, which he referred to be agreed vpon by the two Alcaydes. But the Friday being the 20. the Alcaydes could not intend it, and vpon Saturday Alcayde Rodwan fell sicke, so on Sunday we made meanes to the King, and that afternoone I was sent for to conferre vpon the bargaine with the Alcaydes and others, but did not agree.

Vpon Tuesday I wrote a letter to the King for my dispatch, and the same afternoone I was called againe to the Court, and referred all things to the King, accepting his offer of Salt-peter.

That night againe the King had me into his Gallie, and the Spaniels did hunt the ducke.

The Thursday I was appointed to way the 300. kintals grosse of Salt-peter, and that afternoone the Tabybe came vnto mee to my lodging, shewing mee that the king was offended with Iohn Bampton for diuers causes.

The Sunday night late being the 7. of July, I got the King to forgiue all to Iohn Bampton, and the King promised me to speake againe with me vpon Munday.

Vpon Tuesday I wrote to him againe for my dispatch, and then hee sent Fray Lewes to mee, and said that he had order to write.

Vpon Wednesday I wrote againe, and he sent me word that vpon Thursday I should come and be dispatched, so that I should depart vpon Friday without faile, being the twelfth of Iuly.

So the Friday after according to the kings order & appointment I went to the court, & whereas motion and petition was made for the confirmation of the demaunds which I had pre-

ferred, they were all granted, and likewise the priuileges which were on the behalfe of our English marchants requested, were with great fauour and readinesse yeelded vnto. And whereas the Iews there resident were to our men in certaine round summes indebted, the Emperors pleasure and commandement was, that they should without further excuse or delay, pay and discharge the same. And thus at length I was dismissed with great honour and speciall countenance, such as hath not ordinarily bene shewed to other Ambassadors of the Christians. The Emperor of Maroco his priuileges to the English.

And touching the priuate affaires *intreated* vpon betwixt *her* Maiestie and the *Emperour*, I had letters from him to satisfie her highnesse therein. So to conclude, hauing receiued the *like honourable* conduct from his Court, as I had *for my part at my first landing*, I embarked my selfe with my foresaid company, and arriuing not long after in England, I repaired to her Maiesties court, & ended my Ambassage to her highnesse good liking, with relation of my seruice performed.

The voyage of Thomas Stukeley, wrongfully called Marques of Ireland, into Barbary 1578. Written by Iohannes Thomas Freigius in Historia de cæde Sebastiani Regis Lusitaniæ.

VEnerant autem ad regem etiam sexcenti Itali, quos Papa subministrarat, Comiti Irlandiæ: qui cum Vlissiponem tribus instructis nauibus appulisset Regi operam suam condixit, eumque in bellum sequi promisit. Cap. 7.

Totum exercitum diuisit in quatuor acies quadratas: In dextro latere primum agmen erat Velitum & militum Tingitanorum, eósque ducebat Aluarus Peresius de Tauara: sinistram aciem seu mediam tenebant Germani & Itali, quibus imperabat Marchio Irlandiæ, &c. Cap. 11.

Inter nobiles qui in hoc prælio ceciderunt, fuerunt, præter regem Sebastianum, dux de Auero, Episcopi Conimbricensis & Portuensis, Commissarius generalis à Papa missus Marchio Irlandiæ, Christophorus de Tauora, & plures alij. Cap. 13.

The same in English.

THere came also to Don Sebastian the King of Portugal 600. Italians, whom the Pope sent vnder the conduct of the *Marques of Irland: who being arriued at Lisbone with three tall ships, proffered his seruice to the king, and promised to attend vpon him in the warres, &c. Thomas Stukeley was wrongfully indued with this title.

He diuided the whole Armie into 4. squadrons: vpon the right wing stood the first squadron, consisting of men lightly armed or skirmishers and of the souldiers of Tangier, Generall of whom was Don Aluaro Perez de Tauara: the left or midle squadron consisted of Germanes and Italians, vnder the command of the Marques of Irland, &c. cap. 7.

Of Noblemen were slaine in this battel (besides Don Sebastian the king) the duke de Anero, the two bishops of Coimbra & of Porto, the Marques of Irland sent by the Pope as his Commissary generall, Christopher de Tauara, and many others. cap. 13.

IT is further also to be remembred, that diuers other English gentlemen were in this battell, whereof the most part were slaine; and among others M. Christopher Lyster was taken captiue, and was there long detained in miserable seruitude. Which gentleman although at length he happily escaped the cruel hands of the Moores; yet returning home into England, and for his manifold good parts being in the yeere 1566. employed by the honourable the Earle of Cumberland, in a voyage intended by the Streights of Magellan for the South sea, as Vice-admirall, (wherein he shewed singular resolution and courage) and appointed afterward in diuers places of speciall command and credite, was last of all miserably drowned in a great and rich Spanish prize vpon the coast of Cornwall.

Certaine reports of the prouince of China learned through the Portugals there imprisoned, and chiefly by the relation of Galeotto Perera, a Gentleman of good credit, that lay prisoner in that Countrey many yeeres. Done out of Italian into English by Richard Willes.

Fuquien. This land of China is parted into 13. Shires, the which sometimes were ech one a kingdome by it selfe, but these many yeeres they haue bene all subiect vnto one King. Fuquien is made by the Portugals the first Shire, because there their troubles began, & they had occasion thereby to know the rest. In this shire be 8. cities, but one principally more famous then others called Fuquieo, the other seuen are reasonably great, the best knowen whereof

Cinceo. vnto the Portugals is Cinceo, in respect of a certaine hauen ioyning thereunto, whither in time past they were wont for marchandise to resort.

Cantan. Cantan is the second shire, not so great in quantitie, as well accompted of, both by the king thereof, and also by the Portugals, for that it lieth neerer vnto Malacca then any other part of China, and was first discried by the Portugals before any other shire in that prouince: this shire hath in it seuen Cities.

Chequeam. Chequeam is the third shire, the chiefest Citie therein is Donchion, therein also standeth

& Liampo, with other 13. or 14. boroughes; countrey townes therin are too too many to be spoken of.

Xutiamfu. The fourth shire is called Xutiamfu, the principall Citie thereof is great Pachin, where the King is alwayes resident. In it are fifteene other very great Cities: of other townes therein, and boroughes well walled and trenched about, I will say nothing.

Chelim. The fift shire hath name Chelim: the great Citie Nanquin chiefe of other fifteene cities was herein of ancient time the royall seat of the Chinish kings. From this shire, & from the aforesaid Chequeam forward bare rule the other kings, vntil the whole region became one kingdome.

Quinci, or, Quiuli. The 6. shire beareth the name Quianci, as also the principal City thereof, wherein the fine clay to make vessels is wrought. The Portugals being ignorant of this Countrey, and finding great abundance of that fine clay to be solde at Liampo, and that very good cheape, thought at the first that it had bene made there, howbeit in fine they perceiued that the standing of Quinzi more neere vnto Liampo then to Cinceo or Cantan was the cause of so much fine clay at Liampo: within the compasse of Quinci shire be other 12. cities.

The 7. shire is Quicin, the 8. Quansi, the 9. Confu, the 10. Vrnan, the 11. Sichiua. In the first hereof there be 16. Cities, in the next 15: how many Townes the other 3. haue, wee are ignorant as yet, as also of the proper names of the 12. and 13. shires, and the townes therein.

This finally may be generally said hereof, that the greater shires in China prouince may bee compared with mightie kingdomes.

In eche one of these shires bee set Ponchiassini and Anchiassini, before whom are handled the matters of other Cities. There is also placed in ech one a Tutan, as you would say, a gouernour, and a Chian, that is a visiter, as it were: whose office is to goe in circuit, and to see iustice exactly done. By these meanes so vprighly things are ordered there, that it may be worthily accompted one of the best gouerned prouinces in all the world.

Pachin. The king maketh alwayes his abode in the great city Pachin, as much to say in our language, as by the name thereof I am aduertised, the towne of the kingdome. This kingdome is so large, that vnder fiue monethes you are not able to trauaile from the Townes by the Sea side to the Court, and backe againe, no not vnder three monethes in poste at your vrgent businesse. The post-horses in this Countrey are lite of body, but swift of foote. Many doe traueile the greater part of this iourney by water in certaine light barkes, for the multitude of Riuers commodious for passage from one Citie to another.

Their monethe. The king, notwithstanding the hugenesse of his kingdome, hath such a care thereof, that euery Moone (for by the Moones they reckon their monethes) he is aduertised fully of whatsoeuer thing happeneth therein, by these meanes following.

The whole prouince being diuided into shires, and ech shire hauing in it one chiefe and principall Citie, whereunto the matters of all the other Cities, Townes and boroughes, are brought, there are drawen in euery chiefe Citie aforesaid intelligences of such things as doe monethly fall out, and be sent in writing to the Court. If happely in one moneth euery Post be not able to goe so long a way, yet doeth there notwithstanding once euery moneth arriue one Poste out of the shire. Who so cõmeth before the new moone stayeth for the deliuery of his letters vntil the moone be changed. Then likewise are dispatched other Posts backe into all the 13. shires againe.

Before that we doe come to Cinceo wee haue to passe through many places, and some of great importance. For this Countrey is so well inhabited neere the Sea side, that you cannot goe one mile but you shall see some Towne, borough or hostry, the which are so aboundantly prouided of all things, that in the Cities and townes they liue ciuily. Neuertheless such as dwel abrode are very poore, for the multitude of them euery where is so great, that out of a tree you shall see many times swarme a number of children, where a man would not haue thought to haue found any one at all.

From these places in number infinite, you shall come vnto two Cities very populous, and, being compared with Cinceo, not possibly to be discerned which is the greater of them. These Cities are as well walled as any Cities in all the world. As you come into either of them, there standeth so great and mighty a bridge, that the like thereof I haue neuer seene in Portugal nor else where. I heard one of my fellowes say, that hee tolde in one bridge 40. arches. The occasion wherefore these bridges are made so great is, for that the Countrey is toward the sea very plaine and low, and ouerflowed euer as the sea water encreaseth. The breadth of the bridges, although it bee well proportioned vnto the length thereof, yet are they equally built, no higher in the middle then at either ende, in such wise that you may see directly from the one ende to the other: the sides are wonderfully well engraued after the maner of Rome-workes. But that we did most marueile at was therewithall the hugenesse of the stones, the like whereof, as we came into the Citie, we did see many set vp in places dis-habited by the way, to no small charges of theirs, howbeit to little purpose, whereas no body seeth them but such as doe come by. The arches are not made after our fashion, vaulted with sundry stones set together: but paued, as it were, whole stones reaching from one piller to an other, in such wise that they lye both for the arches heads, and galantly serue also for the highway. I haue bene astonied to beholde the hugenesse of the aforesaid stones: some of them are xii. pases long and vpward, the least 11. good pases long, and an halfe.

The wayes echwhere are galantly paued with fouresquare stone, except it be where for want of stone they vse to lay bricke: in this voyage wee trauailed ouer certaine hilles, where the wayes were pitched, and in many places no worse paued then in the plaine ground. This causes vs to thinke, that in all the world there bee no better workemen for buildings, then the inhabitants of China. The Countrey is so well inhabited, that no one foote of ground is left vntilled: small store of cattell haue we seene this day, we saw onely certaine oxen wherewithall the countreymen do plow their ground. One oxe draweth the plough alone, not onely in this shire, but in other places also, wherein is greater store of cattell. These countreymen by arte do that in tillage, which we are constrained to doe by force. Here be solde the voydings of close stooles, although there wanteth not the dung of beastes: and the excrements of man are good marchandise throughout all China. The dungfermers seek in euery streete by exchange to buy this dirtie ware for herbs and wood. The custome is very good for keeping the Citie cleane. There is great aboundance of hennes, geese, duckes, swine, and goates, wethers haue they none: the hennes are solde by weight, and so are all other things. Two pound of hennes flesh, geese, or ducke, is worth two foi of their money, that is, d. ob. sterling. Swines flesh is sold at a penie the pound. Beefe beareth the same price, for the scarcitie thereof, howbeit Northward from Fuquieo and farther off from the seacoast, there is beefe more plentie and solde better cheape; We haue had in all the Cities we passed through, great abundance of all these victuals, beefe onely

excepted. And if this Countrey were like vnto India, the inhabitants whereof eate neither henne, beefe, nor porke, but keepe that onely for the Portugals and Moores, they would be sold here for nothing. But it so falling out, that the Chineans are the greatest eaters in all the world, they do feed vpon all things, specially on porke, which, the fatter it is, is vnto them the lesse lothsome. The highest price of these things aforesaid I haue set downe, better cheape shal you sometimes buy them for the great plentie thereof in this countrey. Frogs are solde at the same price that is made of hennes, and are good meate amongst them, as also dogs, cats, rats, snakes, and all other vncleane meates.

The Cities be very gallant, specially neere vnto the gates, the which are marueilously great, and couered with iron. The gate houses are built on high with towers, & the lower part thereof is made of bricke & stone, proportionally with the walls, from the walles vpward the building is of timber, and many stories in it one aboue the other. The strength of their townes is in the mightie walles and ditches, artillerie haue they none.

The streetes in Cinceo, and in all the rest of the Cities we haue seene are very faire, so large and so straight, that it is wonderfull to behold. Their houses are built with timber, the foundations onely excepted, the which are layd with stone: in ech side of the streetes are pentises or continuall porches for the marchants to walke vnder: the breadth of the streets is neuerthelesse such, that in them 15. men may ride commodiously side by side. As they ride they must needs passe vnder many high arches of triumph that crosse ouer the streetes made of timber, and carued diuersly, couered with tiles of fine clay: vnder these arches the Mercers do vtter their smaller wares, & such as list to stand there are defended from raine and the heate of the Sunne. The greater gentlemen haue these arches at their doores: although some of them be not so mightily built as the rest.

Louteas. I shall haue occasion to speake of a certaine order of gentlemen that are called Louteas. I wil first therefore expound what this word signifieth. Loutea is as much to say in our language as Sir, and when any of them calleth his name, he answereth Sir: and as we do say, that the king hath made some gentleman, so say they, that there is made a Loutea. And for that amongst them the degrees are diuers both in name and office, I will tell you onely of some principals, being not able to aduertise you of all.

The maner how gentlemen are created Louteas, and do come to that honour and title, is by the giuing of a broad girdle, not like to the rest, and a cap, at the commaundement of the king. The name Loutea is more generall & common vnto mo, then the qualitie of honour thereby signified agreeth withall. Such Louteas as doe serue their prince in weightie matters for iustice, are created after trial made of their learning: but the other which serue in smaller affaires, as Captaines, constables, sergeants by land and sea, receiuers and such like, whereof there be in euery citie, as also in this, very many, are made for fauour: the chiefe Louteas are serued kneeling.

The whole prouince of China is diuided, as I haue said, into 13. shires, in euery shire at the least is one gouernour called there Tutan, in some shires there be two.

Chian, Chaep. Chiefe in office next vnto them be certaine other named Chians, that is, high Commissioners as you would say, or visiters, with full authoritie in such wise, that they doe call vnto an accompt the Tutans themselues, but their authoritie lasteth not in any shire longer then one yere. Neuerthelesse in euery shire being at the least 7. cities, yea, in some of them 15. or 16. beside other boroughes and townes not well to be numbred, these visiters where they come are so honoured and feared, as though they were some great princes. At the yeres end, their circuit done, they come vnto that Citie which is chiefe of others in the shire, to do iustice there: finally busying themselues in the searching out of such as are to receiue the order of Louteas, whereof more shalbe said in another place.

Ponchiassi. Ouer and besides these officers, in the chiefe City of ech one of these aforesaid 13. prouinces, is resident one Ponchiassi, Captaine thereof, and treasurer of all the kings reuenues. This Magistrate maketh his abode in one of the foure greatest houses that be in all these head Cities. And although the principall part of his function be to be Captaine, to be treasourer of the reuenues in that prouince, & to send these reuenues at appointed times to the

the Court: yet hath he notwithstanding by his office also to meddle with matters appertaining vnto iustice.

In the second great house dwelleth an other Magistrate called Anchiassi, a great officer also, for he hath dealings in all matters of iustice. Who although he be somewhat inferior in dignitie vnto the Ponchiassi, yet for his great dealings and generall charge of iustice, whosoeuer seeth the affaires of the one house and the other might iudge this Anchiassi to be the greater. Anchiassi, or Hetau.

Tuzi, an other officer so called, lieth in the thirde house, a magistrate of importance, specially in things belonging vnto warfare, for thereof hath he charge. Tuzi.

There is resident in the 4. house a fourth officer, bearing name Taissu. In this house is the principall prison of all the Citie. Ech one of these Magistrates aforesaide may both lay euill doers in prison, & deliuer them out againe, except ỹ fact be heinous & of importance: in such a case they can do nothing, except they do meet al together. And if the deed deserueth death, all they together cannot determine thereof, without recourse made vnto the Chian wheresoeuer hee be, or to the Tutan: and eft soones it falleth out, that the case is referred vnto higher power. In all Cities, not onely chiefe in ech shire, but in the rest also, are meanes found to make Louteas. Many of them do study at the prince his charges, wherefore at the yeeres ende they resort vnto the head Cities, whither the Chians doe come, as it hath bene earst saide, as well to giue these degrees, as to sit in iudgement ouer the prisoners. Taissu.

The Chians go in circuit euery yeere, but such as are to be chosen to the greatest offices meete not but from three yeeres to three yeeres, and that in certaine large hailes appointed for them to be examined in. Many things are asked them, whereunto if they doe answere accordingly, and be found sufficient to take their degree, the Chian by and by granteth it them: but the Cap and girdle, whereby they are knowen to be Louteas, they weare not before that they be confirmed by the king. Their examination done, and triall made of them, such as haue taken their degree wont to be giuen them with all ceremonies, vse to banquet, and feast many dayes together (as the Chineans fashion is to ende all their pleasures with eating and drinking) and so remaine chosen to do the king seruice in matters of learning. The other examinates founde insufficient to proceed are sent backe to their studie againe. Whose ignorance is perceiued to come of negligence and default, such a one is whipped, and sometimes sent to prison, where lying that yere when this kinde of acte was, we found many thus punished, and demaunding the cause thereof, they saide it was for that they knew not how to answere vnto certaine things asked them. It is a world to see how these Louteas are serued and feared, in such wise, that in publike assemblies at one shrike they giue, all the seruitors belonging vnto iustice tremble thereat. At their being in these places, when they list to moone, be it but eueu to the gate, these seruitors doe take them vp, and carry them in seates of beaten gold. After this sort are they borne when they goe in the City, either for their owne businesse abroade, or to see ech other at home. For the dignitie they haue, and office they doe beare, they be all accompanied: the very meanest of them all that goeth in these seates is vshered by two men at the least, that cry vnto the people to giue place, howbeit they neede it not, for that reuerence the common people haue vnto them. They haue also in their company certaine Sergeants with their maces either siluered or altogether siluer, some two, some foure, other sixe, other eight, conueniently for ech one his degree. The more principal and chiefe Louteas haue going orderly before these Sergeants, many other with staues, and a great many catchpoules with rods of Indish canes dragged on the ground, so that the streets being paued, you may heare affarre off as well the noyse of the rods, as the voyce of the criers. These fellowes serue also to apprehend others, and the better to be knowen they weare liuery red girdles, and in their caps peacocks feathers. Behinde these Louteas come such as doe beare certaine tables hanged at staues endes, wherein is written in siluer letters, the name, degree, and office of that Loutea, whom they follow. In like maner they haue borne after them hattes agreeable vnto their titles: if the Loutea be meane, then hath he brought after him but one hat, and that may not be yealowe: but if he be of Licentiates. Doctors.

the

the better sort, then may he haue two, three, or foure: the principall and chiefe Louteas may haue all their hats yealow, the which among them is accompted great honour. The Louteas for warres, although he be but meane, may notwithstanding haue yealow hats. The Tutans and Chians, when they goe abroad, haue besides all this before them ledde three or foure horses with their guard in armour.

Furthermore the Louteas, yea and all the people of China, are wont to eate their meate sitting on stooles at high tables as we doe, and that very cleanely, although they vse neither table-clothes nor napkins. Whatsoeuer is set downe vpon the boord is first carued before that it be brought in: they feede with two sticks, refraining from touching their meate with their hands, euen as we do with forkes: for the which respect they lesse do neede any table clothes. Ne is the nation only ciuill at meate, but also in conuersation, and in courtesie they seeme to exceede all other. Likewise in their dealings after their maner they are so ready, that they farre passe all other Gentiles and Moores: the greater states are so vaine, that they line their clothes with the best silke that may be found. The Louteas are an idle generation, without all maner of exercises and pastimes, except it be eating and drinking. Sometimes they walke abroad in the fields to make the souldiers shoot at pricks with their bowes, but their eating passeth: they will stand eating euen when the other do draw to shoot. The pricke is a great blanket spread on certaine long poles, he that striketh it, hath of the best man there standing a piece of crimson Taffata, the which is knit about his head: in this sort the winners be honoured, and the Louteas with their bellies full returne home againe. The inhabitants of China be very great Idolaters, all generally doe worship the heauens: and, as wee are are wont to say, God knoweth it: so say they at euery word, Tien Tautee, that is to say, The heauens doe know it. Some doe worship the Sonne, and some the Moone, as they thinke good, for none are bound more to one then to another. In their temples, the which they do call Meani, they haue a great altar in the same place as we haue, true it is that one may goe round about it. There set they vp the image of a certaine Loutea of that countrey, whom they haue in great reuerence for certaine notable things he did. At the right hand standeth the diuel much more vgly painted then we doe vse to set him out, whereunto great homage is done by such as come into the temple to aske counsell, or to draw lottes: this opinion they haue of him, that he is malicious and able to do euil. If you aske them what they do thinke of the soules departed, they will answere that they be immortall, and that as soone as any one departeth out of this life, he becommeth a diuel if he haue liued well in this world, if otherwise, that the same diuel changeth him into a buffe, oxe, or dogge. Wherefore to this diuel they doe much honour, to him doe they sacrifice, praying him that he will make them like vnto himselfe, and not like other beastes. They haue moreouer another sort of temples, wherein both vpon the altars and also on the walls do stand many idols well proportioned, but bare headed; these beare name Omithofon, accompted of them spirits, but such as in heauen doe neither good nor euill, thought to be such men and women as haue chastly liued in this world in abstinence from fish and flesh, fed onely with rise and salates. Of that diuel they make some accompt: for these spirits they care litle or nothing at all. Againe they holde opinion that if a man do well in this life, the heauens will giue him many temporall blessings, but if he doe euil, then shall he haue infirmities, diseases, troubles, and penurie, and all this without any knowledge of God. Finally, this people knoweth no other thing then to liue and die, yet because they be reasonable creatures, all seemed good vnto them we speake in our language, though it were not very sufficient: our maner of praying especially pleased them, and truely they are well ynough disposed to receiue the knowledge of the trueth. Our Lord grant for his mercy all things so to be disposed, that it may sometime be brought to passe, that so great a nation as this is perish not for want of helpe.

Our maner of praying so well liked them, that in prison importunately they besought vs to write for them somewhat as cōcerning heauen, the which we did to their contentation by such reasons as we knew, howbeit not very cunningly. As they do their idolatry they laugh at themselues. If at any time this countrey might be ioyned in league with the kingdome of Portugale, in such wise that free accesse were had to deale with the people there, they might all

We, that is, the Italians and Spaniards.

After the Dutch fashion.

Pythagoreā like.

all be soone conuerted. The greatest fault we do finde in them is Sodomie, a vice very common in the meaner sort, and nothing strange among the best. This sinne were it left of them, in all other things so well disposed they be, that a good interpreter in a short space might do there great good: If, as I said, the countrey were ioyned in league with vs.

Furthermore the Louteas, with all the people of China, are wont to solemnise the dayes of the new and full Moones in visiting one an other, and making great banquets: for to that end, as I earst said, do tend all their pastimes, and spending their dayes in pleasure. They are wont also to solemnise ech one his birth day, whereunto their kindred and friends do resort of custome, with presents of iewels or money, receiuing againe for their reward good cheare. They keepe in like maner a generall feast with great banquets that day their king was borne. But their most principall and greatest feast of all, and best cheare, is the first day of their new yeere, namely the first day of the new Moone of February, so that their first moneth is March, and they reckon the times accordingly, respect being had vnto the reigne of their princes: as when any deed is written, they date it thus, Made such a day of such a moone, and such a yeere of the reigne of such a king. And their ancient writings beare date of the yeeres of this or that king.

Now will I speake of the maner which the Chineans doe obserue in doing of iustice, that it may be knowen how farre these Gentiles do herein exceed many Christians, that be more bounden then they to deale iustly and in trueth. Because the Chinish king maketh his abode continually in the city of Pachin, his kingdome is so great, & the shires so many, as tofore it hath bene said: in it therefore the gouernours and rulers, much like vnto our Shiriffes, be appointed so suddenly and speedily discharged againe, that they haue no time to grow naught. Furthermore to keepe the state in more securitie, the Louteas that gouerne one shire are chosen out of some other shire distant farre off, where they must leaue their wiues, children and goods, carying nothing with them but themselues. True it is, that at their comming thither they doe finde in a readinesse all things necessary, their house, furniture, seruants, and all other things in such perfection and plentie, that they want nothing. Thus the king is well serued without all feare of treason.

In the principall Cities of the shires be foure chiefe Louteas, before whom are brought all matters of the inferiour Townes, throughout the whole Realme. Diuers other Louteas haue the managing of iustice, and receiuing of rents, bound to yeelde an accompt thereof vnto the greater officers. Other do see that there be no euil rule kept in the Citie: ech one as it behoueth him. Generally all these doe imprison malefactors, cause them to be whipped and racked, hoysing them vp and downe by the armes with a cord, a thing very vsuall there, and accompted no shame. These Louteas do vse great diligence in the apprehending of theeues, so that it is a wonder to see a theefe escape away in any City, towne or village. Vpon the sea neere vnto the shoare many are taken, and looke euen as they are taken, so be they first whipped, and afterward layde in prison, where shortly after they all die for hunger and cold. At that time when we were in prison, there died of them aboue threescore and ten. If happely any one, hauing the meanes to get food, do escape, he is set with the condemned persons, and prouided for as they be by the King, in such wise as hereafter it shalbe said.

The Iesuites call it the stapado.

Their whips be certaine pieces of canes, cleft in the middle, in such sort that they seeme rather plaine then sharpe. He that is to be whipped lieth groueling on the ground: vpon his thighes the hangman layeth on blowes mightily with these canes, that the standers by tremble at their crueltie. Ten stripes draw a great deale of blood, 20. or 30. spoile the flesh altogether, 50. or 60. will require long time to bee healed, and if they come to the number of one hundred, then are they incurable.

The Louteas obserue moreouer this: when any man is brought before them to be examined, they aske him openly in the hearing of as many as be present, be the offence neuer so great. Thus did they also behaue themselues with vs: For this cause amongst them can there be no false witnesse, as daily amongst vs it falleth out. This good commeth thereof, that many being alwayes about the Iudge to heare the euidence, and beare witnesse, the proceise

cesse cannot be falsified, as it happeneth sometimes with vs. The Moores, Gentiles, and Iewes haue all their sundry othes, the Moores do sweare by their Mossafos, the Brachmans by their Fili, the rest likewise by the things they do worship. The Chineans though they be wont to sweare by heauen, by the Moone, by the Sunne, and by all their Idoles, in iudgement neuerthelesse they sweare not at all. If for some offence an othe be vsed of any one, by and by with the least euidence he is tormented, so be the witnesses he bringeth, if they tell not the trueth, or do in any point disagree, except they be men of worship and credit, who are beleeued without any further matter: the rest are made to confesse the trueth by force of torments and whips. Besides this order obserued of them in examinations, they do feare so much their King, and he where he maketh his abode keepeth them so lowe, that they dare not once stirre. Againe, these Louteas as great as they be, notwithstanding the multitude of Notaries they haue, not trusting any others, do write all great processes and matters of importance themselues. Moreouer one vertue they haue worthy of great praise, and that is, being men so wel regarded and accompted as though they were princes, yet they be patient aboue measure in giuing audience. We poore strangers brought before them might say what we would, as all to be lyes and fallaces that they did write, ne did we stand before them with the vsuall ceremonies of that Countrey, yet did they beare with vs so patiently, that they caused vs to wonder, knowing specially how litle any aduocate or Iudge is wont in our Countrey to beare with vs. For wheresoeuer in any Towne of Christendome should be accused vnknowen men as we were, I know not what end the very innocents cause would haue: but we in a heathen Countrey, hauing our great enemies two of the chiefest men in a whole Towne, wanting an interpreter, ignorant of that Countrey language, did in the end see our great aduersaries cast into prison for our sake, and depriued of their Offices and honour for not doing iustice, yea not to escape death: for, as the rumour goeth, they shalbe beheaded. Somewhat is now to be said of the lawes that I haue bene able to know in this Countrey, and first, no theft or murther is at any time pardoned: adulterers are put in prison, and the fact once proued, are condemned to die, the womans husband must accuse them: this order is kept with men & women found in that fault, but theeues and murderers are imprisoned as I haue said, where they shortly die for hunger and cold. If any one happely escape by bribing the Gailer to giue him meate, his processe goeth further, and commeth to the Court where he is condemned to die. Sentence being giuen, the prisoner is brought in publique with a terrible band of men that lay him in Irons hand and foot, with a boord at his necke one handfull broad, in length reaching downe to his knees, cleft in two parts, and with a hole one handfull downeward in the table fit for his necke, the which they inclose vp therein, nailing the boord fast together; one handfull of the boord standeth vp behinde in the necke: The sentence and cause wherefore the fellon was condemned to die, is written in that part of the table that standeth before.

A pilory boord.

This ceremony ended, he is laid in a great prison in the company of some other condemned persons, the which are found by the king as long as they do liue. The bord aforesaid so made tormenteth the prisoners very much, keeping them both from rest, & eke letting them to eat cõmodiously, their hands being manacled in irons vnder that boord, so that in fine there is no remedy but death. In the chiefe Cities of euery shire, as we haue erst said, there be foure principall houses, in ech of them a prison: but in one of them, where the Taisu maketh his abode, there is a greater and a more principal prison then in any of the rest: and although in euery City there be many, neuerthelesse in three of them remaine onely such as be condemned to die. Their death is much prolonged, for that ordinarily there is no execution done but once a yeere, though many die for hunger and cold, as we haue seene in this prison. Execution is done in this maner. The Chian, to wit, the high Commissioner or Lord chiefe Iustice, at the yeres end goeth to the head City, where he heareth againe the causes of such as be condemned. Many times he deliuereth some of them, declaring ỹ boord to haue bene wrongfully put about their necks: the visitation ended, he choseth out seuen or eight, not many more or lesse of the greatest malefactors, the which, to feare and keepe in awe the people, are brought into a great market place, where all the great,

great Louteas meete together, and after many ceremonies and superstitions, as the vse of the Countrey is, are beheaded. This is done once a yeere: who so escapeth that day, may be sure that he shall not be put to death all that yeere following, and so remaineth at the kings charges in the greater prison. In that prison where we lay were alwayes one hundred and mo of these condemned persons, besides them that lay in other prisons.

These prisons wherein the condemned caytifes do remaine are so strong, that it hath not beene heard, that any prisoner in all China hath escaped out of prison, for in deed it is a thing impossible. The prisons are thus builded. First all the place is mightily walled about, the walles be very strong and high, the gate of no lesse force: within it three other gates, before you come where the prisoners do lye, there many great lodgings are to be seene of the Louteas, Notaries, Parthions, that is, such as do there keepe watch and ward day and night, the court large and paued, on the one side whereof standeth a prison, with two mighty gates, wherein are kept such prisoners as haue committed enormious offences. This prison is so great, that in it are streetes and Market places wherein all things necessary are sold. Yea some prisoners liue by that kinde of trade, buying and selling, and letting out beds to hire: some are dayly sent to prison, some dayly deliuered, wherefore this place is neuer void of 7. or eight hundred men that go at libertie.

Into one other prison of condemned persons shall you go at three yron gates, the court paued and vauted round about, and open aboue as it were a cloister. In this cloister be eight roomes with yron doores, and in ech of them a large gallerie, wherein euery night the prisoners do lie at length, their feet in the stocks, their bodies hampered in huge wooden grates that keep them from sitting, so that they lye as it were in a cage, sleepe if they can: in the morning they are losed againe, that they may go into the court. Notwithstanding the strength of this prison, it is kept with a garrison of men, part whereof watch within the house, part of them in the court, some keepe about the prison with lanterns and watch-bels answering one another fiue times euery night, and giuing warning so lowd, that the Loutea resting in a chamber not neere thereunto, may heare them. In these prisons of condemned persons remaine some 15. other 20. yeres imprisoned, not executed, for the loue of their honorable friends that seeke to prolong their liues. Many of these prisoners be shoomakers, and haue from the king a certaine allowance of rise: some of them worke for the keeper, who sufreth them to go at libertie without fetters and boords, the better to worke. Howbeit when the Loutea calleth his checke roll, & with the keeper vieweth them, they all weare their liueries, that is, boords at their necks, yronned hand and foot. When any of these prisoners dieth, he is to be seene of the Loutea and Notaries, brought out of a gate so narrow, that there can but one be drawen out there at once. The prisoner being brought forth, one of the aforesaid Parthions striketh him thrise on the head with an yron sledge, that done he is deliuered vnto his friends, if he haue any, otherwise the king hireth men to cary him to his buriall in the fields.

Thus adulterers and theeues are vsed. Such as be imprisoned for debt once knowen, lie there vntil it be paied. The Taissu or Loutea calleth them many times before him by the vertue of his office, who vnderstanding the cause wherefore they do not pay their debts, appointeth them a certaine time to do it, within the compasse whereof if they discharge not their debts being debters in deed, then they be whipped and condemned to perpetuall imprisonment: if the creditors be many, and one is to be paied before another, they do, contrary to our maner, pay him first of whom they last borrowed, and so ordinarily the rest, in such sort that the first lender be the last receiuer. The same order is kept in paying legacies: the last named receiueth his portion first. They accompt it nothing to shew fauour to such a one as can do the like againe: but to do good to them that haue litle or nothing, that is worth thanks, therefore pay they the last before the first, for that their intent seemeth rather to be vertuous then gainefull. Of like the first lenders be the more wealthie.

When I said, that such as be committed to prison for theft and murther were iudged by the Court, I ment not them that were apprehended in the deed doing, for they need no triall, but are brought immediatly before the Tutan, who out of hand giueth sentence. Other not

taken so openly, which do need trial, are the malefactors put to execution once a yere in the chiefe cities, to keepe in awe the people: or condemned, do remaine in prison, looking for their day. Theeues being taken are caried to prison from one place to another in a chest vpon mens shoulders, hired therefore by the king, the chest is 6. handfuls high, the prisoner sitteth therein vpon a bench, the couer of the chest is two boords, amid them both a pillery-like hole, for the prisoners necke, there sitteth he with his head without the chest, and the rest of his body within, not able to mooue or turne his head this way or that way, nor to plucke it in: the necessities of nature he voydeth at a hole in the bottome of the chest, the meate he eateth is put into his mouth by others. There abideth he day and night during his whole iourney: if happily his porters stumble, or the chest do iogge or be set downe carelessly, it turneth to his great paines that sitteth therein, al such motions being vnto him hanging as it were. Thus were our companions caried frō Cinceo, 7. daies iourney, neuer taking any rest as afterward they told vs, & their greatest griefe was to stay by the way: as soone as they came, being taken out of the chests, they were not able to stand on their feet, and two of them died shortly after. When we lay in prison at Fuquieo, we came many times abroad, & were brought to the pallaces of noble men, to be seene of them & their wiues, for that they had neuer seene any Portugale before. Many things they asked vs of our Countrey, and our fashions, & did write euery thing, for they be curious in nouelties aboue measure. The gentlemen shew great courtesie vnto strangers, and so did we finde at their hands, and because that many times we were brought abroad into the City, somewhat wil I say of such things as I did see therein, being a gallant City, and chiefe in one of the 13. shires aforesaid. The City Fuquieo is very great, & mightily walled with square stone both within and without, and, as it may seeme by the breadth therof, filled vp in the middle with earth, layd ouer with brick & couered with tyle, after the maner of porches or galleries, that one might dwel therein. The staires they vse are so easily made, that one may go them vp and downe a hors-backe, as eftsoones they do: the streets are paued, as already it hath bin said: there be a great number of Marchants, euery one hath written in a great table at his doore such things as he hath to sel. In like maner euery artisane painteth out his craft: the market places be large, great abundance of al things there be to be sold. The city standeth vpō water, many streames run through it, the banks pitched, & so broad that they serue for streets to the cities vse. Ouer the streams are sundry bridges both of timber & stone, which being made leuel with the streets, hinder not the passage of the barges too and fro, the chanels are so deepe. Where the streames come in and go out of the city, be certaine arches in the wal, there go in and out their Parai, that is a kind of barges they haue, & that in the day time only: at night these arches are closed vp with gates, so do they shut vp al the gates of the City. These streames and barges do ennoblish very much the City, and make it as it were to seeme another Venice. The buildings are euen, wel made, high, not lofted, except it be some wherein marchandize is laid. It is a world to see how great these cities are, and the cause is, for that the houses are built euen, as I haue said, & do take a great deale of roome. One thing we saw in this city that made vs al to wonder, and is worthy to be noted: namely, ouer a porch at the comming in to one of the aforesaid 4. houses, which the king hath in euery shire for his gouernors, as I haue erst said, standeth a tower built vpon 40. pillers, ech one whereof is but one stone, ech one 40. handfuls or spans long: in bredth or compasse 12, as many of vs did measure them. Besides this, their greatnesse is such in one piece, that it might seeme impossible to worke them: they be moreouer cornered, and in colour, length and breadth so like, that the one nothing differeth from the other. This thing made vs all to wonder very much.

Fuquieo.

Hereof tofore.

We are wont to cal this country China, and the people Chineans, but as long as we were prisoners, not hearing amongst them at any time that name, I determined to learne how they were called: and asked sometimes by them thereof, for that they vnderstood vs not when we called them Chineans, I answered them, that al the inhabitants of India named them Chineans, wherefore I praied them that they would tel me, for what occasiō they are so called, whether peraduenture any city of theirs bare that name. Hereunto they alwayes answered me

me, ẏ they haue no such name, nor euer had. Then did I aske them what name the whole Country beareth, & what they would answere being asked of other nations what countrymen they were? It was told me that of ancient time in this country had bin many kings, & though presently it were al vnder one, ech kingdom neuertheles enioyed that name it first had, these kingdomes are the prouinces I spake of before. In conclusion they said, that the whole country is called Tamen, & the inhabitants Tamegines, so that this name China or Chineans, is not heard of in ẏ country. I thinke that the neernesse of another prouince therabout called Cochinchina, & the inhabitants therof Cochinesses, first discouered before China was, lying not far from Malacca, did giue occasion to ech of the nations, of that name Chineans, as also the whole country to be named China. But their proper name is that aforesaid.

Tamen the proper name of China.

I haue heard moreouer that in the City of Nanquim remaineth a table of gold, and in it written a kings name, as a memory of that residence the kings were wont to keepe there. This table standeth in a great pallace, couered alwayes, except it be on some of their festiuall dayes, at what time they are wont to let it be seene, couered neuerthelesse as it is, all the nobilitie of the City going of duetie to doe it euery day reuerence. The like is done in the head Cities of all the other shires in the pallaces of the Ponchiassini, wherein these aforesaid tables doe stand with the kings name written in them, although no reuerence be done thereunto but in solemne feastes.

I haue likewise vnderstood that the City Pachin, where the king maketh his abode, is so great, that to go from one side to the other, besides the Suburbs, the which are greater then the City it selfe, it requireth one whole day a horseback, going hackney pase. In the suburbs be many wealthy marchants of all sorts. They told me furthermore that it was moted about, and in the motes great store of fish, whereof the king maketh great gaines.

Pochan, or, Pachin.

It was also told me that the king of China had no king to wage battel withall, besides the Tartars, with whom he had concluded a peace more then 80. yeres ago. Neuerthelesse their friendship was not so great, that the one nation might marry with the other. And demanding with whom they married, they said, that in olde time the Chinish kings when they would marry their daughters, accustomed to make a solemne feast, whereunto came all sorts of men. The daughter that was to be married, stood in a place where she might see them all, and looke whom she liked best, him did she chuse to husband, and if happely he were of a base condition, hee became by and by a gentleman: but this custome hath bene left long since. Now a dayes the king marrieth his daughters at his owne pleasure, with great men of the kingdome: the like order he obserueth in the marriage of his sonnes.

Their enemies.

Marriage of the kings children

They haue moreouer one thing very good, and that which made vs all to maruelle at them being Gentiles: namely, that there be hospitals in all their Cities, alwayes full of people, we neuer saw any poore body begge. We therefore asked the cause of this: answered it was, that in euery City there is a great circuit, wherein be many houses for poore people, for blinde, lame, old folke, not able to trauaile for age, nor hauing any other meanes to liue. These folke haue in the aforesaid houses euer plentie of rice during their liues, but nothing else. Such as be receiued into these houses, come in after this maner. When one is sicke, blinde or lame, he maketh a supplication to the Ponchiassi, and proning that to be true he writeth, he remaineth in the aforesaid great lodging as long as he liueth: besides this they keepe in these places swine and hennes, whereby the poore be relieued without going a begging.

He speaketh not here of all China, but of the Cities, for in other places there be beggers, as you haue seene already, swarming out of trees.

I said before that China was full of riuers, but now I minde to confirme the same anew: for the farther we went into the Countrey, the greater we found the riuers. Sometimes we were so farre off from the sea, that where we came no sea fish had bene seene, and salt was there very deare, of fresh water fish yet was there great abundance, and that fish very good: they keep it good after this maner. Where the riuers do meete, and so passe into the sea, there lieth great store of boats, specially where no salt-water commeth, and that in March and April. These boates are so many that it seemeth wonderfull, ne serue they for other then to take small fish. By the riuers sides they make leyres of fine and strong nettes, that lye three handfuls vnder water, and one aboue to keepe and nourish their fish in, vntill such

 time

time as other fishers do come with boates, bringing for that purpose certaine great chests lined with paper, able to holde water, wherein they cary their fish vp and downe the riuer, euery day renuing the chest with fresh water, and selling their fish in euery City, towne and village where they passe, vnto the people as they neede it: most of them haue net leyres to keepe fish in alwayes for their prouision. Where the greater boates cannot passe any further forward, they take lesser, and because the whole Countrey is very well watered, there is so great plenty of diuers sorts of fish, that it is wonderfull to see: assuredly we were amazed to behold the maner of their prouision. Their fish is chiefly nourished with the dung of Bufles and oxen, that greatly fatteth it. Although I said their fishing to be in March and April at what time we saw them do it, neuerthelesse they told vs that they fished at all times, for that vsually they do feed on fish, wherefore it behoueth them to make their prouision continually.

Menues to fat fish.

He speaketh of Fuquien shire.

When we had passed Fuquien, we went into Quicin shire, where the fine clay vessell is made, as I said before: and we came to a City, the one side whereof is built vpon the foote of a hill, whereby passeth a riuer nauigable: there we tooke boat, and went by water toward the Sea: on ech side of the riuer we found many Cities, Townes and villages, wherein we saw great store of marchandize, but specially of fine clay: there did we land by the way to buy victuals and other necessaries. Going downe this riuer Southward, we were glad that wee drew neere vnto a warmer Countrey, from whence we had bene farre distant: this Countrey we passed through in eight dayes, for our iourney lay downe the streame. Before that I doe say any thing of that shire we came into, I will first speake of the great City of Quicin, wherein alwayes remaineth a Tutan, that is a gouernour, as you haue seene, though some Tutans do gouerne two or three shires.

That Tutan that was condemned for our cause, of whom I spake before, was borne in this Countrey, but he gouerned Foquien shire: nothing it auailed him to be so great an officer. This Countrey is so great, that in many places where we went, there had bene as yet no talke of his death, although he were executed a whole yere before. At the Citie Quanchi whither we came, the riuer was so great that it seemed a Sea, though it were so litle where we tooke water, that we needed small boats. One day about 9. of the clocke, beginning to row neere the walls with the streame, we came at noone to a bridge made of many barges, ouerlinked al together with two mightie cheines. There stayed we vntill it was late, but we saw not one go either vp thereon or downe, except two Louteas that about the going downe of the Sunne, came and set them downe there, the one on one side, the other on the other side. Then was the bridge opened in many places, and barges both great and small to the number of sixe hundred began to passe: those that went vp the streame at one place, such as came downe at an other. When all had thus shot the bridge, then was it shut vp againe. We heare say that euery day they take this order in all principall places of marchandize, for paying of the Custome vnto the king, specially for salt, whereof the greatest reuenues are made that the king hath in this Countrey. The passages of the bridge where it is opened, be so neere the shoare, that nothing can passe without touching the same. To stay the barges at their pleasure, that they goe no further forward, are vsed certaine iron instruments. The bridge consisteth of 112. barges, there stayed we vntill the euening that they were opened, lothsomely oppressed by the multitude of people that came to see vs, so many in number, that we were enforced to go aside from the banke vntil such time as the bridge was opened: howbeit we were neuerthelesse thronged about with many boates full of people. And though in other Cities and places where we went, the people came so importunate vpon vs, that it was needfull to withdraw our selues: yet were we here much more molested for the number of people: & this bridge is the principall way out of the Citie vnto another place so wel inhabited, that were it walled about, it might be compared to the Citie. When we had shot the bridge, we kept along the Citie vntil it was night, and then met we with an other riuer that ioyned with this, we rowed vp that by the walls vntill we came to another bridge gallantly made of barges, but lesser a great deale then that other bridge ouer the greater streame: here stayed we that night, and other two dayes with more quiet, being out of the preasse of the

Aliàs Cenchi.

The Kings reuenues.

the people. These riuers do meet without at one corner point of the City. In either of them were so many barges great and small, that we all thought them at the least to be aboue three thousand: the greater number thereof was in the lesser riuer, where we were. Amongst the rest here lay certaine greater vessels, called in their language Parai, that serue for the Tutan, when he taketh his voyage by other riuers that ioyne with this, towards Pachin, where the king maketh his abode. For, as many times I haue erst said, all this Countrey is full of riuers. Desirous to see those Parai we got into some of them, where we found some chambers set foorth with gilded beds very richly, other furnished with tables and seats, and all other things so neat and in perfection, that it was wonderfull. Parai

Quiacim shire, as farre as I can perceiue, lieth vpon the South. On that side we kept at our first entry thereinto, trauayling not farre from the high mountaines we saw there. Asking what people dwelleth beyond those mountaines, it was told me that they be theeues & men of a strange language. And because that vnto sundry places neere this riuer the mountaines doe approch, whence the people issuing downe do many times great harme, this order is taken at the entry into Quiacim shire. To guard this riuer whereon continually go to & fro Parai great & small fraught with salt, fish poudred with peper, and other necessaries for that countrey, they do lay in diuers places certaine Parai, and great barges armed, wherin watch and ward is kept day and night on both sides of the riuer, for the safety of the passage, & securitie of such Parai as do remaine there, though the trauailers neuer go but many in company. In euery rode there be at the least thirtie, in some two hundred men, as the passage requireth. This guard is kept vsually vntill you come to the City Onchio, where continually the Tutan of this shire, and eke of Cantan, maketh his abode. From that City vpward, where the riuer waxeth more narrow, and the passage more dangerous, there be alwayes armed one hundred and fiftie Parai, to accompany other vessels fraught with marchandize, and all this at the Kings charges. This seemed to me one of the strangest things I did see in this Countrey. Fish poudred with peper.

When we lay at Fuquien, we did see certaine Moores, who knew so litle of their secte, that they could say nothing else but that Mahomet was a Moore, my father was a Moore, and I am a Moore, with some other wordes of their Alcoran, wherewithall, in abstinence from swines flesh, they liue vntill the diuel take them all. This when I saw, & being sure that in many Chinish Cities the reliques of Mahomet are kept, as soone as we came to the City where these fellowes be, I enfourmed my selfe of them, and learned the trueth.

These Moores, as they tolde me, in times past came in great ships fraught with marchandise from Pachin ward, to a port granted vnto them by the king, as hee is wont to all them that traffique into this Countrey, where they being arriued at a litle Towne standing in the hauens mouth, in time conuerted vnto their sect the greatest Loutea there. When that Loutea with all his family was become Moorish, the rest began likewise to doe the same. In this part of China the people be at libertie, euery one to worship and folow what him liketh best. Wherefore no body tooke heede thereto, vntil such time as the Moores perceiuing that many followed them in superstition, and that the Loutea fauoured them, they began to forbid wholy the eating of swines flesh. But all these countreymen and women chosing rather to forsake father and mother, then to leaue off eating of porke, by no meanes would yeeld to that proclamation. For besides the great desire they all haue to eate that kinde of meate, many of them do liue thereby: and therefore the people complained vnto the Magistrates, accusing the Moores of a conspiracie pretended betwixt them and the Loutea against their king. In this countrey, as no suspition, no not one traiterous word is long borne withall, so was the king speedily aduertised thereof, who gaue commandement out of hand that the aforesaid Loutea should be put to death, and with him the Moores of most importance: the other to be layde first in prison, and afterward to be sent abroad into certaine Cities, where they remained perpetuall slaues vnto the king. To this City came by happe men and women threescore and odde, who at this day are brought to fiue men and foure women, for it is now twenty yeeres since this happened. Their offspring passeth the number of two hundreth, and they in this City, as the rest in other Cities whither they were sent, haue their *Moscheas, whereunto

Great ships commming from the North.

* That is their temples.

whereunto they all resort euery Friday to keepe their holy day. But; as I thinke, that will no longer endure, then whiles they doe liue that came from thence, for their posteritie is so confused, that they haue nothing of a Moore in them but abstinence from swines flesh, and yet many of them doe eate thereof priuily. They tell mee that their natiue Countrey hath name Camarian, a firme land, wherein be many kings, and the Indish countrey well knowen vnto them. It may so be: for as soone as they did see our seruants (our seruants were Preuzaretes) they iudged them to be Indians: many of their wordes sounded vpon the Persian tongue, but none of vs coulde vnderstand them. I asked them whether they conuerted any of the Chinish nation vnto their secte: they answered mee, that with much a doe they conuerted the women with whom they doe marry, yeelding me no other cause thereof, but the difficultie they finde in them to be brought from eating swines flesh and drinking of wine. I am perswaded therefore, that if this Countrey were in league with vs, forbidding them neither of both, it would be an easie matter to draw them to our Religion, from their superstition, whereat they themselues do laugh when they do their idolatry.

It should seeme by their voyage to be Curdandan in Ortelius.

A Northerne Sea.

It seemeth they come vp the riuer from the Caspian sea. Ar Cacan.

Riuers ouerfrosen in China.

I haue learned moreouer that the Sea, whereby these Moores that came to China were wont to trauaile, is a very great gulfe, that falleth into this Countrey out from Tartaria and Persia, leauing on the other side all the Countrey of China, and land of the Mogores, drawing alwayes toward the South: and of all likelyhood it is euen so, because that these Moores, the which we haue seene, be rather browne then white, whereby they shewe themselues to come from some warmer Countrey then China is neere to Pachin, where the riuers are frosen in the Winter for colde, and many of them so vehemently, that carts may passe ouer them.

Ali Anoina.

Tartars.

Mount Vaut.

Mogores.

We did see in this Citie many Tartars, Mogores, Brames, and Laoynes, both men and women. The Tartars are men very white, good horsemen and archers, confining with China on that side where Pachin standeth, separated from thence by great mountaines that are betwixt these kingdomes. Ouer them be certaine wayes to passe, and for both sides, Castles continually kept with Souldiers: in time past the Tartars were wont alwayes to haue warres with the Chineans, but these fourescore yeeres past they were quiet, vntill the second yeere of our imprisonment. The Mogores be in like maner white, and heathen, we are aduertised, that of one side they border vpon these Tartars, and confine with the Persian Tartars on the other side, whereof wee sawe in them some tokens, as their maner of clothes, and that kinde of hat the Saracens doe weare. The Moores affirmed, that where the king lyeth, there be many Tartars and Mogores, that brought into China certaine blewes of great value: all we thought it to be Vanil of Cambaia wont to be sold at Ormus. So that this is the true situation of that Countrey, not in the North parts, as many times I haue heard say, confining with Germanie.

Blewes of great price in China.

Brames.

As for the Brames we haue seene in this city Chenchi certaine men & women, amongst whom there was one that came not long since, hauing as yet her haire tied vp after the Pegues fashion: this woman, and other mo with whom a black Moore damsel in our company had conference, and did vnderstand them wel ynough, had dwelt in Pegu. This new come woman, imagining that we ment to make our abode in that citie, bid vs to be of good comfort, for that her countrey was not distant from thence aboue fiue dayes iourney, and that out of her countrey there lay a high way for vs home into our owne. Being asked the way, she answered that the first three daies the way lieth ouer certaine great mountaines & wildernesse, afterward people are met withall againe. Thence two dayes iourney more to the Brames countrey. Wherefore I doe conclude, that Chenchi is one of the confines of this Kingdome, separated by certaine huge mountaines, as it hath bene alreadie said, that lie out towards the South. In the residue of these mountaines standeth the prouince of Sian, the Laoyns countrey, Camboia, Campaa, and Cochinchina.

Southward from Chenchi to the sea.

Auoina.

Chenchi.

This citie chiefe of other sixteene is situated in a pleasant plaine abounding in all things necessarie, sea-fish onely excepted, for it standeth farre from the sea: of fresh fish so much store, that the market places are neuer emptie. The walles of this city are very strong and high: one day did I see the Louteas thereof go vpon the walles to take the view thereof, borne in their

their seates which I spake of before, accompanied with a troupe of horsemen that went two and two: It was tolde me they might haue gone three & three. We haue seene moreouer, that within this aforesayd Citie: the king hath moe then a thousande of his kinne lodged in great pallaces, in diuers partes of the Citie: their gates be redde, and the entrie into their houses, that they may be knowen, for that is the kings colour. These Gentlemen, according to their neerenesse in blood vnto the king, as soone as they be married receiue their place in honour: this place neither increaseth nor diminisheth in any respect as long as the king liueth, the king appointeth them their wiues and familie, allowing them by the moneth all things necessarie abundantly, as he doth to his gouernours of shires and Cities, howbeit, not one of these hath as long as he liueth any charge or gouernement at all. They giue themselues to eating and drinking, and be for the most part burly men of bodie, insomuch that espying any one of them whom we had not seene before, we might knowe him to be the King his cosin. They be neuerthelesse very pleasant, courteous, and faire conditioned: neither did we find, all the time wee were in that citie, so much honour and good intertainement any where as at their hands. They bid vs to their houses to eate and drinke, and when they found vs not, or we were not willing to go with them, they bid our seruants and slaues, causing them to sit downe with the first. Notwithstanding the good lodging these Gentlemen haue, so commodious that they want nothing, yet are they in this bondage, that during life they neuer goe abroad. The cause, as I did vnderstand, wherefore the king so vseth his cosins is, that none of them at any time may rebell against him: and thus he shutteth them vp in three or foure other cities. Most of them can play on the Lute, and to make that kinde of pastime peculiar vnto them onely, all other in the cities where they doe liue be forbidden that instrument, the Curtisans and blinde folke onely excepted, who be musicians and can play.

This king furthermore, for the greater securitie of his Realme and the auoidyng of tumults, letteth not one in all his countrey to be called Lord, except he be of his blood. Manie great estates and gouernours there be, that during their office are lodged Lordlike, and doe beare the port of mightie Princes: but they be so many times displaced and other placed a new, that they haue not the time to become corrupt. True it is that during their office they be well prouided for, as afterward also lodged at the kings charges, and in pension as long as they liue, payed them monethly in the cities where they dwell by certaine officers appointed for that purpose. The king then is a Lord onely, not one besides him as you haue seene, except it be such as be of his blood. A Nephew likewise of the king, the kings sisters sonne, lyeth continually within the walles of the citie in a strong pallace built Castlewise, euen as his other cousins do, remayning alwayes within doores, serued by Eunuches, neuer dealing with any matters. On their festiuall dayes, new moones, & full moones the magistrates make great bankets, and so do such as be of the king his blood. The kings Nephew hath to name Vanfuli, his pallace is walled about, the wall is not high but foure-square, and in circuit nothing inferiour to the wals of Goa, the outside is painted red, in euery square a gate, and ouer each gate a tower made of timber excellently well wrought. before the principall gate of the foure that openeth in to the high streete no Lowtea, be he neuer so great, may passe on horsebacke, or carried in his seat. Amidst this quadrangle standeth the pallace where that Nobleman lyeth, doubtlesse worth the sight, although we came not in to see it. By report the roofes of the towers and house are glased greene, & the greater part of the quadrangle set with sauage trees, as Okes, Chesnuts, Cypresse, Pineapples, Cedars, and other such like that we do want, after the manner of a wood, wherein are kept Stags, Oxen, and other beasts, for that Lord his recreation neuer going abroad as I haue sayd. One preheminence this citie hath aboue the rest where we haue bene, & that of right, as we do thinke, that besides the multitude of market places wherein all things are to be sold through euery streete continually are cryed all things necessary, as flesh of all sortes, freshfish, hearbes, oyle, vineger, meale, rise: in summa, all things so plentifully, that many houses needs no seruants, euery thing being brought to their doores. Most part of the marchants remaine in the suburbes, for that the cities are shut vp euery night, as I haue said. The marchants

Goa is a citie of the Portingalles in the East Indies.

therefore

therefore, the better to attend their businesse, do chuse rather to make their abode without in the suburbes then within the citie. I haue seene in this riuer a pretie kinde of fishing, not to be omitted in my opinion, and therefore I will set it downe. The king hath in many riuers good store of barges full of sea-crowes that breede, are fedde and doe die therein, in certaine cages, allowed monethely a certaine prouision of rise. These barges the king bestoweth vpon his greatest magistrates, giuing to some two, to some three of them as he thinketh good, to fish therewithal after this manner. At the houre appointed to fish, all the barges are brought together in a circle, where the riuer is shalow, and the crowes tyed together vnder the wings are let leape downe into the water some vnder, some aboue, woorth the looking vpon: each one as he hath filled his bagge, goeth to his own barge and emptieth it, which done, he returneth to fish againe. Thus hauing taken good store of fish, they set the crowes at libertie, and do suffer them to fish for their owne pleasure. There were in that city where I was, twentie barges at the least of these aforesayd crowes. I went almost euery day to see them, yet could I neuer be throughly satisfyed to see so strange a kind of fishing.

Odericus writeth of the like.

Of the Iland Iapan, and other litle Iles in the East Ocean. By R. Willes.

THe extreame part of the knowen world vnto vs is the noble Iland Giapan, written otherwise Iapon and Iapan. This Island standeth in the East Ocean, beyond all Asia, betwixt Cathayo and the West Indies sixe and thirtie degrees Northward from the Equinoctial line, in the same clime with the South part of Spaine and Portugall, distant from thence by sea sixe thousand leagues: the trauaile thither, both for ciuill discord, great pyracie, and often shipwracks is very dangerous. This countrey is hillie and pestered with snow, wherefore it is neither so warme as Portugall, nor yet so wealthy, as far as we can learne, wanting oyle, butter, cheese, milke, egges, sugar, honny, vineger, saffron, cynamom and pepper. Barleybranne the Ilanders doe vse in stead of salt: medicinable things holsome for the bodie haue they none at all. Neuerthelesse in that Iland sundry fruites doe growe, not much vnlike the fruites of Spaine: and great store of Siluer mynes are therein to be seene. The people are tractable, ciuill, wittie, courteous, without deceit, in vertue and honest conuersation exceeding all other nations lately discouered, but so much standing vpon their reputation, that their chiefe Idole may be thought honour. The contempt thereof causeth among them much discord and debate, manslaughter and murther: euen for their reputation they doe honour their parents, keepe their promises, absteine from adulterie and robberies, punishing by death the least robbery done, holding for a principle, that whosoeuer stealeth a trifle, will, if he see occasion, steale a greater thing. It may be theft is so seuerely punished of them, for that the nation is oppressed with scarcitie of all things necessary, and so poore, that euen for miserie they strangle their owne children, preferring death before want. These fellowes doe neither eate nor kill any foule. They liue chiefely by fish, hearbes, and fruites, so healthfully, that they die very old. Of Rice and Wheat there is no great store. No man is ashamed there of his pouertie, neither be their gentlemen therefore lesse honoured of the meaner people, neither will the poorest gentleman there match his childe with the baser sort for any gaine, so much they do make more account of gentry then of wealth. The greatest delight they haue is in armour, each boy at fourteene yeeres of age, be he borne gentle or otherwise, hath his sword and dagger: very good archers they be, contemning all other nations in comparison of their manhood and prowesse, putting not vp one iniurie be it neuer so small in worde or deede, among themselues. They feede moderately, but they drinke largely. The vse of vines they knowe not, their drinke they make of Rice, vtterly they doe abhorre dice, and all games, accounting nothing more vile in a man, then to giue himselfe vnto those things that make vs greedy and desirous to get other mens goods. If at any time they do sweare, for that seldome they are wont to doe, they sweare by the Sunne: many of them are taught good letters, wherfore they may so much the sooner be brought vnto Christianitie. Each one is contented with one wife: they be all desirous to learne, & naturally inclined vnto honesty & courtesie: godly talke they listen vnto willingly, especially whē they vnderstand it throughly. Their gouernmēt cōsisteth of 8 estates. The first place is due vnto the high

Great store of Siluer mynes.

high Priest, by whose lawes & decrees all publike and priuate matters appertayning to religion are decided. The sects of their clergie men, whom they doe call Bonzi, be of no estimation or authorithe except the high Priest by letters patent doe confirme the same: he confirmeth and alloweth of their Tundi, who be as it were Bishops, although in many places they are nominated by sundry Princes. These Tundi are greatly honoured of all sorts: they doe giue benefices vnto inferiour ministers, and do grant licences for many things as to eate flesh vpon those dayes they goe in pilgrimage to their Idoles with such like priuileges. Finally, this high Priest wont to be chosen in China for his wisedome and learning, made in Iapan for his gentry and birth, hath so large a Dominion and reuenues so great, that eftsones he beardeth the petie Kings and Princes there.

Their second principal Magistrate, in their language Vo, is the chiefe Herehaught, made by succession and birth, honoured as a God. This gentleman neuer toucheth the ground with his foote without forfaiting of his office, he neuer goeth abroad out of his house, nor is at all times to be seene. At home he is either carried about in a litter, or els he goeth in woodden Choppines a foote high from the ground: commonly he sitteth in his chaire with a sword in one side, and a bow and arrowes in the other, next his bodie he weareth blacke, his outward garments be red, all shadowed ouer with Cypresse, at his cappe hang certaine Lambeaux much like vnto a Bishops Miter, his forehead is painted white and red, he eateth his meat in earthen dishes. This Herehaught determineth in all Iapan the diuerse titles of honour, whereof in that Iland is great plentie, each one particularly knowen by his badge, commonly seene in sealing vp their letters, and dayly altered according to their degrees. About this Vo euery Noble man hath his Soliciter, for the nation is so desirous of praise and honour, that they striue among themselues who may bribe him best. By these meanes the Herehaught groweth so rich, that although hee haue neither land nor any reuenues otherwise, yet may he be accounted the wealthiest man in all Iapan. For three causes this great Magistrate may loose his office: first, if he touch the ground with his foote, as it hath beene alreadie said: next, if he kill any body: thirdly, if he be found an enemie vnto peace and quietnesse, howbeit neither of these aforesaid causes is sufficient to put him to death.

Their third chiefe officer is a Iudge, his office is to take vp and to end matters in controuersie, to determine of warres and peace, that which he thinketh right, to punish rebels, wherein he may commaund the noble men to assist him vpon paine of forfeiting their goods: neuerthelesse at all times he is not obeyed, for that many matters are ended rather by might and armes, then determined by law. Other controuersies are decided either in the Temporall Court, as it seemeth good vnto the Princes, or in the Spirituall consistorie before the Tundi.

Rebelles are executed in this manner, especially if they be noble men or officers. The king looke what day he giueth sentence against any one, the same day the partie, whersoeuer he be, is aduertised thereof, and the day told him of his execution. The condemned person asketh of the messenger whether it may bee lawful for him to kill himselfe: the which thing when the king doeth graunt, the partie taking it for an honour, putteth on his best apparel and launcing his body a crosse from the breast downe all the belly, murthereth himselfe. This kind of death they take to be without infamie, neither doe their children for their fathers crime so punished, loose their goods. But if the king reserue them to be executed by the hangman, then flocketh he together his children, his seruants, and friends home to his house, to preserue his life by force. The king committeth the fetching of him out vnto his chiefe Iudge, who first setteth vpon him with bow and arrowes, and afterward with pikes and swords, vntill the rebell and all his family be slaine to their perpetuall ignominie and shame.

The Indie-writers make mention of sundry great cities in this Iland, as Cangoxima a hauen towne in the South part thereof, and Meaco distant from thence three hundred leagues northward, the royall seat of the king and most wealthy of all other townes in that Iland. The people thereabout are very noble, and their language the best Iaponish. In Meaco are sayd to be ninetie thousande houses inhabited and vpward, a famous Vniuersitie, and in it fiue

principall Colleges, besides closes & cloysters of Bonzi, Leguixil, and Hamadata, that is, Priests, Monks and Nunnes. Other fiue notable Vniuersities there be in Iapan, namely, Coia, Negru, Homi, Frenoi, and Bandu. The first foure haue in them at the least three thousand & fiue hundred schollers: in the fift are many mo. For Bandu prouince is very great and possessed with sixe princes, fiue whereof are vassals vnto the sixt, yet he himselfe subiect vnto the Iaponish king, vsually called the great king of Meaco: lesser scholes there be many in diuers places of this Ilande. And thus much especially concerning this glorious Iland, among so many barbarous nations and rude regions, haue I gathered together in one summe, out of sundry letters written from thence into Europe, by no lesse faithfull reporters than famous trauellers. For confirmation wherof, as also for the knowledge of other things not conteyned in the premisses, the curious readers may peruse these 4 volumes of Indian matters written long ago in Italian, and of late compendiously made Latine, by Petrus Maffeius my old acquainted friend, entituling the same, De rebus Iaponicis. One whole letter out of the fift booke thereof, specially intreating of that countrey, I haue done into English word for word in such wise as followeth.

Petrus Maffeius de rebus Iaponicis.

Aloisius Froes to his companions in Iesus Christ that remaine in China and India.

THe last yeere, deare brethren, I wrote vnto you from Firando, how Cosmus Turrianus had appointed me to trauaile to Meaco to helpe Gaspar Vilela, for that there the haruest was great, the labourers few, and that I should haue for my companion in that iourney Aloisius Almeida. It seemeth now my part, hauing by the helpe of God ended so long a voiage, to signifie vnto you by letter such things specially as I might thinke you would most delight to know. And because at the beginning Almeida and I so parted the whole labour of writing letters betwixt vs, that he should speake of our voyage, and such things as happened therein, I should make relation of the Meachians estate, & write what I could well learne of the Iapans manners and conditions: setting aside all discourses of our voyage, that which standeth me vpon I will discharge in this Epistle, that you considering how artificially, how cunningly, vnder the pretext of religion, that craftie aduersary of mankind leadeth and draweth vnto perdition the Iapanish mindes, blinded with many superstitions and ceremonies, may the more pitie this Nation.

The inhabiters of Iapan, as men that neuer had greatly to doe with other Nations, in their Geography diuided the whole world into three *parts*, *Iapan*, Sian, and China. And albeit the *Iapans receiued* out of Sian and China their superstitions and ceremonies, yet do they neuertheless contemne all other Nations in comparison of themselues, and standing in their owne conceite doe far preferre themselues before all other sorts of people in wisedome and policie.

Touching the situation of the countrey and nature of the soyle, vnto the things eftsoones erst written, this one thing I wil adde: in these Ilands, the sommer to be most hot, the winter extreme cold. In the kingdom of Canga, as we call it, falleth so much snow, that the houses being buried in it, the inhabitants keepe within doores certaine moneths of the yeere, hauing no way to come foorth except they break vp the tiles. Whirlewindes most vehement, earthquakes so common, that the Iapans dread such kind of feares litle or nothing at all. The countrey is ful of siluer mines otherwise barren, not so much by fault of nature, as through the slouthfulnesse of the inhabitants: howbeit Oxen they keepe and that for tillage sake onely. The ayre is holesome, the waters good, the people very faire and well bodied: bare headed commonly they goe, procuring baldnesse with sorrow and teares, eftsoones rooting vp with pinsars all the haire of their heads as it groweth, except it be a litle behind, the which they knot and keepe with all diligence. Euen from their childhood they weare daggers and swords, the which they vse to lay vnder their pillowes when they goe to bed: in shew courteous and affable, in deede haughtie and proud. They delight most in warlike affaires, and their greatest studie is armes. Mens apparel diuersely coloured is worne downe halfe the legges and to the elbowes: womens attire made handsomely like vnto a vaile, is somewhat longer: all manner of dicing and theft they doe eschewe. The marchant although

he

he be wealthy, is not accounted of. Gentlemen, be they neuer so poore, retaine their place most precisely they stande vpon their honour and woorthinesse, ceremoniously striuing among themselues in courtesies and faire speeches. Wherein if any one happi v be lesse carefull than he should be, euen for a trifle many times he getteth euill will. Want though it trouble most of them, so much they doe detest, that poore men cruelly taking pittie of their infantes newly borne, especially girles, do many times with their owne feete strangle them. Noble men, and other likewise of meaner calling generally haue but one wife a peece, by whom although they haue issue, yet for a trifle they diuorse themselues from their wiues, and the wiues also sometimes from their husbands, to marry with others. After the second degree cousins may there lawfully marry. Adoption of other mens children is much vsed among them. In great townes most men and women can write and reade.

This Nation feedeth sparingly, their vsuall meat is rice and salets, and neere the sea side fish. They feast one another many times, wherein they vse great diligence, especially in drinking one to another, insomuch that the better sort, least they might rudely commit some fault therein, doe vse to reade certaine bookes written of duties and ceremonies appertey ning vnto banquets. To be delicate and fine, they put their meate into their mouthes with litle forkes, accounting it great rudenesse to touch it with their fingers: winter & sommer they drinke water as hot as they may possibly abide it. Their houses are in danger of fire, but finely made and cleane, layde all ouer with strawe-pallets, whereupon they doe both sit in stead of stooles, and lie in their clothes with billets vnder their heads. For feare of defiling these pallets, they goe either bare foote within doores, or weare strawe pantofles on their buskins when they come abroad, the which they lay aside at their returne home againe. Gentlemen for the most part do passe the night in banketting, musicke, & vaine discourses, they sleepe the day time. In Meaco and Sacaio there is good store of beds, but they be very litle, and may be compared vnto our pues.

In bringing vp their children they vse words only to rebuke them, admonishing as diligently and aduisedly boyes of sixe or seuen yeeres of age, as though they were olde men. They are giuen very much to intertaine strangers, of whom most curiously they loue to aske euen in trifles what forraine nations doe, and their fashions. Such arguments and reasons as be manifest, and are made plaine with examples, doe greatly persuade them. They detest all kinde of theft, whosoeuer is taken in that fault may be slaine freely of any bodie. No publike prisons, no common gayles, no ordinary Iusticers: priuately each housholder hath the hearing of matters at home in his owne house, and the punishing of greater crimes that deserue death without delay. Thus vsually the people is kept in awe and feare.

About foure hundred yeeres past (as in their olde recordes we finde) all Iapan was subiect vnto one Emperour whose royall seat was Meaco, in the Iaponish language called Cubucama. But the nobilitie rebelling against him, by litle and litle haue taken away the greatest part of his dominion, howbeit his title continually remayneth, and the residue in some respect doe make great account of him still, acknowledging him for their superior. Thus the Empyre of Iapan, in times past but one alone, is now diuided into sixtie sixe kingdomes, the onely cause of ciuill warres continually in that Iland, to no small hinderance of the Gospell, whilest the kings that dwell neare together inuade one another, each one coueting to make his kingdome greater. Furthermore in the citie Meaco is the pallace of the high Priest, whom that nation honoureth as a God, he hath in his house 366 Idoles, one whereof by course is euery night set by his side for a watchman. He is thought of the common people so holy, that it may not be lawfull for him to goe vpon the earth: if happily he doe set one foote to the ground, he looseth his office. He is not serued very sumptuously, he is maintained by almes. The heads and beards of his ministers are shauen, they haue name Cangues, and their authoritie is great throughout all Iapan. The Cubucama vseth them for Embassadors to decide controuersies betwixt princes, and to end their warres, whereof they were wont to make very great gaine. It is now two yeres since or there about, that one of them came to Bungo, to intreate of peace betwixt the king thereof and the king of Amanguzzo. This Agent fauouring the king of Bungo his cause more then the other, brought to passe that the foresayd king of

But his shape are very good

Bungo should keepe two kingdomes, the which he had taken in warres from the king of Amanguzo. Wherefore he had for his reward of the king of Bungo aboue 30000 ducats. And thus farre hereof.

I come now to other superstitions and ceremonies, that you may see, deare brethren, that which I said in the beginning, how subtilly the deuill hath deceiued the Iaponish nation, and how diligent and readie they be to obey & worship him. And first, al remembrance and knowledge not onely of Christ our Redeemer, but also of that one God the maker of all things is cleane extinguished and vtterly abolished out of the Iapans hearts. Moreouer their superstitious sects are many, whereas it is lawfull for each one to follow that which liketh him best: but the principall sects are two, namely the Amidans and Xacaians. Wherefore in this countrey shall you see many monasteries, not onely of Bonzii men, but also of Bonziæ women diuersly attired, for some doe weare white vnder, and blacke vpper garments, other goe apparelled in ash colour, and their idole hath to name Denichi: from these the Amidanes differ very much. Againe the men Bonzii for the most part dwell in sumptuous houses, and haue great reuenues. These fellowes are chaste by commaundement, marry they may not vpon paine of death. In the midst of their Temple is erected an altar, whereon standeth a wodden Idole of Amida, naked from the girdle vpward, with holes in his eares after the manner of Italian gentlewomen, sitting on a wooden rose goodly to behold. They haue great libraries, and halles for them all to dine and sup together, and bels wherwith they are at certaine houres called to prayers. In the euening the Superintendent giueth each one a theame for *meditation*. After midnight before the altar in their Temple they do say Mattens as it were out of Xaca his last booke, one quier one verse, the other quier another. Early in the morning each one giueth himselfe to meditation one houre: they shaue their heads and beards. Their cloysters be very large, and within the precinct therof, Chappels of the Fotoquiens, for by that name some of the Iapanish Saints are called: their holydaies yeerely be very many. Most of these Bonzii be gentlemen, for that the Iapanish nobility charged with many children, vse to make most of them Bonzii, not being able to leaue for each one a patrimony good enough. The Bonzii most couetously bent, know all the wayes how to come by money. They sell vnto the people many scrolles of paper, by the helpe whereof the common people thinketh it selfe warranted from all power of the deuils. They borrow likewise money to be repayed with great vsury in an other worlde, gaining by obligation vnto the lender an assurance thereof, the which departing out of this life he may carry with him to hell.

Inambuxu. There is another great company of such as are called Inambuxu, with curled and staring haire. They make profession to finde out againe things either lost or stolen, after this sort. They set before them a child whom the deuill inuadeth, called vp thither by charmes: of that child then doe they aske that which they are desirous to know.

These mens prayers both good and bad are thought greatly to preuaile, insomuch that both their blessings and their curses they sell vnto the people. The nouices of this order, before they be admitted, goe together two or three thousand in a company, vp a certaine high mountaine to doe pennance there, threescore dayes voluntarily punishing themselues. In this time the deuill sheweth himselfe vnto them in sundry shapes: and they like young graduats, admitted as it were fellowes into some certaine companie, are set foorth with white tassels hanging about their neckes, and blacke Bonnets that scarcely couer any more then the crowne of their heads. Thus attyred they range abroade in all Iapan, to set out themselues and their cunning to sale, each one beating his bason which he carieth alwayes about with him, to giue notice of their comming in al townes where they passe.

Genguis. There is also an other sort called Genguis, that make profession to shewe by soothsaying where stollen things are, and who were the theeues. These dwell in the toppe of an high mountaine, blacke in the face: for the continuall heate of the sunne, for the cold windes, and raines they doe continually endure. They marry but in their owne tribe and line: the report goeth that they be horned beasts. They climbe vp most high rockes and hilles, and go ouer very great riuers by the onely arte of the deuill, who to bring those wretches the more into errour, biddeth them to goe vp a certaine high mountaine, where they stande miserably

serably gazing and earnestly looking for him as long as the deuill appointeth them. At the length at noontide or in the euening commeth that deuil, whom they call Amida among them to shew himselfe vnto them: this shew breedeth in the braines and hearts of men such a kinde of superstition, that it can by no meanes be rooted out of them afterward.

The deuill was wont also in an other mountaine to shew himselfe vnto the Iapanish Nation. Who so was more desirous than other to go to heauen and to enioy Paradise, thither went he to see that sight, and hauing seene the deuill followed him (so by the deuill persuaded) into a denne vntill he came to a deepe pit. Into this pit the deuill was wont to leape and to take with him his worshipper whom he there murdred. This deceit was thus perceiued. An old man blinded with this superstition, was by his sonne disswaded from thence, but all in vaine. Wherefore his sonne followed him priuily into that denne with his bow & arrows, where the deuill gallantly appeared vnto him in the shape of a man. Whilest the old man falleth downe to worshippe the deuill, his sonne speedily shooting an arrow at the spirit so appearing, stroke a Foxe in stead of a man, so suddenly was that shape altered. This olde man his sonne tracking the Foxe so running away, came to that pit whereof I spake, and in the bottome thereof he found many bones of dead men, deceiued by the deuill after that sort in time past. Thus deliuered he his father from present death, and all other from so pestilent an opinion.

There is furthermore a place bearing name Coia, very famous for a multitude of Abbyes which the Bonzii haue therein. The beginner and founder whereof is thought to be one Combendaxis a suttle craftie fellowe, that got the name of holinesse by cunning speech, although the lawes and ordinances he made were altogether deuillish: he is said to haue found out the Iapanish letters vsed at this day. In his latter yeeres this Sim suttle buried himselfe in a foursquare graue, foure cubites deepe, seuerely forbidding it to be opened, for that then he died not, but rested his bodie wearied with continuall businesse, vntill many thousand thousands of yeeres were passed, after the which time a great learned man named Mirozu should come into Iapan, and then would he rise vp out of his graue againe. About his tombe many lampes are lighted, sent thither out of diuerse prouinces, for that the people are perswaded that whosoeuer is liberall and beneficiall towardes the beautifying of that monument shall not onely increase in wealth in this world, but in the life to come be safe through Combendaxis helpe. Such as giue themselues to worship him, liue in those Monasteries or Abbyes with shauen heads, as though they had forsaken all secular matters, whereas in deede they wallow in all sortes of wickednesse and lust. In these houses, the which are many (as I sayd) in number, doe remaine 6000 Bonzii, or thereabout besides the multitude of lay men, women be restrained from thence vpon paine of death. Another company of Bonzii dwelleth at Fatonochaiti. They teach a great multitude of children all tricks & sleights of guile & theft: whom they do find to be of great towardnes, those do they instruct in al the petigrues of princes, and fashions of the nobilitie, in chiualrie and eloquence, and so send them abroad into other prouinces, attired like yong princes, to this ende, that fayning themselues to be nobly borne, they may with great summes of money borowed vnder the colour and pretence of nobilitie returne againe. Wherefore this place is so infamous in all Iapan, that if any scholer of that order be happily taken abroad, he incontinently dieth for it. Neuerthelesse these cousiners leaue not daily to vse their woonted wickednesse and knauerie.

North from Iapan, three hundred leagues out of Meaco, lieth a great countrey of sauage men clothed in beasts skinnes, rough bodied, with huge beards and monstrous muchaches, the which they hold vp with litle forkes as they drinke. These people are great drinkers of wine, fierce in warres, and much feared of the Iapans: being hurt in fight, they wash their wounds with salt water, other Surgerie haue they none. In their breasts they are sayd to cary looking glasses: their swordes they tie to their heads, in such wise, that the handle doe rest vpon their shoulders. Service and ceremonies haue they none at all, onely they are woont to worship heauen. To Aquita a great towne in that Iapanish kingdom, which we call Geuano, they much resort for marchandise, and the Aquitanes likewise doe trauell into their countrey, howbeit not often, for that there many of them are slaine by the inhabiters.

A sauage like people to the North of Meaco

Much

The Iaponish funerals.

Much more concerning this matter I had to write: but to auoyd tediousnesse I will come to speake of the Iapans madnesse againe, who most desirous of vaine glory doe thinke then, specially to get immortall fame, when they procure themselues to be most sumptuously and solemnly buried: their burials and obsequies in the citie Meaco are done after this maner. About one houre before the dead body be brought foorth, a great multitude of his friends apparelled in their best aray goe before vnto the fire, with them goe their kinswomen and, such as bee of their acquaintance, clothed in white (for that is the mourning colour there), with a changeable coloured vaile on their heads. Each woman hath with her also, according to her abilitie, all her familie trimmed vp in white mockado: the better sort and wealthier women goe in litters of Cedar artificially wrought and richly dressed. In the second place marcheth a great company of footemen sumptuously apparelled. Then afarre off commeth one of these Bonzii master of the ceremonies for that superstition, brauely clad in silkes and gold, in a large and high litter excellently well wrought, accompanied with 30 other Bonzii or thereabout, wearing hats, linnen albes, and fine blacke vpper garments. Then attired in ashe colour (for this colour also is mourning) with a long torch of Pineaple, he sheweth the dead body the way vnto the fire, lest it either stumble or ignorantly go out of the way. Well neere 200 Bonzii folow him singing the name of that deuill the which the partie deceassed chiefly did worship in his life time, and therewithall a very great bason is beaten euen to the place of fire instead of a bell. Then follow two great paper baskets hanged open at staues endes full of paper roses diuersly coloured, such as beare them doe march but slowly, shaking euer now and then their staues, that the aforesayd flowers may fall downe by litle and litle as it were drops of raine: and be whirled about with wind. This shower say they is an argument that the soule of the dead man is gone to paradise. After al this, eight beardles Bonzii orderly two and two drag after them on the ground long speares, the points backward, with flags of one cubite a piece, wherein the name also of that idole is written. Then there be caried 10 lanterns trimmed with the former inscription, ouercast with a fine vaile, and candles burning in them. Besides this, two yoong men clothed in ashe colour beare pineaple torches, not lighted, of three foote length, the which torches serue to kindle the fire wherein the dead corpes is to bee burnt. In the same colour follow many other that weare on the crownes of their heads faire, litle, threesquare, blacke lethren caps tied fast vnder their chinnes (for that is honorable amongst them) with papers on their heads, wherein the name of the deuill I spake of, is written. And to make it the more solemne, after commeth a man with a table one cubite long, one foot broad, couered with a very fine white vaile, in both sides whereof is written in golden letters the aforesayd name. At the length by foure men is brought foorth the corps sitting in a gorgeous litter clothed in white, hanging downe his head and holding his hands together like one that prayed: to the rest of his apparell may you adde an vpper gowne of paper, written full of that booke the which his God is sayd to haue made, when he liued in the world, by whose helpe and merites commonly they doe thinke to be saued. The dead man his children come next after him most gallantly set foorth, the yongest wherof carieth likewise a pineaple torch to kindle the fire. Last of all foloweth a great number of people in such caps as I erst spake of.

They burne their dead.

When they are al come to ỳ place appointed for the obsequie, al the Bonzii w̃ the whole multitude for the space of one houre, beating pannes and basons with great clamours, call vpon the name of that deuill, the which being ended, the Obsequie is done in this maner. In the midst of a great quadrangle railed about, hanged with course linnen, and agreeably vnto the foure partes of the world made with foure gates to goe in and out at, is digged a hole: in the hole is laied good store of wood, whereon is raised gallantly a waued roofe: before that stand two tables furnished with diuers kindes of meates, especially drie Figs, Pomegranates and Tartes good store, but neither Fish nor Flesh: vpon one of them standeth also a chafer with coales, and in it sweete wood to make perfumes. When all this is readie, the corde wherewith the litter was caried, is throwen by a long rope into the fire: as many as are present striue to take the rope in their handes, vsing their aforesayd clamours, which done, they goe in procession as it were round about the quadrangle thrise. Then setting the litter

on

on the wood built vp ready for the fire that Bonzius who then is master of the ceremonies, saieth a verse that no bodie there vnderstandeth, whirling thrise about ouer his head a torch lighted, to signifie thereby that the soule of the dead man had neither any beginning, ne shall haue at any time an ende, and throweth away the torch. Two of the dead man his children, or of his neere kinne, take it vp againe, and standing one at the East side of the litter, the other at the West, doe for honour and reuerence reach it to each other thrise ouer the dead corps, and so cast it into the pile of wood: by and by they throw in oyle, sweete wood, and other perfumes, accordingly as they haue plentie, and so with a great flame bring the corpes to ashes: his children in the meane while putting sweete wood into the chafer at the table with odours, doe solemnly and religiously worship their father as a Saint: which being done, the Bonzii are paied each one in his degree. The master of the ceremonies hath for his part fiue duckats, sometimes tenne, sometimes twentie, the rest haue tenne Iulies a piece, or els a certaine number of other presents called Caxæ. The meate that was ordained, as soone as the dead corps friends and all the Bonzii are gone, is left for such as serued at the obsequie, for the poore and impotent lazars.

The next day returne to the place of obsequie the dead man his children, his kinred and friends, who gathering vp his ashes, bones, and teeth, doe put them in a gilded pot, and so carie them home, to bee set vp in the same pot couered with cloth, in the middest of their houses. Many Bonzii returne likewise to these priuate funerals, and so doe they againe the seuenth day: then cary they out the ashes to bee buried in a place appointed, laying thereupon a fouresquare stone, wherein is written in great letters drawen all the length of the stone, the name of that deuil the which the dead man worshipped in his life time. Euery day afterward his children resort vnto the graue with roses and warme water that the dead corps thirst not. Nor the seuenth day onely, but the seuenth moneth and yeere, within their owne houses they renue this obsequie, to no small commodities and gaine of the Bonzii: great rich men doe spend in these their funerals 3000 duckats or thereabout, the meaner sort two or three hundred. Such as for pouertie be not able to go to that charges, are in the night time darke long without all pompe and ceremonies buried in a dunghill.

They haue another kinde of buriall, especially neere the Sea side, for them that bee not yet dead. These fellowes are such, as hauing religiously with much deuotion worshipped Amida, now desirous to see him, doe slay themselues. And first they goe certaine dayes begging almes, the which they thrust into their sleeues, then preach they in publique a sermon vnto the people, declaring what they mind to doe, with the great good liking of all such as doe heare them: for euery body wondreth at such a kinde of holinesse. Then take they hookes to cut downe briars and thornes that might hinder them in their way to heauen, and so embarke themselues in a new vessell, tying great stones about their neckes, armes, loines, thighes, and feete: thus they launching out into the main Sea bee either drowned there, their shippe bouged for that purpose, or els doe cast themselues ouer-boord headlong into the Sea. The emptie barke is out of hand set a fire for honours sake by their friends that follow them in another boat of their owne, thinking it blasphemie that any mortall creature should afterward once touch the barke that had bene so religiously halowed.

Truly when we went to Meaco, eight dayes before we came to the Ile of Hiu at Fore towne, sixe men and two women so died. To all such as die so the people erecteth a Chappell, and to each of them a pillar and a pole made of Pineaple for a perpetuall monument, hanging vp many shreds of paper in stickes all the roofe ouer, with many verses set downe in the walles in commendation of that blessed company. Wherefore vnto this place both day and night many come very superstitiously in pilgrimage. It happened euen then as Aloisius Almeida and I went to christen a childe wee trauelled that way at what time foure or fiue olde women came foorth out of the aforesayd chappell with beades in their handes (for in this point also the deuill counterfeiteth Christianitie) who partly scorned at vs for follie, partly frowned and taunted at our small deuotion, for passing by that holy monument without any reuerence or worship done thereunto at all.

It remaineth now we speake two or three wordes of those Sermons the Bonzii are woont

to

to make, not so many as ours in number, but assuredly very well prouided for. The Pulpit is erected in a great temple with a silke Canopie ouer it, therein standeth a costly seate, before the seate a table with a bell and a booke: At the houre of Sermon each sect of the Iapans resorteth to their owne doctors in diuers Temples. Vp goeth the doctor into the Pulpit, and being set downe, after that hee hath lordlike looked him about, signifieth silence with his bell, and so readeth a fewe wordes of that booke we spake of, the which he expoundeth afterward more at large. These preachers be for the most part eloquent, and apt to drawe with their speach the mindes of their hearers. Wherefore to this ende chieflie (such is their greedinesse) tendeth all their talke, that the people bee brought vnder the colour of godlinesse to enrich their monasteries, promising to each one so much the more happinesse in the life to come, how much the greater costes and charges they bee at in Church matters and obsequies: notwithstanding this multitude of superstitious Sects and companies, and the diuersities thereof amongst themselues: yet in this principally all their Superintendents doe trauell so to perswade their Nouices in their owne tales and lies, that they thinke nothing els trueth, nothing els sure to come by euerlasting saluation, nothing els woorth the hearing. Whereunto they adde other subtleties, as in going grauitie, in countenance, apparell, and in all outward shew, comelinesse. Whereby the Iapans mindes are so nousled in wicked opinions, & doe conceiue thereby such trust and hope of euerlasting saluation, that not onely at home, but also abroad in euery corner of the towne continually almost they run ouer their beades, humbly asking of Amida and Xaca, wealth, honour, good health, and euerlasting ioyes. Thus then, deare brethren, may you thinke how greatly they need the helpe of God, that either doe bring the Gospell into this countrey, or receiuing it brought vnto them, doe forsake idolatrie and ioine themselues with Christ, being assaulted by so many snares of the deuill, troubled with the daily dissuasions of their Bonzii, and finally, so iniuriously, so hardly, so sharpely vexed of their kinred and friends, that except the grace of God obtained by the sacrifices and prayers of the Catholique church doe helpe vs, it cannot be chosen but that the faith and constancie of many, if not of all, in these first beginnings of our churches, will greatly be put in ieopardie. So much the more it standeth you vpon that so earnestly long for the health of soules, to commend specially these Iapanish flocks vnto our Lord.

We came to Sacaio the eight and twentie day of Ianuary: Aloisius Almeida first for businesse, but afterward let by sicknesse, staied there some while, but I parting the next day from thence came thirteene leagues off to Meaco the last of Ianuarie. Of my comming all the Christians tooke great comfort, but especially Gaspar Vilela who in 6 yeres had seen none of our companie at Meaco: his yeeres are not yet fortie, but his grey haires shew him to be seuentie, so vehemently is his litle body afflicted and worne with extreme cold. Hee speaketh Iapanish so skilfully after the phrase of Meaco (the which for the renowme of this people and royal seat of the king is best accounted of) that hee doeth both confesse and preach in that language. Certaine godly bookes also he hath done into that speach, not omitting to translate other as laisure suffreth him. To make an ende, our Lord for his goodnesse vouchsafe to preserue vs all continually, and to giue vs ayde both rightly to interprete his will, and well to doe the same. From Meaco the 19 of February 1565.

Other such like matter is handled both in other his letters, and also in the Epistles written by his companions to be seene at large in the aforesaid volume. Amongst the rest this seemed in my iudgement one of the principall, and therefore the rather I tooke vpon me to doe it into English.

Of the Iles beyond Iapan in the way from China to the Moluccas.

AMongst other Iles in the Asian sea betwixt Cantan a Chinish hauen in Cathaio & the Moluccas, much spoken of in the Indian histories and painted out in Maps, Ainan and Santianum are very famous. Ainan standeth 19 degrees on this side of the Equinoctiall line nere China, from whence the Chinish nation haue their prouision for shipping and other necessaries

Ainan.

necessaries requisite for their Nauie. There staied Balthasar Gagus a great traueiler 5 moneths, who describeth that place after this maner. Ainan is a goodly countrey ful of Indian fruits & all kinds of victuals, besides great store of iewels and pearle, well inhabited, the townes built of stone, the people rude in conditions, apparelled in diuers coloured rugs, with two oxe hornes, as it were, made of fine cypres hanging downe about their eares, and a paire of sharpe cyzers at their foreheads. Decr. Rep. l. 4.

The cause wherefore they go in such attire I could not vnderstand, except it bee for that they do counterfeit the deuil in the forme of a brute beast, offring themselues vp to him.

Santianum is an Ile neere vnto the hauen Cantan in the confines likewise of China, famous for the death of that worthy traueiler and godly professour and painfull doctor of the Indian nation in matters concerning religion, Francis Xauier, who after great labours, many iniuries, and calamities infinite suffred with much patience, singular ioy and gladnesse of mind, departed in a cabben made of bowes and rushes vpon a desert mountaine, no lesse voyd of all worldly commodities, then endued with all spirituall blessings, out of this life, the 2 day of December, the yeere of our Lord 1552. after that many thousand of these Easterlings were brought by him to the knowledge of Christ. Of this holy man, his particular vertues, and specially trauell, and wonderfull works in that region, of other many litle Iles (yet not so litle, but they may right wel be written of at laisure) all the latter histories of the Indian regions are full. Santianum.

An excellent treatise of the kingdome of China, and of the estate and gouernment thereof: Printed in Latine at Macao a citie of the Portugals in China, An. Dom. 1590. and written Dialogue-wise. The speakers are Linus, Leo, and Michael.

LINUS.

COncerning the kingdome of China (Michael) which is our next neighbour, we haue heard and daily do heare so many reports, that we are to request at your hands rather a true then a large discourse and narration thereof. And if there be ought in your knowledge besides that which by continual rumours is waxen stale among vs, we will right gladly giue diligent eare vnto it.

MICHAEL. Because the report of this most famous kingdome is growen so common among vs, reducing diuers and manifold particulars into order, I will especially aime at the trueth of things receiued from the fathers of the societie, which euen now at this present are conuersant in China. First of all therefore it is not vnknowen, that of all parts of the maine continent this kingdom of China is situate most Easterly: albeit certaine Ilands, as our natiue Iapon, & the Ile of Manilia stand more Easterly then China it selfe. As touching the limites & bounds of this kingdom, we may appoint the first towards ẏ West to be a certaine Ile commonly called Hainan, which standeth in 19 degrees of Northerly latitude. For the continent next adioining vnto this Ile trendeth towardes the East, and that especially, where the promontorie of the citie called Nimpo or Liampo doeth extend it selfe. Howbeit, from that place declining Northward, it stretcheth foorth an huge length, insomuch that the farthest Chinian inhabitants that way doe behold the North pole eleuated, at least 50 degrees, and perhaps more also: whereupon a man may easilie coniecture (that I may speake like an Astronomer) how large the latitude of this kingdom is, when as it containeth about more then 540 leagues in direct extension towards the North. But as concerning the longitude which is accounted from East to West, it is not so exactly found out, that it may be distinguished into degrees. Howbeit certaine it is, that according to the Map wherein the people of China describe the forme of their kingdom, the latitude thereof doeth not much exceed ẏ longitude. This kingdom therefore is, without all peraduenture, of all earthly kingdoms the most large and spacious: for albeit diuers other kings vnder their iurisdiction containing in dimensions more length & breadth then all China, do possesse very many kingdoms & far distant asunder: yet none of thē all enioieth any one kingdom The situation and limites of China. Chinian Cosmographers.

so large and so ample, as the most puissant king of China doeth. Now, if we shall make enquirie into his reuenues and tributes, true it is, that this king, of all others, is endued with the greatest and the richest, both in regard of the fertilitie & greatnes of his dominions, & also by reason of the seuere collection and exaction of his duties: yea, tributes are imposed vpon his subiects, not onely for lands, houses, and impost of marchandise, but also for euery person in each family. It is likewise to be vnderstood, that almost no lord or potentate in China hath authoritie to leuie vnto himselfe any peculiar reuenues, or to collect any rents within the precincts of his seigniories, al such power belonging onely vnto the king: whereas in Europe the contrary is most commonly seen, as we haue before signified In this most large kingdom are conteined 15 prouinces, euery one of which were in it selfe sufficient to be made one great kingdom. Six of these prouinces do border vpon the sea, namely (ẏ I may vse the names of the Chinians thēselues) Coantum, Foquien, Chequiam, Nanquin, Xantum, Paquin: the other 9 be in-land prouinces, namely, Quiansi, Huquam, Honan, Xiensi, Xansi, Suchuon, Queicheu, Iunan, Coansi. Amongst all the foresayd prouinces, two are allotted for the kings court and seat roial, that is to say, Paquin for his court in the North, and Nanquin for his court in the South. For the kings of China were woont to be resident altogether at the South court: but afterward by reason of the manifold and cruell warres mooued by the Tartars, they were constrained to defixe their princely seate and habitation in that extreme prouince of the North. Whereupon it commeth to passe, that those Northren confines of the kingdom doe abound with many moe fortresses, marciall engines, and garrisons of souldiers. LEO. I haue heard, amongst those munitions, a certaine strange and admirable wall reported of, wherewith the people of China doe represse and driue backe the Tartars attempting to inuade their territories. MICHAEL. Certes that wall which you haue heard tell of is most woorthie of admiration; for it runneth alongst the borders of three Northerlie prouinces, Xiensi, Xansi, and Paquin, and is sayd to containe almost three hundred leagues in length, and in such sort to bee built, that it hindereth not the courses and streames of any riuers, their chanels being ouerthwarted and fortified with wonderfull bridges and other defences. Yet is it not vnlikely, that the sayd wall is built in such sort, that onely lowe and easie passages bee therewith stopped and enuironed; but the mountaines running betweene those lowe passages are, by their owne naturall strength, and inaccessible heigth, a sufficient fortification agaynst the enemie. LINUS. Tell vs (Michael) whether the kingdome of China be so frequented with inhabitants, as wee haue often bene informed, or no? MICHAEL. It is (Linus) in very deed a most populous kingdom, as I haue bene certified from the fathers of the societie: who hauing seene sundry prouinces of Europe renoumed for the multitude of their inhabitants, doe notwithstanding greatly admire the infinite swarmes of people in China. Howbeit these multitudes are not pel-mel and confusiuely dispersed ouer the land, but most conueniently and orderly distributed in their townes and famous cities: of which assemblies there are diuers kindes among the Chinians. For they haue certaine principal cities called by the name of Fu: other inferior cities called Cheu: and of a third kind also named Hien, which be indeed walled townes, but are not priuileged with the dignities and prerogatiues of cities. To these may be added two other kindes of lesser townes, which are partly villages, and partly garrisons of souldiers. Of the first and principall kind is that most noble citie standing neere vnto the port of Macao, called by the Chinians Coanchefu, but by the Portugals commonly termed Cantam, which is rather the common name of the prouince, thē a word of their proper imposition. Vnto the third kind appertaineth a towne, which is yet nigher vnto the port of Macao, called by the Portugals Ansam, but by the Chinians Hiansanhien. Al the foresayd prouinces therefore haue their greater cities named Fu, & their lesser cities called Cheu, vnto both of which the other townes may be added. Moreouer, in euery prouince there is a certain principal city which is called the Metropolitane thereof, wherein the chief magistrates haue their place of residence, as the principal citie by me last mentioned, which is the head of the whole prouince called Coantum. The number of the greater cities throughout the whole kingdom is more then 150, and there is the same or rather a greater multitude of inferiour cities. Of walled townes not endued

The rich reuenues of the king of China.

Fifteene great prouinces in China.

The seats roiall of the king of China.

The warlike munitions of China, & a marueilous wall.

Abundance of inhabitants in China.

Cities and townes.

endued with the priuileges of cities there are mo then 1120: the villages & garrisons can scarce be numbred: ouer & besides the which conuents it is incredible what a number of coūtrie farmes or granges there be: for it is not easie to find any place desert or void of inhabitants in all that land. Now in the sea, in riuers, & in barks there are such abundance of people, and of whole families inhabiting, that euen the Europæans themselues doe greatly wonder thereat: insomuch that some (albeit beyond measure) haue bene perswaded that there are as many people dwelling vpon the water as vpon the land. Neither were they induced so to thinke altogether without probabilitie: for whereas the kingdom of China is in all parts thereof interfused with commodious riuers, & in many places consisteth of waters, barges & boats being euery-where very common, it might easily bee supposed, that the number of watermen was equal vnto the land inhabitants. Howbeit, that is to be vnderstood by amplification, whereas the cities do swarme so ful with citizens & the countrie with peasants. Leo. The abundance of people which you tell vs of seemeth very strange: whereupon I coniecture the soile to be fertile, the aire to be holesome, and the whole kingdom to be at peace. MICHAEL. You haue (friend Leo) ful iudicially coniectured those three: for they do all so excel, y which of the three in this kingdom be more excellent, it is not easie to discerne. And hence it is that this common opinion hath bene rife among the Portugals, namely, that the kingdom of China was neuer visited with those three most heauy & sharpe scourges of mankind, warre, famine, & pestilence. But that opinion is more common then true: sithens there haue bene most terrible intestine and ciuile warres, as in many and most autenticall histories it is recorded: sithens also that some prouinces of the sayd kingdom, euen in these our dayes, haue bene afflicted with pestilence and contagious diseases, and with famine. Howbeit, that the foresaid three benefits do mightily flourish and abound in China, it cannot be denied. For (that I may first speake of the salubritie of the aire) the fathers of the societie themselues are witnesses, that scarcely in any other realme there are so many found that liue vnto decrepite and extreme old age: so great a multitude is there of ancient and graue personages: neither doe they vse so many confections and medicines, nor so manifold and sundry wayes of curing diseases, as wee saw accustomed in Europe. For amongst them they haue no Phlebotomie or letting of blood: but all their cures, as ours also in Iapon, are atchieued by fasting, decoctions of herbes, & light or gentle potions. But in this behalfe let euery nation please themselues with their owne customes. Now, in fruitfulnes of soile this kingdom certes doth excel, far surpassing all other kingdoms of the East: yet is it nothing comparable vnto the plentie and abundance of Europe, as I haue declared at large in the former treatises. But the kingdom of China is, in this regard, so highly extolled, because there is not any region in the East partes that aboundeth so with marchandise, and from whence so much traffique is sent abroad. For whereas this kingdome is most large & full of nauigable riuers, so that commodities may easilie be conueyed out of one prouince into another: the Portugals doe find such abundance of wares within one and the same Citie, (which perhaps is the greatest Mart throughout the whole kingdome) that they are verily perswaded, that the same region, of all others, most aboundeth with marchandise: which notwithstanding is to be vnderstood of the Orientall regions: albeit there are some kindes of marchandise, wherewith the land of China is better stored then any other kingdom. This region affordeth especially sundry kinds of mettals, of which the chiefe, both in excellencie & in abundance, is gold, whereof so many Pezoes are brought from China to India, and to our countrey of Iapon, that I heard say, that in one and the same ship, this present yeere, 2000 such pieces consisting of massie gold, as the Portugals commonly call golden loaues, were brought vnto vs for marchandise: and one of these loaues is worth almost 100 duckats. Hence it is that in the kingdom of China so many things are adorned with gold, as for example, beds, tables, pictures, images, litters wherein nice and daintie dames are caried vpon their seruants backes. Neither are these golden loaues onely bought by the Portugals, but also great plentie of gold-twine and leaues of gold: for the Chinians can very cunningly beate and extenuate gold into plates and leaues. There is also great store of siluer, whereof (that I may omit other arguments) it is no small demonstration, that euery yeere there are brought into

The Chinian is not greatly inhabited.

Holinesse, plenty &, in China.

Chinian manners.

The citie of Conchita, whole Canton.

Great abundance of gold in China.

Great store of siluer.

the citie commonly called Cantam by the Portugal marchants to buie wares, at the least 400 Sestertium thereof, and yet nothing in a maner is conueied out of the Chinian kingdom: because the people of China abounding with all necessaries, are not greatly inquisitiue or desirous of any marchandise from other kingdomes. I doe here omit the Siluer mines whereof there are great numbers in China, albeit there is much circumspection vsed in digging the siluer thereout: for the king standeth much in feare least it may bee an occasion *to stirre* vp the couetous and greedie humour of many. Nowe their siluer which they put to vses is for the most part passing fine, and purified from all drosse, and therefore in *trying it* they vse great diligence. What should I speake of their iron, copper, lead, tinne, and other mettals, and also of their quick-siluer? Of all which in the realme of China there is great abundance, and from thence they are transported into diuers countreys. Hereunto may bee added the wonderfull store of pearles, which, at the Ile of Hainan, are found *in* shell-fishes taken very cunningly by certaine Diuers, and doe much enlarge the kings reuenues. But now let vs proceed vnto the Silke or Bombycine fleece, whereof there is great plentie in China: so that euen as the husbandmen labour in manuring the earth, and in sowing of Rice: so likewise the women doe employ a great part of their time in preseruing of silke-wormes, and in keeming and weauing of Silke. Hence it is that euery yeere the King and Queene with great solemnitie come foorth into a publique place, the one of them touching a plough, and the other a Mulberie tree, with the leaues whereof Silke-wormes are nourished: and both of them by this ceremonie encouraging both men and women vnto their vocation and labour: whereas otherwise, all the whole yeere throughout, no man besides the principall magistrates, may once attaine to the sight of the king. Of this Silke or Bombycine fleece there is such abundance, that three shippes for the most part comming out of India to the port of Macao, & at the least one euery yeere comming vnto vs, are laden especially with this fraight, and it is vsed not *onely in* India, but caried euen vnto Portugal. Neither is the Fleet it selfe onely transported thence, but also diuers & sundry stuffes wouen thereof, for the Chinians do greatly excel *in the* Art of weauing, and do very much resemble our weauers of Europe. Moreouer the kingdom of China aboundeth with most costlie spices & odours, and especially with cynamom (albeit not comparable to the cynamom of Zeilan) with camphire also & muske, which is very principal & good. Muske deriueth his name frō a beast of the same name (which beast resembleth a Beuer) frō the parts whereof brused & putrified proceedeth a most delicate & fragrant smel which the Portugals highly esteem, cōmonly calling those parts of the foresaid beasts (because they are like vnto the gorges of foules) Papos, & conuey great plenty of them into India, & to vs of Japon. But who would beleeue, that there were so much gossipine or cotton-wool in China; whereof such variety of clothes are made like vnto linnen; which we our selues do so often vse, & which also is conueied by sea into so many regions? Let vs now intreat of that earthen or pliable matter *commonly* called porcellan, which is pure white, & *is to* be esteemed the best stuffe of that kind in the whole world: wherof vessels of all kinds are very curiously framed. I say, it is the best earthen matter in all the world, for three qualities; namely, the cleannesse, the beauty, & the strength thereof. There is indeed other matter to be found more glorious, and more costly, but none so free from vncleannes, and so durable: this I adde, in regard of glasse, which indeed is immaculate and cleane, but may easily be broken in pieces. This matter is digged, not thorowout the whole region of China, but onely in one of the fifteene prouinces called Quiansi, wherein continually very many artificers are employed about the same matter: neither doe they only frame thereof smaller vessels, as dishes, platters, salt-sellers, ewers, and such like, but also certaine huge tunnes, and vessels of great quantity, being very finely and cunningly wrought, which, by reason of the danger and difficulty of carriage, are not transported out of the realme, but are vsed onely within it, and especially in the kings court. The beauty of this matter is much augmented by variety of picture, which is layed in certaine colours vpon it, while it is yet new, golde also being added thereunto, which maketh the foresayd vessels to appeare most beautifull. It is wonderfull how highly the Portugals do esteeme thereof, seeing they do, with great difficulty, transport the same, not onely to vs of

Iapon,

Pearles.

Great store of silke in China.

Silke brought into Iapon.

Spices, Camphire, & muske.

Cotton woull, whereof Calicut cloth is made.

Three qualities of porcellan.

Iapon and into India, but also into sundry prouinces of Europe. Vnto the marchandize aboue-mentioned may be added diuers and sundry plants, the rootes whereof be right holesome for mens bodies, and very medicinable, which are brought vnto our Iles of Iapon, and vnto many other Ilands, amongst the which that wood may be reckoned, which (by a synechdoche) is called The wood of China, being of notable force to expell out of mens bodies those humfours, which would breed contagious diseases. To these you may adde sugar-canes (for in the realme of China there is great store of excellent sugar) which is conueyed by the Portugals very plentifully, both into our countrey, and also into India. My speeches vttered immediatly before concerned marchandize onely, in regard whereof this kingdome is beneficiall not to itselfe alone, but most profitable to many other nations also. As for those fruits which pertaine to yerely sustenance and common food, they can scarse be numbred: albeit, of those three commodities which they of Europe so greatly account of; namely of cornes, vines, and oliues the land of China is not very capable: for the Chinians know not so much as the name of an Oliue tree (out of the fruit whereof oile is expressed) neither yet the name of a vine. The prouince of Paquin is not altogether destitute of wine, but whether it be brought from other places, or there made, I am not able to say: although it aboundeth with many other, and those not vnpleasant liquours, which may serue in the stead of wine it selfe. Now, as touching corne, there is indeed wheat sowen in all the prouinces, howbeit rise is in farre more vse and request then it: and so in regard of these two commodities profitable for mans life; namely, wine and corne; the kingdome of China and our countrey of Iapon may be compared together.

Plants.

Sugar.

China in a manner destitute of corne, wine, & oile.

LEO. You haue discoursed (Michael) of the fruitfulnesse of China, whereof I haue often heard, that it is no lesse pleasant than fruitful, and I haue bene especially induced so to thinke, at the sight of the Chinian maps. MICHAEL. The thing it selfe agrees right well with the picture: for they that haue seene the mediterran or inner parts of the kingdome of China, do report it to be a most amiable countrey, adorned with plenty of woods, with abundance of fruits and grasse, and with woonderfull variety of riuers, wherewith the Chinian kingdome is watered like a garden; diuers of which riuers doe naturally flowe, and others by arte and industry are deriued into sundry places. But now I will intreat of the tranquillity and peace of China, after I haue spoken a word or two concerning the maners of the inhabitants. This nation is indued with excellent wit and dexterity for the attaining of all artes, and, being very constant in their owne customes, they lightly regard the customes or fashions of other people. They vse one and the same kinde of vesture, yet so, that there is some distinction betweene the apparell of the magistrate & of the common subiect. They all of them do weare long haire vpon their heads, and, after the maner of women, do curiously keame their dainty locks hanging downe to the ground, and, hauing twined and bound them vp, they couer them with calles, wearing sundry caps thereupon, according to their age and condition. It seemeth that in olde time one language was common to all the prouinces: notwithstanding, by reason of variety of pronunciation, it is very much altered, and is diuided into sundry idiomes or proprieties of speech, according to the diuers prouinces: howbeit, among the magistrates, and in publike assemblies of iudgement, there is one and the very same kinde of language vsed thorowout the whole realme, from the which (as I haue sayd) the speech of ech prouince differeth not a little. Moreouer this people is most loyall and obedient vnto the king and his magistrates, which is the principall cause of their tranquillity & peace. For whereas the common sort doe apply themselues vnto the discretion and becke of inferiour magistrates, and the inferiour magistrates of the superiour, and the superiour magistrates of the king himselfe, framing and composing all their actions and affaires vnto that leuell: a world it is to see, in what equability and indifferency of iustice all of them do leade their liues, and how orderly the publike lawes are administred. Which thing notwithstanding shall be handled more at large, when we come to intreat of the gouernment. LEVS. Tell vs now (Michael) of the industry of that people, whereof we haue heard great reports. MICHAEL. Their industry is especially to be discerned in manuary artes and occupations; and therein the Chinians do surpasse most of these Easterly nations. For

Chinian maps.

The dispositions & maners of the Chinians.

Their language.

Their loyaltie vnto their superiours.

Their laborious industry.

there

there are such a number of artificers ingeniously and cunningly framing sundry deuices out of golde, siluer, and other mettals, as likewise of stone, wood, and other matters conuenient for mans vse, that the streets of cities being replenished with their shops and fine worke-
Painting. manship, are very woonderfull to beholde. Besides whom also there are very many Painters, vsing either the pensill or the needle (of which the last sort are called Embrotherers) and others also that curiously worke golde-twine vpon cloth either of linnen or of cotton: whose operations of all kinds are diligently conueyed by the Portugals into India. Their industry
Gunnes. doth no lesse appeare in founding of gunnes and in making of gun-powder, whereof are
Printing. made many rare and artificiall fire-works. To these may be added the arte of Printing, albeit their letters be in maner infinite and most difficult, the portraitures whereof they cut in wood or in brasse, and with marueilous facilitie they dayly publish huge multitudes of books.
Nauigation. Vnto these mechanicall & illiberall crafts you may adde two more: that is to say, nauigation and discipline of warre; both of which haue bene in ancient times most diligently practised by the inhabitants of China: for (as we haue before signified in the third dialogue) the Chi-nians sailing euen as farre as India, subdued some part therof vnto their owne dominion: howbeit afterward, least they should diminish the forces of their realme by dispersing them into many prouinces, altering their counsell, they determined to containe themselues within their owne limits: within which limits (as I haue sayd) there were in olde time vehement and cruell warres, both betweene the people of China themselues, and also against the Tar-
The Tartars ty- tarian king, who inuaded their kingdome, and by himselfe and his successours, for a long
rannized ouer China. season, vsurped the gouernment thereof. Howbeit the kings of the Tartarian race being worne out, and their stocke and family being vtterly abolished, the Chinians began to lift vp their heads, and to aduance themselues, inioying for these 200 yeeres last past exceeding peace and tranquillity, and at this day the posterity of the same king that expelled the Tar-tars, with great dignity weareth the crowne, and wieldeth the royall scepter. Albeit there-fore the people of China (especially they that inhabit Southerly from the prouince of Paquin) are, for the most part, by reason of continuall ease and quiet, growen effeminate, and their courage is abated, notwithstanding they would prooue notable and braue souldiers, if they ioyned vse and exercise vnto their naturall fortitude. As a man may easily obserue in them, that maintaine continuall warres against the most barbarous and cruell Tartars. Howbeit in this
Military disci- kingdome of China there is so great regard of military discipline, that no city nor towne there
pline. is destitute of a garison, the captaines and gouernours keeping ech man his order; which all of them, in euery prouince, are subiect vnto the kings lieutenant generall for the warres, whom they call Chumpin, and yet he himselfe is subiect vnto the Tutan or viceroy. Let vs now come vnto that arte, which the Chinians do most of all professe, and which we may, not vnfitly,
The literature call literature or learning. For although it be commonly reported, that many liberall sciences,
of China. and especially naturall and morall phylosophy are studied in China, and that they haue Vni-uersities there, wherein such ingenuous artes are deliuered and taught, yet, for the most part, this opinion is to be esteemed more popular then true: but I will declare, vpon what occasion this conceit first grew. The people of China doe, aboue all things, professe the arte of literature; and learning it most diligently, they imploy themselues a long time and the better part of their age therein. For this cause, in all cities and townes, yea, and in pety villages also, there are certaine schole-masters hired for stipends to instruct children: and their literature being (as ours in Iapon is also) in maner infinite, their children are put to schole euen from their infancy and tender yeeres, from whence notwithstanding such are taken away, as are iudged to be vnfit for the same purpose, and are trained vp to marchandize or to manuary sciences: but the residue do so dedicate themselues to the study of learning, that (a strange thing it is to consider) being conuersant in the principall books, they will easily tel you, if they be asked the question, how many letters be contained in euery page, and where ech letter is placed. Now, for the greater progresse and increase of learning, they (as the maner
Three degrees in learning. is in Europe) do appoint three degrees to the attaining of noble sciences; that is to say, the lowest, the middle degree, and the highest. Graduates of the first degree are called Sin-gi, of the second Quiugin, and of the third Chinzu. And in ech city or walled towne there is a publique

house

house called the Schoole, and vnto that all they doe resort from all priuate and pety-schooles that are minded to obtaine the first degree; where they do amplifie a sentence or theame propounded vnto them by some magistrate: and they, whose stile is more elegant and refined, are, in ech city, graced with the first degree. Of such as aspire vnto the second degree triall is made onely in the metropolitan or principall city of the prouince, whereunto, they of the first degree, euery third yere, haue recourse, and, in one publike house or place of assembly, doe, the second time, make an oration of another sentence obscurer then the former, and doe vndergo a more seuere examination. Now, there is commonly such an huge multitude of people, that this last yere, in the foresayd famous city of Cantam, by reason of the incredible assembly of persons flocking to that publike act or commencement, at the first entrance of the doores, there were many troden vnder foot, and quelled to death, as we haue bene most certainly informed. Moreouer they that sue for the highest degree are subiect vnto a most seuere and exact censure, whereby they are to be examined at the Kings Court onely, and that also euery third yere next ensuing the sayd yere wherein graduates of the second degree are elected in ech prouince, and, a certaine number being prescribed vnto euery particular prouince, they do ascend vnto that highest pitch of dignity, which is in so great regard with the king himselfe, that the three principall graduates do, for honours sake, drinke off a cup filled euen with the Kings owne hand, and are graced with other solemnities. Out of this order the chiefe magistrates are chosen: for after that they haue attained vnto this third degree, being a while trained vp in the lawes of the realme, and in the precepts of vrbanity, they are admitted vnto diuers functions. Neither are we to thinke that the Chinians be altogether destitute of other artes. For, as touching *morall philosophy*, all those books are fraught with the precepts thereof, which, for their instructions sake, are alwayes conuersant in the hands of the foresayd students, wherein such graue and pithy sentences are set downe, that, in men void of the light of the Gospell, more can not be desired. They haue books also that intreat of things and causes naturall, but herein it is to be supposed, that aswell their books as ours do abound with errors. There be other books among them, that discourse of herbs and medicines, and others of chiualry and martiall affaires. Neither can I here omit, that certaine men of China (albeit they be but few, and rare to be found) are excellent in the knowledge of astronomy, by which knowledge of theirs the dayes of the new moone incident to euery moneth are truely disposed and digested, and are committed to writing and published: besides, they doe most infallibly foretell the eclipses of the Sun and Moone: and whatsoeuer knowledge in this arte we of Iapon haue, it is deriued from them. LEO. We doe freely confesse that (Michael) sithens our books intreating of the same arte are, a great part of them, written in the characters or letters of China. But now, instruct you vs as touching their maner of gouernment, wherein the Chinians are sayd greatly to excell. MICHAEL. That, that, in very deed, is their chiefe arte, and vnto that all their learning and exercise of letters is directed. Whereas therefore, in the kingdome of China, one onely king beares rule ouer so many prouinces, it is strange what a number of Magistrates are by him created to administer publique affaires. For (to omit them which in ech Towne and City haue iurisdiction ouer the townesmen and citizens) there are three principall Magistrates in euery prouince. The first is he that hath to deale in cases criminall, and is called Ganchasu: the second is the Kings Fosterer, and is called Puchinsu: the third is the Lieutenant-generall for the warres, named, as we sayd before, Chumpin. These three therefore haue their place of residence in the chiefe City of the prouince: and the two former haue certaine associates of their owne order, but of inferiour authority, appointed in diuers Cities and Townes, vnto whom, according to the variety of causes, the Gouernours of Townes, and the Maiors of Cities doe appeale. Howbeit the three forenamed Magistrates are in subiection vnto the Tutan, that is, the Vice-roy, ordained in ech prouince. And all these Magistrates beare office for the space of three yeeres together: yet so, that for the gouerning of ech prouince, not any of the same prouince, but strangers, that is, men of another prouince, are selected: whereof it commeth to passe, that the Iudges may giue sentence with a farre more entire and incorrupt minde, then if they were among their owne kinsefolke and allies.

The first degree.

The second degree.

The third and highest degree.

Note the extraordinary honour vouchsafed by the great King of China vpon his learned graduates.

Morall philosophy.

Naturall philosophy.

Excellent astronomers in China.

The politike gouernment of China.

Three principall magistrates in ech prouince.

Ouer

Ouer and besides all these, there is an annuall or yeerely Magistrate, which is called Chaien, whose duety it is to make inquisition of all crimes, and especially the crimes of Magistrates, and also to punish common offences: but concerning the faults of the great magistrates to admonish the king himselfe. Of this order, euery yere, are sent out of the Kings Court, for ech prouince, one; and going ouer all the Cities and Townes thereof, they do most diligently ransacke and serch out all crimes, and vpon them which are imprisoned they inflict due punishment, or, being found not guilty, they dismisse them vnpunished. Hence it is, that all Magistrates greatly fearing to be called in question by the Chaien are well kept within the limits of their callings. Besides all these Magistrates there is at either Court, namely in the North, and in the South, a Senate or honourable assembly of graue counsellours, vnto the which, out of all prouinces, according to the necrenesse and distance of the place, affaires of greater weight and moment are referred, and by their authority diuers Magistrates are created: howbeit the managing and expedition of principall affaires is committed vnto the Senate of Paquin. Moreouer there are euery yeere certaine Magistrates appointed in ech prouince, to goe vnto the king: and euery third yeere all the Gouernours of Cities and of Townes do visit him at once, what time triall is made of them that aspire vnto the third degree: vpon which occasion there is at the same time an incredible number of people at the Kings Court. By reason of this excellent order and harmony of Magistrates placed one vnder another, it can scarse be imagined, what sweete peace and tranquility flourisheth thorowout the whole realme, especially sithens, after speedy inquisition, persons that are guilty be put (as the maner is there) to the punishment of the bastonado: neither yet are suits or actions any long time delayed. Also it is not to be omitted, that for the obtaining of any dignity or magistracy, the way is open, without all respect of gentry or blood, vnto all men, if they be learned, and especially if they haue attained vnto the third and highest degree aforesayd. Neither can it be expressed how obedient and duetifull the common sort are vnto their Magistrates; and with what magnificence and pompe the sayd Magistrates come abroad: for the most part of them haue fiftie or threescore Sergeants attending vpon them, and going before them, two and two in a ranke: some of them carrying Halberds, Maces, and Battle-axes: some trailing vron chaines vpon the ground: others holding great rodds or staues of a certaine kinde of reede, wherewith malefactours are punished, in their hands: and two there are that carry, inclosed in a case, the Kings seale peculiar for ech office: and many others also, that shew sundry spectacles vnto the people: whereunto may be added the horrible out-cries and showtes, which betweene whiles they vtter, to strike a terrour into the hearts of all men: and at length come the Magistrates themselues, being carried in a throne vpon the backs of foure men, sixe men, or eight men, according to the dignity of their office. Now, as concerning their houses, they are very large and stately, being built and furnished with all necessary stuffe, at the Kings owne cost, in the which, so long as their magistracy lasteth, they leade a braue and an honourable life. The sayd houses are without variety of stories one aboue another, which in the kingdome of China and in our Iles of Iapon also are not ordinarily vsed for habitation, but either to keepe watch and ward, or els for solace and recreations sake (for the which purposes, eight most lofty turrets of nine stories high are built) or els for the defence of Cities. Howbeit in other regardes these buildings doe shew foorth no small magnificence: for they haue their cisternes for the receit of raine water, which are adorned with beautifull trees, set in order, round about them: and they haue also their places designed for the administration of iustice, and diuers other conuenient roomes to bestow their wiues and families in. Within the doores of the foresayd habitations a certaine number of Sergeants and officers, hauing cabbins or little houses allotted them on both sides, doe alwayes giue their attendance; and so long as matters of iudgement are in deciding, they be alwayes ready at hand, that, at the direction of the Magistrates they may either beat malefactours, or by torments constraine them to tell the trueth. The sayd Magistrates also haue their peculiar barges wherein to take the water; being in breadth and length not much vnlike to the galleys of Europe, but for swiftnesse and multitude of oares, farre inferiour vnto them. The rowers, sitting vpon galleries without the hatches or compasse of the barge, doe

Two Senates or Counsels ordinarily holden in China.

The causes of peace in China.

Learning the only step to honour in China.

The stately & formidable procession of the Chinian magistrates.

The houses of the Chinian magistrates.

The magistrates barges.

doe mooue it on forword with their oares: whereupon it commeth to passe, that the middle part of the barge affordeth sufficient roome for the Magistrates themselues to abide in, containing chambers therein almost as conuenient and handsome, as in any of their foresayd publique houses, together with butteries and kitchins, and such other places necessary for the prouision and stowage of victuals. LEO. All these things agree right well with the reports, which we haue heard of the stately and renowmed kingdome of China: I would now right gladly know somewhat concerning the order which is obserued in the obtaining of magistracies.

MICHAEL. You haue enquired of a matter most woorthy to be knowen, which I had almost omitted to entreat of. The Chinians therefore doe vse a kinde of gradation in aduancing men vnto sundry places of authority, which for the most part is performed by the Senatours of Paquin. For first they are made iudges of townes: then of Cities: afterward they are elected to be of that order, which decreeth punishments in cases criminall without further appeale, or of their order, that are the kings fosterers. And in both of these Orders, which are very honourable, there are many places and degrees, so that from the inferiour place they must ascend vnto the superiour, vntill they haue attained vnto the highest dignity of all: and immediatly after that they come to be Vice royes, howbeit this gradation is not alwayes accomplished in one and the same prouince, but in changing their offices they change places and prouinces also. Moreouer, next after the office of Vice-roy they are capable to be chosen Senatours of Nanquin, and last of all to be elected into the Senate of Paquin. Now, there is such an order and methode obserued in the ascending vnto these dignities, that all men may easily coniecture, what office any one is to vndertake. And there is so great diligence and celerity vsed for the substitution of one into the roome of another, that for the same purpose, messengers are dispatched by land, vpon swift post-horses, vnto diuers prouinces, almost twenty dayes iourney from the Kings Court. And, to be short, there is such district seuerity in degrading those that vniustly or negligently demeane themselues, from an honourable vnto an inferiour and base office, or altogether in depriuing them of the kings authority: that all Magistrates doe stand in feare of nothing in the world more then of that. The same order, almost, is obserued among the Captaines and Lieu-tenants generall for the warres: except onely in them, that their birth and offspring is respected: for many there be, who descending by parentage from such men as haue in times past atchieued braue exploits in warfare, so soone as they come to sufficient yeeres, are created Centurions, Colonels, and Gouernours, vntill at last they attaine to be Lieu-tenants generall and Protectours of some whole prouince: who notwithstanding (as I haue sayd) are in all thing subiect vnto the Vice-roy. All the foresayd Magistrates both of warre and of peace haue a set number of attendants allotted vnto them, enioying a stipend, and carying certaine ensignes and peculiar badges of their office: and (besides the ordinary watch, which souldiers appointed for the same purpose doe in the night season, after the City gates be shut, keepe in their forts) whersoeuer any Magistrate is, either at his house or in his barge, the sayd attendants striking vpon a cymball of brasse, at certaine appointed times, do keepe most circumspect and continuall watch and ward about his person. LINUS. You haue (Michael) sufficiently discoursed of the Magistrates: informe vs now of the king himselfe, whose name is so renowmed and spread abroad. MICHAEL. Concerning this matter I will say so much onely as by certaine rumours hath come to my knowledge; for of matters appertaining vnto the kings Court we haue no eye-witnesses, sithens the fathers of the society haue not as yet proceeded vnto Paquin, who so soone as (by Gods assistance) they shall there be arriued, will by their letters more fully aduertise vs. The king of China therefore is honoured with woonderfull reuerence and submission thorowout his whole realme: and whensoeuer any of his chiefe Magistrates speaketh vnto him, he calleth him VAN-SVI, signifying thereby that he wisheth tenne thousands of yeeres vnto him. The succession of the kingdome dependeth vpon the bloud royall: for the eldest sonne borne of the kings first and lawfull wife obtaineth the kingdome after his fathers decease: neither doe they depriue themselues of the kingly authority in their life time (as the maner is in our Ilands of Iapon) but the custome of Europe is there obserued. Now, that the safety

The maner of electing magistrates in China.

Degrees vnto honour.

Riding post.

Martiall dignities.

The king of China.

Van-Sui.

The succession of the crowne.

The kings yonger brethren.

and life of the king may stand in more security, his yoonger brethren, and the rest borne of concubines are not permitted to liue in the kings Court: but places of habitation are by the king himselfe assigned vnto them in diuers prouinces farre distant asunder, where they dwell most commodiously, being comparable vnto kings for their buildings and reuenues: howbeit they exercise no authority ouer the people, but all the gouernment of those cities wherein they dwell concerneth the Magistrates, who notwithstanding haue the sayde Princes in high regard and honour, and doe visit them twise in a moneth, and salute them kneeling vpon their knees, and bowing their faces downe to the earth: and yet they communicate nothing vnto them as touching the administration of the Common-wealth. These are they which may properly be called the Peeres or Princes of the Realme of China: for they deriue their houses and reuenues vnto their posterity, and so are these royall families continually preserued. But to returne vnto the king himselfe, hee is most chary in obseruing the Chinian lawes and customes, and diligently exerciseth himselfe in learning so much as concernes his estate, sheweth himselfe dayly vnto his chiefe Magistrates, and communeth of matters appertaining to the publique commodity of the Realme. His palace is of woonderfull largenesse and capacity, out of the which he very seldome takes his progresse; and whensoeuer he doeth so, there are twelue chariots brought foorth, all of them most like one to another both in workemanship and in value, that no man may discerne in which the king himselfe is placed. He followeth in religion especially the opinions of the Magistrates, attributing diuine power vnto heauen and earth as vnto the parents of all, and with great solemnity sacrificing vnto them. He hath diuers most sumptuous Temples dedicated vnto his ancestours, whereunto likewise he ascribeth diuine honour, and yet ceaseth hee not to fauour Priests of other sects, yea hee erecteth Temples vnto their Patrons, endowing them with most rich reuenues; and so often as any vrgent necessity requireth, he enioynes continuall fastings and prayers vnto them: and after this sort he doeth in a maner patronize all the idolatrous sects of his Realme, and shewing himselfe ready to embrace any false religion whatsoeuer, he liueth in sundry and manifolde kindes of superstition. Out of all the former particulars by me alledged, you may easily coniecture that the administration of the kingdome of China doeth, for the most part, agree with the instinct of nature, authority being committed, not vnto rude and vnskilfull persons, but vnto such as haue beene conuersant in the vse and exercise of learning, yea, and in promoting learned men vnto magistracies, great consideration is had of their wisedome, iustice, and of other virtues esteemed by the Chinians: wherefore the way being open for all men, without any respect of degree or parentage, to obtaine any of the foresayd dignities, it can not be but that this most mighty and famous kingdome must needes enioy exceeding peace and tranquillity. Leo I would nowe (Michael) right gladly vnderstand, what kinde of vrbanity or ciuill demeanour both the common people and the Magistrates doe vse one towardes another: for it is not likely that where such due administration of iustice is, common ciuility, which so well beseemeth all men, should be wanting. Michael. You haue hit euen the very naile on the head: for among the fiue vertues, which the Chinians principally regard, vrbanity or courtesy is one; the rest are piety, a thankefull remembrance of benefites, true dealing in contracts or bargaines, and wisedome in atchieuing of matters: with the praises and commendations of which vertues the Chinian bookes are full fraught. Now as touching their vrbanity, it is much vnlike vnto ours in Iapan, and vnto that of Europe: howbeit vnder two principall kindes the rule of their vrbanity or courtesie may be comprehended: whereof one is obserued betweene equals, and the other betweene superiours and inferiours. For when men of equall dignity meet together, they stand bending their backes, and bowing their heads downe to the ground, and this they doe either once or twise, or sometimes thrise. Now when the inferiour meets with his superiour, the sayd inferiour, for the most part kneeling lowly on his knees, enclineth his countenance downe to the earth. But how often and when this obeizance is to be performed it is woonderfull what a number of rules and prescriptions are set downe, which to recount would require a long time. Somewhat also I wil say as touching their piety, and especially of the piety which they vse towards their parents, which verily is so exceeding great, that for the space of three whole yeres together, the sonnes being cladde

Twelue chariots.

The idolatrous religion of the king.

The ciuill gouernment of China most agreeable to the instinct of nature.

The fiue vertues principall esteemed among the Chinians.

Vrbanity.

The Chinians great piety towards their parents.

cladde in mourning vestures doe bewaile the death of their parents, which duety is performed not onely by the common sort, but euen by all the Magistrates themselues, and that most curiously and diligently. And that all men may wholly giue their attendance vnto this businesse, it is prouided by a most inuiolable law among the Chinians, that Magistrates, vpon the death of their parents, must foorthwith renounce their authority, and three whole yeeres, for the performance of their fathers exequies, must betake themselues vnto a priuate kinde of liuing: which also is most duely put in practise by the Senatours of the Kings owne Councell. For albeit a man be right gracious in the eyes of his Prince, yea, and such an one, as vpon whom the administration of the Realme doeth principally depend; yet hauing heard of the death of his parents, that is, of his father or his mother, he hies himselfe immediatly home to solemnise their funerals: insomuch that if the king would retaine him still in his office, he should be esteemed by the people, as a transgressour of the lawes and customes of China: which accident (as it is recorded) in ancient times fel out euen so. For whenas a certain king most familiarly vsed a certaine Senatour of his about the managing and expedition of publike affaires, and vnderstanding well how necessary the helpe of his foresayd Senatour was, would gladly, after the death of his father, haue retained him still in his office: yet a certaine other man, being a welwiller vnto the Chinian lawes, could in no case abide it, but checking his Prince with sharpe rebukes, obiected the transgression of the law against him. The king waxing wroth menaced present death vnto the man: but when the party being no wit danted with the terrour of death, persisted still in his sayings, the king changing his determination dismissed the Senatour to mourne for his father, but as for his reprehender he aduanced him vnto an higher dignity. LINUS. I perceiue (Michael) that drawing to an end of these dialogues, and being weary of your long race, you begin to affect breuity: yet let it not seeme troublesome vnto you to speake somewhat of the religion of China, which onely thing seemes to be wanting in this present dialogue. MICHAEL. I confesse indeed that I endeuour to be briefe, not so much in regard of wearisomnesse, as for feare least I haue bene ouer tedious vnto you: howbeit I will not faile but accomplish that which I haue vndertaken, and (according to your request) adde somewhat more concerning religion. Whereas therefore the kingdome of China hath hitherto bene destitute of true religion, and now the first beginnings thereof are included in most narrow bounds, that nation being otherwise a people most ingenious, and of an extraordinary and high capacity, hath alwayes liued in great errours and ignorance of the trueth, being distracted into sundry opinions, and following manifolde sects. And among these sects there are three more famous then the rest: the first is of them that professe the doctrine of one Confucius a notable philosopher. This man (as it is reported in the history of his life) was one of most vpright and incorrupt maners, whereof he wrote sundry treatises very pithily and largely, which aboue all other books, are seriously read and perused by the Chinians. The same doctrine do all Magistrates embrace, and others also that giue their mindes to the study of letters, a great part whereof Confucius is sayd to haue inuented: and he is had in so great honour, that all his followers and clients, vpon the dayes of the new and full Moone, doe assemble themselues at the common Schoole, which I haue aboue mentioned, and before his image, which is worshipped with burning of incense and with tapers, they doe thrise bend their knees, and bow their heads downe to the ground; which not onely the common scholars, but the chiefe Magistrates do performe. The summe of the foresayd doctrine is, that men should follow the light of nature as their guide, and that they should diligently endeuour to attaine vnto the vertues by me before mentioned: and lastly, that they should employ their labour about the orderly gouernment of their families and of the Common-wealth. All these things are in very deed praise-worthy, if Confucius had made any mention of almighty God and of the life to come, and had not ascribed so much vnto the heauens, and vnto fatall necessity, nor yet had so curiously intreated of worshipping the images of their forefathers. In which regard he can very hardly or not at all be excused from the crime of idolatry: notwithstanding it is to be granted, that none other doctrine among the Chinians approacheth so neere vnto the trueth as this doeth. The second sect is of them which follow the instructions of Xaquam, or as the Chinians call him Xequiam, whose

A memorable story.

The religion of China.

Three principall sectes among the Chinians.

Confucius an [illegible] of the first sect.

The summe of Confucius his doctrine.

Xequiam author of the second sect, whose followers are called Censor Bonzi.

whose opinions, because they are well knowen amongst vs, it were bootlesse for me to repeat; especially sithens, in the Catechisme composed by our graue visitour, they are notably refuted. This doctrine doe all they embrace, which are in China called Cen, but with vs at Iapon are named Bonzi. For this I doe briefly and by the way giue you to vnderstand, that all words of the Chinians language are of one sillable onely, so that if there be any word that consisteth of more sillables then one, it consisteth also of more wordes then one. These sectaries called Cen doe shaue their beards and their heads, and doe for the most part, together with diuers of their associates, inhabit the Temples of Xaquam, or of others which in regard of the same profession haue in their Kalenders beene canonized for Saints, and doe rehearse certaine prayers after their maner, either vpon books or beads, vsing other ceremonies after the maner of our Bonzi. These men haue some inckling of the life to come, and of the rewardes of good men, and the punishments of the wicked: howbeit all their assertions are fraught with errours. The third sect is of them which are called Tauzu: and those doe imitate a certaine other man, to be adored, as they thinke, for his holinesse. These also are Priests after their kinde, howbeit they let their haire grow, and doe in other obseruations differ from the former. Nowe, because the sect of Confucius is the most famous of all the three, and the two other sects called Cen and Tauzu are not much addicted vnto learning, their religion preuailing onely among the common sort, the Priests of both the sayd sects doe leade a most base and seruile life amongst the Chinians, insomuch that they kneele downe before the Magistrates, and are not permitted to sit beside them, and sometimes, if the Magistrate please, are abased vnto the punishment of the bastonado: whereas in our Iles of Iapon it is farre otherwise, Priests, euen of false religion, being had in so great honour among vs. Leo. I heard also (Michael) that the Saracens superstition takes place in China: now, whether it doth or no, you can resolue vs. Michael. That forren superstition was brought into China what time the Tartars inuaded the kingdome, and vsurped the gouernment thereof. All the Saracens therefore in China are originally descended of the Tartars, who, because they were an infinite number, could not vtterly be expelled and rooted out of the kingdome, but remaining still there, haue propagated their posterity, though not their religion. These therefore are souldiers for the greater part of them, and sometimes doe obtaine martiall dignities: and except a few ceremonies of their superstition which is nowe become stale and almost worne out, they doe liue altogether after the Chinians fashion, their predecessours being brought into the same kingdome about foure hundred yeeres agoe. Linus. Now (Michael) let vs heare you say somewhat of the Christian religion, which as we hope hath set most happy footing in that kingdome. Michael. I could say much concerning those most wished and acceptable beginnings, were they not already published in Iapon by the letters of the fathers: howbeit I will make a briefe rehearsall of all things, that I may not seeme altogether to haue abandoned this labour. You know that from the time wherein the fathers of the society arriued in our Ilands, to the end they might augment Christian religion, they were in like sort most carefull how they might insinuate themselues into the innermost parts of the kingdome of China. In the middest of this endeuour and trauell Francis Xauier, a most deuout man of the foresayd society, departed out of this present life at the Ile of Sancian (which some call Sangiam) leauing an example vnto the rest of his associates, how they should likewise doe their best to plant the religion of Christ in that nation. This man was seconded by others, who vsed all meanes, and left no practise vnattempted, that they might bring these good beginnings vnto a prosperous issue: howbeit they were greatly hindered by reason of an ancient custome in China, in regard whereof they doe not without great difficulty and circumspection admit any strangers into their dominions, except those which hauing a long time executed the office of ambassadours doe ordinarily euery third yeere present themselues before the king: in the admission of whom likewise there is maruellous care vsed, that they may not easily espie and become acquainted with the affaires of the Realme. Hereunto may be added, that the Chinians are great contemners of other nations, and most constant obseruers of their owne lawes and customes: in all which respects it came to passe, that there

Note.

The third sect.

The superstition of the Saracens.

Christian religion planted in China.

An ancient custome worthy of obseruation.

The Chinians contemne other nations.

was

was wonderfull labour and diligence employed aboue thirty yeeres together, onely to get an entrance, vntill in the yeere one thousand fiue hundred fourescore and three, two fathers of the foresayd society, that had pretty skill in the letters and language of China, vtterly despairing of mans helpe, and depending vpon the prouidence of almighty God, obtained licence of the Tutan or Vice-roy to build them an house and a Church in the City of Xauquin, which by reason of the commodiousnesse thereof is the seat of the Viceroy himselfe. This worke being begunne, the sayd fathers of the society, for the nouelty thereof, were a few yeeres right well entreated by the Magistrates: insomuch that two others out of India had free and easie accesse vnto them, one couple remaining still in their foresayd house at Xauquin, and the other two taking their iourney for the inner prouinces, to conuert more people vnto the faith: who notwithstanding afterward, other Magistrates not approouing of their attempts, were constrained to retire. Nowe all the time wherein the foresayd fathers abode at Xauquin (being more then fiue yeeres) certaine of the common people were restrained from false superstition to Christian religion, and seuenty persons were baptized. But the enemy of mankinde, who omitteth none opportunity for the hinderance of Christian religion, suggested into the mindes of the Chinians (being, as I sayd, of their owne nature, a people estranged from the traffique and acquaintance of other nations, and alwayes being too too suspicious of strangers) that they should exhibite letters of supplication vnto the Caien and the Tutan their principall Magistrates, to haue the fathers expelled out of Xauquin: which Magistrates repairing vnto their foresayd house and Church entered consultation how they might bannish them out of the sayd City of Xauquin: in which thing verily they vsed great moderation, not any way offending or exasperating the mindes of the fathers, but onely signifying that they had regard vnto the estate of their Common-wealth. For the Tutan or Vice-roy calling the fathers vnto him, and (to let passe other accidents) vsing courteous and familiar conference with them, declared by many arguments, that their habitation in the City of Xauquin was not conuenient, especially sithens so many Magistrates resorted vnto that City, who would take great offence at the presence of strangers. For the which cause he perswaded them to accept some part of the money which they had bestowed in the building of their house, and so to returne either home into their owne countrey, or vnto the port of Macao. Howbeit, such was the instant supplication of the fathers, and so woorthy of compassion, that the Tutan or Vice-roy, in the extreame and mediterrane borders of the prouince of Coantum, assigned vnto them a new habitation at the city called Xaucheo, commending them also to a certaine Magistrate, who was come from the same place to salute him. Thither therefore the sayd fathers, not without great sorrow and griefe of the Christians, hied themselues, and as we are informed by their last letters, they haue euen now layed the foundation of their first building, and haue also written that they are like to liue much more peaceably and conueniently for the propagating of Christian religion. These be the first beginnings of Christianity in China, where, euen as in other places of the Christian Common-wealth, the seed is to be sowen with great labour and teares, that acceptable fruits may be reaped with gladnesse. Leo. It is euen as you haue sayd (Michael) and nowe for this your pleasant and eloquent discourse we do acknowledge our selues much bounden vnto you.

A Letter written from Goa, the principall City of all the East Indies, by one Thomas Steuens an English man, and sent to his father, M. Thomas Steuens: Anno 1579.

AFter most humble commendations: These shall be to craue your dayly blessing, with like commendations vnto my mother; and withall, to certifie you of my being: according to your will and my duety. I wrote vnto you taking my iourney from Italy to Portugall, which letters I thinke are come to your hands, so that presuming thereupon, I thinke I haue the lesse need at this time to tell you the cause of my departing, which neuerthelesse in one word I may conclude, if I do but name obedience. I came to Lisbon toward the end of March, eight dayes before the departure of the shippes, so late that if they had not bene stayed

about

about some weighty matters, they had bene long gone before our comming: insomuch that there were others ordained to goe in our places, that the kings prouision and ours also might not be in vaine. Neuerthelesse our sudden comming tooke place, and the fourth of Aprill fiue ships departed for Goa, wherein besides shipmen and souldiers, there were a great number of children which in the seas beare out better then men, and no maruell, when that many women also passe very well. The setting fourth from the port I need not to tell how solemne it is with trumpets, and shooting of ordinance, you may easily imagine it, considering that they go in the maner of warre. The tenth of the foresayd moneth we came to the sight of Porto Santo neere vnto Madera, where an English shippe set vpon ours (which was then also alone) with a few shots, which did no harme, but after that our ship had layed out her greatest ordinance, they straight departed as they came. The English shippe was very faire and great, which I was sory to see so ill occupied, for she went rouing about, so that we saw her againe at the Canarian Iles, vnto the which we came the thirteenth of the sayd moneth, and good leisure we had to woonder at the high mountaine of the Iland Tenerif, for we wandred betweene that and great Canaria foure dayes by reason of contrary windes: and briefly, such euill weather we had vntill the foureteenth of May, that they despaired, to compasse the Cape of Good hope that yeere. Neuerthelesse, taking our voyage betweene Guinea and the Ilands of Capo Verde, without seeing of any land at all, we arriued at length vnto the coast of Guinie, which the Portugals so call, chiefly that part of the burning Zone, which is from the sixt degree vnto the Equinoctiall, in which parts they suffered so many inconueniences of heats, and lacke of windes, that they thinke themselues happy when they haue passed it: for sometimes the ship standeth there almost by the space of many dayes, sometime she goeth, but in such order that it were almost as good to stand still. And the greatest part of this coast not cleare, but thicke and cloudy, full of thunder and lightening, and raine so vnholesome, that if the water stand a little while, all is full of wormes, and falling on the meat which is hanged vp, it maketh it straight full of wormes. Along all that coast we often times saw a thing swimming vpon the water like a cocks combe (which they call a ship of Guinea) but the colour much fairer; which combe standeth vpon a thing almost like the swimmer of a fish in colour and bignesse, and beareth vnderneath in the water, strings which saue it from turning ouer. This thing is so poisonous, that a man cannot touch it without great perill. In this coast, that is to say, from the sixt degree vnto the Equinoctiall, we spent no lesse then thirty dayes, partly with contrary windes, partly with calme. The thirtieth of May we passed the Equinoctiall with contentation, directing our course aswell as we could to passe the promontory, but in all that gulfe, & in all the way beside, we found so often calmes, that the expertest mariners wondred at it. And in places where are alwayes woont to be most horrible tempests, we found most quiet calmes which was very troublesome to those ships which be the greatest of all other, and cannot go without good windes. Insomuch, that when it is tempest almost intollerable for other ships, and maketh them maine all their sailes, these haise vp, and saile excellent well, vnlesse the waters be too too furious, which seldome happened in our nauigation. You shall vnderstand, that being passed the line, they cannot straightway go the next way to the promontory: but according to the winde, they draw alwayes as neere South as they can to put themselues in the latitude of the point, which is 35 degrees and an halfe, and then they take their course towards the East, and so compasse the point. But the winde serued vs so, that at 33 degrees we did direct our course toward the point or promontory of Good hope.

You know that it is hard to saile from East to West, or contrary, because there is no fixed point in all the skie, whereby they may direct their course, wherefore I shall tell you what helps God prouided for these men. There is not a fowle that appereth, or signe in the aire, or in the sea, which they haue not written, which haue made the voyages heretofore. Wherfore, partly by their owne experience, and pondering withall what space the ship was able to make with such a winde, and such direction, and partly by the experience of others, whose books and nauigations they haue, they gesse whereabouts they be, touching degrees of longitude, for of latitude they be alwayes sure: but the greatest and best industry of all is to

marke

marke the variation of the needle or compasse, which in the Meridian of the Iland of S. Michael, which is one of the Azores in the latitude of Lisbon, is iust North, and there swaruieth towards the East so much, that betwixt the Meridian aforesayd, and the point of Africa it carrieth three or foure quarters of 32. And againe in the point of Afrike, a little beyond the point that is called Cape das Agulias (in English the needles) it returneth againe vnto the North, and that place passed, it swaruieth againe toward the West, as it did before proportionally. As touching our first signes, the neerer we came to the people of Afrike, the more strange kindes of fowles appeared, insomuch that when we came within no lesse then thirty leagues (almost an hundred miles) and sixe hundred miles as we thought from any Iland, as good as three thousand fowles of sundry kindes followed our ship: some of them so great that their wings being opened from one point to the other, contained seuen spannes, as the Mariners sayd. A marueilous thing to see how God prouided, so that in so wide a sea these fowles are all fat, and nothing wanteth them. The Portugals haue named them all according to some propriety which they haue: some they call Rusiitailes, because their tailes be not proportionable to their bodies, but long and small like a rush, some forked tailes because they be very broad and forked, some Veluet sleeues, because they haue wings of the colour of veluet, and bowe them as a man boweth his elbow. This bird is alwayes welcome, for he appeareth neerest the Cape. I should neuer make an end if I should tell all particulars: but it shall suffice briefly to touch a few, which yet will be sufficient, if you marke them, to giue occasion to glorifie almighty God in his wonderfull works, and such variety in his creatures. And to speake somewhat of fishes in all places of calme, especially in the burning Zone, neere the line (for without we neuer saw any) there waited on our ship fishes as long as a man, which they call Tuberones, they come to eat such things as from the shippe fall into the sea, not refusing men themselues if they light vpon them. And if they finde any meat tied in the sea, they take it for theirs. These haue waiting on them six or seuen small fishes (which neuer depart) with gardes blew and greene round about their bodies, like comely seruing men: and they go two or three before him, and some on euery side. Moreouer, they haue other fishes which cleane alwayes vnto their body, and seeme to take such superfluities as grow about them, and they are sayd to enter into their bodies also to purge them if they need. The Mariners in time past haue eaten of them, but since they haue seene them eate men their stomacks abhorre them. Neuerthelesse, they draw them vp with great hooks, & kill of them as many as they can, thinking that they haue made a great reuenge. There is another kind of fish as bigge almost as a herring, which hath wings and flieth, and they are together in great number. These haue two enemies, the one in the sea, the other in the aire. In the sea the fish which is called Albocore, as big as a Salmon, followeth them with great swiftnesse to take them. This poore fish not being able *swim fast*, for he hath no finnes, but swimmeth with mooving of his taile, shutting his wings, lifteth himselfe aboue the water, and flieth not very hie: the Albocore seeing that, although he haue no wings, yet he giueth a great leape out of the water, and sometimes catcheth him, or els he keepeth himselfe vnder the water going that way on as fast as he flieth. And when the fish being weary of the aire, or thinking himselfe out of danger, returneth into the water, the Albocore meeteth with him: but sometimes his other enemy the sea-crow, catcheth him before he falleth. With these and like sights, but alwayes making our supplications to God for good weather and saluation of the ship, we came at length vnto the point, so long as feared of all men: but we found there no tempest, only great waues, where our Pilot was a little ouerseene: for whereas commonly al other neuer come within sight of land, but seeing signes ordinary, and finding bottome, go their way sure and safe, he thinking himselfe to haue winde at will, shot so nigh the land that the winde turning into the South, and the waues being exceeding great, rolled vs so neere the land, that the ship stood in lesse then 14 fadoms of water, no more then sixe miles from the Cape, which is called Das Agulias, and there we stood as vtterly cast away: for vnder vs were rocks of maine stone so sharpe, and cutting, that no ancre could hold the ship, the shore so euill, that nothing could take land, and the land itselfe so full of Tigers, and people that are sauage, and killers of all strangers, that we had no

The reuolution of the compasse.

Fowles and their seuerall kindes.

Fishes that follow the ship.

Fishes that flie.

Mercy.

hope

hope of life nor comfort, but onely in God and a good conscience. Notwithstanding, after we had lost ancres, hoising vp the sailes for to get the ship a coast in some safer place, or when it should please God, it pleased his mercy suddenly, where no man looked for helpe, to fill our sailes with wind from the land, & so we escaped, thanks be to God. And the day following, being in the place where they are alwayes wont to catch fish, we also fell a fishing, and so many they tooke, that they serued all the ship for that day, and part of the next, And one of them pulled vp a corall of great bignesse and price. For there they say (as we saw by experience) that the corals doe grow in the maner of stalks vpon the rocks in the bottome, and waxe hard and red. The day of perill was the nine and twentieth of Iuly. And you shall vnderstand that, the Cape passed, there be two wayes to India: one within the Ile of S. Lawrence, which they take willingly, because they refresh themselues at Mosambique a fortnight or a moneth, not without great need, and thence in a moneth more land in Goa. The other is without the Ile of S. Lawrence, which they take when they set foorth so late, and come so late to the point, that they haue no time to take the foresayd Mosambique, and then they goe heauily, because in this way they take no port. And by reason of the long nauigation, and want of food and water, they fall into sundry diseases, their gummes waxe great, and swell, and they are faine to cut them away, their legges swell and all the body becommeth sore, and so benummed, that they cannot stirre hand nor foot, and so they die for weaknesse, others fall into fluxes and agues, and die thereby. And this way it was our chance to make: yet though we had more then one hundred and fifty sicke, there died not past seuen and twentie; which losse they esteemed not much in respect of other times. Though some of ours were diseased in this sort, yet, thanks be to God, I had my health all the way, contrary to the expectation of many: God send me my health so well in the land, if it may be to his honour and seruice. This way is full of priuy rockes and quicke-sands, so that sometimes we durst not saile by night, but by the prouidence of God we saw nothing, nor neuer found bottome vntill we came to the coast of India. When we had passed againe the line, and were come to the third degree or somewhat more, we saw crabs swimming on the water that were red as though they had bene sodden: but this was no signe of land. After, about the eleuenth degree, the space of many dayes, more then ten thousand fishes by estimation followed round about our ship, whereof we caught so many, that for fifteene dayes we did eate nothing els, and they serued our turne very well: for at this time we had neither meat nor almost any thing els to eate. our nauigation growing so long that it drew neere to seuen moneths, where as commonly they goe it in fiue, I meane when they saile the inner way. But these fishes were not signe of land, but rather of deepe sea. At length we tooke a couple of Birds which were a kinde of Hawks, whereof they ioyed much, thinking that they had bene of India, but indeed they were of Arabia, as we found afterward. And we that thought we had bene neere India, were in the same latitude neere Zocotoro, an Ile in the mouth of the Red sea. But there God sent vs great winds from the Northeast or Northnortheast, whereupon vnwillingly they bare vp toward the East, and thus we went tenne dayes without seeing signe of land, whereby they perceiued their errour: for they had directed their course before alwayes Northeast, couering to multiply degrees of latitude, but partly the difference of the Needle, and most of all the running seas, which at that time ran Northwest, had drawen vs to this other danger, had not God sent vs this winde, which at length waxed larger, and restored vs to our right course. These running seas be so perillous that they deceiue the most part of the gouernours, and some be so little curious, contenting themselues with ordinary experience, that they care not to seeke out any meanes to know when they swarue, neither by the compasse, nor by any other triall. The first signe of land were certaine fowles which they knew to be of India: the second, boughes of palmes and sedges: the third, snakes swimming on the water, and a substance which they call by the name of a coine of money, as broad and as round as a groat, woonderfully printed and stamped of nature, like vnto some coine. And these two last signes be so certaine, that the next day after, if the winde serue, they see land, which we did to our great ioy, when all our water (for you know they make no beere in those parts)

Corall.

Two wayes beyond ye cape of good hope.

They commonly saile from Lisbon to Goa in 5 moneths.

Running seas very dangerous.

Certaine signs of land.

parts) and victuals began to faile vs. And to Goa we came the foure and twentieth day of October, there being receiued with passing great charity. The people be tawny, but not disfigured in their lips & noses, as the Moores and Cafres of Ethiopia. They that be not of reputation, or at least the most part, goe naked, sauing an apron of a span long, and as much in breadth before them, and a lace two fingers broad before them, girded about with a string and no more: and thus they thinke them as well as we with all our trimming. Of the fruits and trees that be here I cannot now speake, for I should make another letter as long as this For hitherto I haue not seene a tree here whose like I haue seene in Europe, the vine excepted, which neuerthelesse here is to no purpose, so that all the wines are brought out of Portugall. The drinke of this countrey is good water, or wine of the Palme tree, or of a fruit called Cocos. And this shall suffice for this time. If God send me my health, I shall haue opportunity to write to you once againe. Now the length of my letter compelleth me to take my leaue, and thus I wish your most prosperous health. From Goa the tenth of Nouember, 1579.

They arriued at Goa by 24 of October.

Your louing sonne Thomas

Steuens.

A briefe relation of the great magnificence and rich traffike of the kingdome of Pegu beyond the East India, written by Frey Peter of Lisbon, to his cousin Frey Diego of Lisbon, from Cochin.

I Receiued your letters in the harbour of Damaon by a caranell of aduise that came from Malacca, which brought shot, powder, and other prouision for the furnishing of foure gallies and a great Gallion, which are now in building, to keepe our coast for feare of great store of men of warre, being Moores, which trouble vs very sore. At that instant when I receiued your letters I was newly come from the kingdome of Pegu, where I had remained one yeere and an halfe, and from thence I departed to the city of Cochin in October 1587. The newes which I can certifie you of concerning these countreys are: that this king of Pegu is the mightiest king of men, & the richest that is in these parts of the world: for he bringeth into the field at any time, when he hath warres with other princes, aboue a million of fightingmen: howbeit they be very leane and small people, and are brought vnto the field without good order. He is lord of the Elephants, and of all the golde and siluer mines, and of all the pearles and precious stones: so that he hath the greatest store of treasure that euer was heard of in these parts. The countrey people call him the God of trueth and of iustice. I had great conference with this king, and with the head captaine of the Portugals, which is one of the countrey. They demanded of me many questions as touching the law and faith of Iesus Christ, and as touching the Ten Commandements. And the king gaue his consent that our Order should build a Church in his countrey, which was halfe builded; but our peruerse and malicious Portugals plucked it downe againe: for whereas it is a countrey wherein our nation gaine very much by their commodities, they fearing that by the building of this Church there would be greater resort thither, and so their trade should be impaired, if their great gaines should be knowen vnto others then those which found this countrey out first, therefore they were so vnwilling that the building of this church should goe forward. Our Portugals which are here in this realme are woorse people then the Gentiles. I preached diuers times among those heathen people; but being obstinate they say, that as their fathers beleeued so they will beleeue: for if their forefathers went to the diuell so they will. Whereupon I returned backe againe to our monastery to certifie our Father prouinciall of the estate of this New found countrey. It is the best and richest countrey in all this East India; and it is thought to be richer then China.

The coast of India greatly troubled with Moores.

Abundance of [illegible] siluer, [illegible] & precious stones in Pegu.

The great gaines [illegible] Portugals in Pegu.

Pegu the best & richest countrey in all the East India.

I am afrayd that the warres which his Maiestie hath with England will be the vtter vndoing and spoile of Spaine: for these countreys likewise are almost spoiled with ciuill warres, which the Moores haue against the Gentiles: for the kings here are vp in armes all the countrey

A prophesie of an Indian against Spaine.

ouer. Here is an Indian which is accounted a prophet, which hath prophesied that there will a Dragon arise in a strange countrey, which will do great hurt to Spaine. How it will fall out onely God doth know. And thus I rest: from this monastery of Cochin the 28 of December, 1589.

Your good cousin and assured friend
frier Peter of Lisbon.

A voyage with three tall ships, the Penelope Admirall, the Marchant royall Viceadmirall, and the Edward Bonaduenture Rereadmirall, to the East Indies, by the Cape of Buona Speransa, to Quitangone neere Mosambique, to the Iles of Comoro and Zanzibar on the backeside of Africa, and beyond Cape Comori in India, to the Iles of Nicubar and of Gomes Polo within two leagues of Sumatra, to the Ilands of Pulo Pinaom, and thence to the maine land of Malacca, begunne by M. George Raymond, in the yeere 1591, and performed by M. Iames Lancaster, and written from the mouth of Edmund Barker of Ipswich, his lieutenant in the sayd voyage, by M. Richard Hakluyt.

OVr fleet of the three tall ships abouenamed departed from Plimmouth the 10 of Aprill 1591, and arriued at the Canarie-ilands the 25 of the same, frō whence we departed the 29 of April. The second of May we were in the height of Cape Blanco. The fift we passed the tropique of Cancer. The eight we were in the height of Cape Verde. All this time we went with a faire winde at Northeast, alwayes before the winde vntill the 13 of the same moneth, when we came within 8 degrees of the Equinoctiall line, where we met with a contrary winde. Here we lay off and on in the sea vntill the sixt of Iune, on which day we passed the sayd line. While we lay thus off and on, we tooke a Portugal Caranel laden by marchants of Lisbon for Brasile, in which Caruel we had some 60 tunnes of wine, 1200 iarres of oyle, about 100 iarres of oliues, certaine barrels of capers, three fats of pease, with diuers other necessaries fit for our voyage: which wine, oyle, oliues and capers were better to vs then gold. We had two men died before wee passed the line, and diuers sicke, which tooke their sicknesse in those hote climates: for they be wonderfull vnholesome from 8 degrees of Northerly latitude vnto the line, at that time of the yeere: for we had nothing but Ternados, with such thunder, lightning, and raine, that we could not keep our men drie 3 houres together, which was an occasion of the infection among them, and their eating of salt victuals, with lacke of clothes to shift them. After we passed the line, we had the wind still at Eastsoutheast, which caried vs along the coast of Brasil 100 leagues from the maine, til we came in 26 degrees to the Southward of the line, where the wind came vp to the North, at which time we did account, that the Cape of Buona esperansa did beare off vs East and by South, betwixt 900 and 1000 leagues. Passing this gulfe from the coast of Brasil vnto the Cape we had the wind often variable as it is vpon our coast, but for the most part so, that we might lie our course. The 28 of Iuly we had sight of the foresayd Cape of Buona esperansa: vntill the 31 wee lay off and on with the wind contrary to double the Cape, hoping to double it, & so to haue gone seuentie leagues further to a place called Agoada de S. Bras, before we would haue sought to haue put into any harbour. But our men being weake and sicke in all our shippes, we thought good to seeke some place to refresh them. With which consent we bare vp with the land to the Northward of the Cape, and going along the shoare, we espied a goodly Baie with an Iland lying to Seawards of it, into which we did beare, and found it very commodious for our ships to ride in. This Baie is called Agoada de Saldanha, lying 15 leagues Northward on the hither side of the Cape. The first of August being Sunday we came to an anker in the Baie, sending our mē on land, and there came vnto them certaine blacke Salvages very brutish which would not stay, but retired from them. For the space of 15 or 20 dayes we could find no reliefe but onely foules which wee killed with our pieces, which were

Three occasions of sickines neere the line.

Agoada de Saldanha.

were cranes and geese: there was no fish but muskles and other shel-fish, which we gathered on the rockes. After 15 or 20 dayes being here, our Admirall went with his pinnasse vnto the Iland which lieth off this Baie, where hee found great store of Penguines & Seales, whereof he brought good plenty with him. And twise after that we sent certain of our men, which at both times brought their bots lading vnto our ships. After we had bene here some time, we got here a Negro, whom we compelled to march into the countrey with vs, making signs to bring vs some cattel; but at this time we could come to the sight of none, so we let the Negro goe with some trifles. Within 8 dayes after, he with 30 or 40 other Negroes, brought vs downe some 40 bullocks and oxen, with as many sheepe: at which time we brought but few of thē. But within 8 dayes after they came downe with as many more, & then we bought some 24 oxen with as many sheepe. We bought an oxe for two knives, a stirke for a knife, and a sheepe for a knife, and some we bought for lesse value then a knife. The oxen be very large and well fleshed, but not fat. The sheepe are very big and very good meat, they haue no woll on their backs but haire, and haue great tailes like the sheepe in Syria. There be diuers sorts of wild beests, as the Antilope, (whereof M. Lancaster killed one of the bignes of a yong colt) the red & fallow Deere, with other great beasts vnknowen vnto vs. Here are also great store of ouer-growen monkeis. As touching our proceeding vpon our voyage, it was thought good rather to proceed with two ships wel manned, then with three euill manned: for here wee had of sound and whole men but 198, of which there went in the Penelope with the Admiral 101, and in the Edward with the worshipfull M. captaine Lancaster 97. We left behind 50 men with the Roiall marchant, whereof there were many pretily well recouered, of which ship was master and gouernour Abraham Kendal, which for many reasons we thought good to send home. The disease that hath consumed our men hath bene the skuruie. Our souldiers which haue not bene vsed to the Sea, haue best held out, but our mariners dropt away, which (in my iudgement) proceedeth of their euill diet at home.

Great store of Penguins and Seales.

Bullocks, oxē, and sheepe, dog-cheape.

Sixe dayes after our sending backe for England of the Marchant Roiall from Agoada de Saldanha, our Admirall M. captaine Raimond in the Penelope, and M. Iames Lancaster in the Edward Bonaduenture, set forward to double the Cape of Buona esperansa, which they did very speedily. But being passed as far as Cape dos Corrientes, the 14 of Septēber we were encountred with a mighty storme and extreeme gusts of wind, wherein we lost our Generals companie, and could neuer heare of him nor his ship any more, though we did our best endeuour to seeke him vp and downe a long while, and staied for him certaine dayes at the Iland of Comoro, where we appointed to stay one for another. Foure dayes after this vncomfortable seperation in the morning toward ten of the clocke we had a terrible clap of thunder, which slew foure of our men outright, their necks being wrung in sonder without speaking any word, and of 94 men there was not one vntouched, whereof some were striken blind, others were bruised in their legs & armes, and others in their brests, so that they voided blood two dayes after, others were drawen out at length as though they had bene racked. But (God be thanked) they all recouered sauing onely the foure which were slaine out right. Also with the same thunder our maine maste was torne very grieuously from the head to the decke, and some of the spikes that were ten inches into the timber, were melted with the extreme heate theereof. From thence wee shaped our course to the Northeast, and not long after we fell vpon the Northwest end of the mighty Iland of S. Laurence: which one of our men espied by Gods good blessing late in the euening by Moone light, who seeing afarre off the breaking of the Sea, and calling to certaine of his fellowes, asked them what it was: which eft soones told him that it was the breaking of the Sea vpon the Shoulds. Whereupon in very good time we cast about to auoyd the danger which we were like to haue incurred. Thus passing on forward, it was our lucke to ouer-shoote Mozambique, and to fall with a place called Quitangone two leagues to the Northward of it, and we tooke three or foure Barkes of Moores, which Barkes in their language they call Pangaias, laden with Millio, hennes, and ducks, with one Portugall boy, going for the prouision of Mozambique. Within few dayes following we came to an Iland an hundred leagues to the Northeast of Mozambique

Cape de Buona Speransa doubled.

Cape dos Corrientes.

Here they are seuered from the Penelope.

Foure men slaine with a clap of thunder.

The Shoulds of S. Laurence.

Quitangone neere Mozambique.

The Ile of Comoro.

bique called Comoro, which we found exceeding full of people, which are Moores of tawnie colour and good stature, but they be very trecherous and diligently to be taken heed of. Here wee desired to store our selues with water, whereof we stood in great need, and sent sixteene of our men well armed on shore in our boate: whom the people suffred quietly to land and water, and diuers of them with their king came aboord our ship in a gowne of crimosine Sattin pinked after the Moorish fashion downe to the knee, whom we entertained in the best maner, and had some conference with him of the state of the place and marchandises, vsing our Portugall boy which we had taken before for our interpreter, and in the end licensed the king and his company to depart, and sent our men againe for more water, who then also dispatched their businesse, & returned quietly: the third time likewise we sent them for more, which also returned without any harme. And though we thought our selues furnished, yet our master William Mace of Radcliffe pretending that it might be long before we should finde any good watering place, would needes goe himselfe on shore with thirtie men, much against the will of our captaine, and hee and 16 of his company, together with one boat which was all that we had, and 16 others that were a washing ouer-against our ship, were betrayed of the perfidious Moores, and in our sight for the most part slaine, we being not able for want of a boat to yeeld them any succour. From thence with heauie hearts we shaped our course for Zanzibar the 7 of Nouember, where shortly after wee arriued and made vs a new boat of such boards as we had within boord, and rid in the road vntill the 15 of February, where, during our aboad, we sawe diuers Pangaias or boates, which are pinned with wooden pinnes, and sowed together with Palmito cordes, and calked with the huskes of Cocos shels beaten, whereof they make Occam. At length a Portugal Pangaia comming out of the harborow of Zanzibar, where they haue a small Factorie, sent a Canoa with a Moore which had bene christened, who brought vs a letter wherein they desired to know what wee were, and what we sought. We sent them word we were Englishmen come from Don Antonio vpon businesse to his friends in the Indies: with which answere they returned, and would not any more come at vs. Whereupon not long after wee manned out our boat and tooke a Pangaia of the Moores, which had a priest of theirs in it, which in their language they call a Sherife: whom we vsed very courteously: which the king tooke in very good part, hauing his priests in great estimation, and for his deliuerance furnished vs with two moneths victuals, during all which time we detained him with vs. These Moores informed vs of the false and spitefull dealing of the Portugals towards vs, which made them beleeue that we were cruell people and men-eaters, and willed them if they loued their safetie in no case to come neere vs. Which they did onely to cut vs off from all knowledge of the state and traffique of the countrey. While we road from the end of Nouember vntil the middle of February in this harborough, which is sufficient for a ship of 500 tuns to ride in, we set vpon a Portugall Pangaia with our boat, but because it was very litle, & our men not able to stirre in it, we were not able to take the sayd Pangaia, which was armed with 10 good shot like our long fouling pieces. This place for the goodnesse of the harborough and watering, and plentifull refreshing with fish, whereof we tooke great store with our nets, and for sundry sorts of fruits of the countrey, as Cocos and others, which were brought vs by the Moores, as also for oxen and hennes, is carefully to be sought for by such of our ships, as shall hereafter passe that way. But our men had need to take good heed of the Portugals: for while we lay here the Portugall Admiral of the coast from Melinde to Mozambique, came to view and to betray our boat if he could haue taken at any time aduantage, in a gallie Frigate of ten tunnes with 8 or 9 oares on a side. Of the strength of which Frigate and their trecherous meaning we were aduertised by an Arabian Moore which came from the king of Zanzibar diuers times vnto vs about the deliuerie of the priest aforesayd, and afterward by another which we caried thence along with vs: for wheresoeuer we came, our care was to get into our hands some one or two of the countreys to learne the languages and states of those partes where we touched. Moreouer, here againe we had another clap of thunder which did shake our foremast very much, which wee fisht and repaired with timber from the shore, whereof there is good store thereabout of a kind of trees some fortie foot high, which is a red and tough wood, and as I suppose,

32 of our men betrayed at the Ile of Comoro.

Zanzibar Iland.

A Portugall Factorie in Zanzibar.

The treason of the Portugals towards the English.

An excellent place for refreshing.

A gallie Frigate.

Another thunder-clap.

suppose, a kind of Cedar. Here our Surgeon Arnold negligently catching a great heate in his head being on land with the master to seeke oxen, fell sicke and shortly died, which might haue bene cured by letting of blood before it had bin setled. Before our departure we had in this place some thousand weight of pitch, or rather a kind of gray and white gumme like vnto frankincense, as clammie as turpentine, which in melting groweth as blacke as pitch, and is very brittle of it selfe, but we mingled it with oile, whereof wee had 300 iarres in the prize which we tooke to the Northward of the Equinoctiall, not farre from Guinie, bound for Brasil. Sixe dayes before wee departed hence, the Cape marchant of the Factorie wrote a letter vnto our capitaine in the way of friendship, as he pretended, requesting a iarre of wine, and a iarre of oyle, and two or three pounds of gunpouder, which letter hee sent by a Negro his man, and Moore in a Canoa: we sent him his demaunds by the Moore, but tooke the Negro along with vs because we vnderstood he had bene in the East Indies and knew somewhat of the Countrey. By this Negro we were aduertised of a small Barke of some thirtie tunnes (which the Moores call a Iunco) which was come from Goa thither laden with Pepper for the Factorie and seruice of that kingdome. Thus hauing trimmed our shippe as we lay in this road, in the end we set forward for the coast of the East India, the 15 of February aforesayd, intending if we could to haue reached to Cape Comori, which is the headland or Promontorie of the maine of Malauar, and there to haue lien off and on for such ships as should haue passed from Zeilan, Sant Tome, Bengala, Pegu, Malacca, the Moluccos, the coast of China, and the Ile of Iapan, which ships are of exceeding wealth and riches. But in our course we were very much deceiued by the currents that set into the gulfe of the Red sea along the coast of Melinde. And the windes shortening vpon vs to the Northeast and Easterly, kept vs that we could not get off, and so with the putting in of the currents from the Westward, set vs in further vnto the Northward within fourescore leagues of the Ile of Zocotora, farre from our determined course and expectation. But here we neuer wanted abundance of Dolphins, Bonitos and flying fishes. Now while we found our selues thus farre to the Northward, and the time being so farre spent, we determined to goe for the Red sea, or for the Iland of Zocotora, both to refresh our selues, and also for some purchase. But while wee were in this consultation, the winde very luckily came about to the Northwest and caried vs directly toward Cape Comori. Before we should haue doubled this Cape, we were determined to touch at the Ilands of Mamale, of which we had aduertisement, that one had victuals, standing in the Northerly latitude of twelue degrees. Howbeit it was not our good lucke to finde it, which fell out partly by the obstinacie of our master: for the day before we fell with part of the Ilands the wind came about to the Southwest, and then shifting our course we missed it. So the wind increasing Southerly, we feared we should not haue bene able to haue doubled the Cape, which would haue greatly hazarded our casting away vpon the coast of India, the Winter season and Westerne Monsons already being come in, which Monsons continue on that coast vntil August. Neuertheles it pleased God to bring the wind more Westerly, & so in the moneth of May 1592. we happily doubled Cape Comori without sight of the coast of India. From hence thus hauing doubled this Cape, we directed our course for the Ilands of Nicubar, which lie North and South with the Westerne part of Sumatra, and in the latitude of 7 degrees to the Northward of the Equinoctiall. From which Cape of Comori vnto the aforesayd Ilands we ranne in sixe dayes with a very large wind though the weather were foule with extreme raine and gustes of windes. These Ilands were missed through our masters default for want of due obseruation of the South starre. And we fell to the Southward of them within the sight of the Ilands of Gomes Polo, which lie hard vpon the great Iland of Sumatra the first of Iune, and at the Northeast side of them we lay two or three dayes becalmed, hoping to haue had a Pilote from Sumatra, within two leagues whereof wee lay off and on. Now the Winter comming vpon vs with much contagious weather, we directed our course from hence with the Ilands of Pulo Pinaou, (where by the way is to be noted that Pulo in the Malaian tongue signifieth an Iland) at which Ilands wee arriued about the beginning of Iune, where we came to an anker in a very good harborough betweene three Ilands: at which time our men were very sicke and many fallen,

Heat in the head deadly. Letting of blood very necessary.

A Iunco laden with pepper and drugs.

The currents set to the Northward.

Zocotora.

The Iles of Mamale.

Cape Comori doubled 1592.

The Iles of Nicubar.

The Iles of Gomes Polo.

Sumatra.

The Iles of Pulo Pinaou.

fallen. Here we determined to stay vntill the Winter were ouerpast. This place is in 6 degrees and a halfe to the Northward, and some fiue leagues from the maine betweene Malacca and Pegu. Here we continued vntill the end of August. Our refreshing in this place was very smal, onely of oisters growing on rocks, great wilks, and some few fish which we tooke with our hookes. Here we landed our sicke men on these vninhabited Ilands for their health, neuerthelesse 26 of them died in this place, whereof Iohn Hall our master was one, and M. Rainold Golding another, a marchant of great honestie and much discretion. In these Ilands are abundance of trees of white wood, so right and tall, that a man may make mastes of them being an hundred foote long. The winter passed and hauing watered our ship and fitted her to goe to Sea, wee had left vs but 33 men and one boy, of which not past 22 were sound for labour and helpe, and of them not past a third part sailers: thence we made saile to seeke some place of refreshing, and went ouer to the maine of Malacca. The next day we came to an anker in a Baie in six fadomes water some two leagues from the shore. Then master Iames Lancaster our captaine, and M. Edmund Barker his lieutenant, and other of the companie manning the boat, went on shoare to see what inhabitants might be found. And comming on land we found the tracking of some barefooted people which were departed thence not long before: for we sawe their fire still burning, but people we sawe none, nor any other liuing creature, saue a certaine kind of foule called oxe birds, which are a gray kind of Seafoule, like a Snite in colour, but not in beake. Of these we killed some eight dozen with haile-shot being very tame, and spending the day in search, returned toward night aboord. The next day about two of the clocke in the afternoone we espied a Canoa which came neere vnto vs, but would not come aboord vs, hauing in it some sixteen naked Indians, with whom neuertheles going afterward on land, we had friendly conference and promise of victuals. The next day in the morning we espied three ships, being all of burthen 60 or 70 tunnes, one of which wee made to strike with our very boate: and vnderstanding that they were of the towne of Martabam, which is the chiefe hauen towne for the great citie of Pegu, and the goods belonging to certaine Portugal Iesuites and a Biscuit baker a Portugall we tooke that ship & did not force the other two, because they were laden for marchants of Pegu, but hauing this one at our command, we came together to an anker. The night following all the men except twelue, which we tooke into our ship, being most of them borne in Pegu, fled away in their boate, leauing their ship and goods with vs. The next day we weighed our anker and went to the Leeward of an Iland hard by, and tooke in her lading being pepper, which shee and the other two had laden at Pera, which is a place on the maine 30 leagues to the South. Besides the aforesaid three ships, we tooke another ship of Pegu laden with pepper, and perceiuing her to bee laden with marchants goods of Pegu onely, wee dismissed her without touching any thing.

Thus hauing staied here 10 daies and discharged her goods into the Edward, which was about the beginning of September, our sicke men being somewhat refreshed and lustie, with such reliefe as we had found in this ship, we weighed anker, determining to runne into the streights of Malacca to the Ilands called Pulo Sambilam, which are some fiue and fortie leagues Northward of the citie of Malacca, to which Ilands the Portugals must needs come from Goa or S. Thome, for the Maluco, China, and Iapan. And when wee were there arriued, we lay too and agayne for such shipping as should come that way. Thus hauing spent some fiue dayes, vpon a Sunday we espied a saile which was a Portugall ship that came from Negapatan a towne on the maine of India ouer-against the Northeast part of the Ile of Zeilan; and that night we tooke her being of 250 tunnes: she was laden with Rice for Malacca. Captaine Lancaster commanded their captaine and master aboord our shippe, and sent Edmund Barker his lieutenant and seuen more to keepe this prize, who being aboord the same, came to an anker in thirtie fadomes water: for in that chanell three or foure leagues from the shore you shall finde good ankorage. Being thus at an anker and keeping out a light for the Edward, another Portugall ship of Sant Thome of foure hundred tunnes, came and ankered hard by vs. The Edward being put to Leeward for lacke of helpe of men to handle her sailes, was not able the next morning to fetch her vp, vntil we which were in the prize with our boate, went to help

Trees fit for mastes.

Malacca.

Three ships of Pegu laden with pepper. Martabam.

Pera.

Pulo Sambilam.

A ship of Negapatan taken.

A ship of S. Thome.

helpe to man our shippe. Then comming aboord we went toward the shippe of Sant Thome, but our ship was so foule that shee escaped vs. After we had taken out of our Portugall prize what we thought good, we turned her and all her men away except a Pilot and foure Moores. We continued here vntill the sixt of October, at which time we met with the ship of the captaine of Malacca of seuen hundred tunnes which came from Goa: we shot at her many shot, and at last shooting her maine-yard through, she came to an anker and yeelded. We commaunded her Captaine, Master, Pilot and Purser to come aboord vs. But the Captaine accompanied with one souldier onely came, and after certaine conference with him, he made excuse to fetch the Master and Purser, which he sayd would not come vnlesse he went for them: but being gotten from vs in the edge of the euening, he with all the people which were to the number of about three hundred men, women and children, gote a shore with two great boates and quite abandoned the ship. At our comming aboord we found in her sixteene pieces of brasse, and three hundred buts of Canarie wine, and Nipar wine, which is made of the palme trees, and raisin wine which is also very strong: as also all kind of Haberdasher wares, as hats, red caps knit of Spanish wooll, worsted stockings knit, shooes, veluets, taffataes, chamlets, and silkes, abundance of suckets, rice, Venice glasses, certaine papers full of false and counterfeit stones which an Italian brought from Venice to deceiue the rude Indians withall, abundance of playing cardes, two or three packs of French paper. Whatsoeuer became of the treasure which vsually is brought in roials of plate in this gallion, we could not find it. After that the mariners had disordredly pilled this rich shippe, the Captaine because they would not follow his commandement to vnlade those excellent wines into the Edward, abandoned her & let her driue at Sea, taking out of her the choisest things that she had. And doubting the forces of Malaca, we departed thence to a Baie in the kingdom of Iunsalaom, which is betweene Malacca and Pegu eight degrees to the Northward, to seeke for pitch to trimme our ship. Here we sent our souldier, which the captaine of the aforesaid gallion had left behind him with vs, because he had the Malaian language, to deale with the people for pitch, which hee did faithfully, and procured vs some two or three quintals with promise of more, and certaine of the people came vnto vs. We sent commodities to their king to barter for Amber-greise, and for the hornes of Abath, whereof the king onely hath the traffique in his hands. Now this Abath is a beast which hath one horne onely in her forehead, and is thought to be the female Vnicorne, and is highly esteemed of all the Moores in those parts as a most soueraigne remedie against poyson. We had onely two or three of these hornes which are of the colour of a browne gray, and some reasonable quantitie of Amber-griese. At last the king went about to betray our Portugall with our marchandise: but he to get aboord vs, told him that we had gilt armour, shirtes of maile and halberds, which things they greatly desire: for hope whereof he let him returne aboord, and so he escaped the danger. Thus we left this coast and went backe againe in sight of Sumatra, and thence to the Ilands of Nicubar, where we arrined and found them inhabited with Moores, and after wee came to an anker, the people daily came aboord vs in their Canoas, with hennes, Cocos, plantans and other fruits: and within two dayes they brought vnto vs roials of plate, giuing vs them for Calicut cloth: which roials they finde by diuing for them in the Sea, which were lost not long before in two Portugall ships which were bound for China and were cast away there. They call in their language the Coco Calambe, the Plantane Pison, a Hen Iam, a Fish Iocan, a Hog Babee. From thence we returned the 21 of Nouember to goe for the Iland of Zeitan, and arriued there about the third of December 1592. and ankered vpon the Southside in sixe fadomes water, where we lost our anker, the place being rockie and foule ground. Then we ranne along the Southwest part of the sayd Iland, to a place called Punta del Galle, where we ankered, determining there to haue remained vntill the comming of the Bengala Fleet of seuen or eight ships, and the Fleete of Pegu of two or three sailes, and the Portugall shippes of Tanasseri being a great Baie to the Southward of Martabam in the kingdom of Siam: which ships, by diuers intelligences which we had, were to come that way within foureteene dayes to bring commodities to serue the Caraks, which commonly depart from Cochin for Portugall by the middest of Ianuarie. The commodities

The galeon of Malacca of 700 tuns.

Wares fit to carry into the East Indie.

The kingdom of Iunsalaom.

Amber greece. The hornes of Abath. The female Vnicorne.

Some small quantitie hereof may be carried to pleasure those kings.

They arriue at the Iles of Nicubar, which are inhabited by Moores.

They returne homeward. They arriue at Zeitan.

Tanasseri in the kingdom of Siam.

of

Commodities of Bengala.

of the shippes which come from Bengala bee fine pauillions for beds, wrought quilts, fine Calicut cloth, Pintados and other fine workes, and Rice, and they make this voiage twise in the yeere. Those of Pegu bring the chiefest stones, as Rubies and Diamants, but their chiefe fraight is Rice and certaine cloth. Those of Tanaseri are chiefly fraighted with Rice and Nipar wine, which is very strong, and in colour like vnto rocke water somewhat whitish, and very hote in taste like vnto Aqua vitæ. Being shot vp to the place aforesayd, called Punta del Galle, wee came to an anker in foule ground and lost the same, and lay all that night a drift, because we had nowe but two ankers left vs, which were vnstocked and in hold. Whereupon our men tooke occasion to come home, our Captaine at that time lying very sicke more like to die then to liue. In the morning wee set our foresaile determining to lie vp to the Northward and there to keepe our selues to and againe out of the current, which otherwise would haue set vs off to the Southward from all knowen land. Thus hauing set our foresayle, and in hand to set all our other sayles to accomplish our aforesayd determination, our men made answere that they would take their direct course for England and would stay there no longer. Nowe seeing they could not bee perswaded by any meanes possible, the captaine was constrained to giue his consent to returne, leauing all hope of so great possibilities. Thus the eight of December 1592. wee set sayle for the Cape of Buona Speransa, passing by the Ilands of Maldiua, and leauing the mightie Iland of S. Laurence on the starreboord or Northward in the latitude of 26 degrees to the South. In our passage ouer from S. Laurence to the maine we had exceeding great store of Bonitos and Albocores, which are a greater kind of fish: of which our captain, being now recouered of his sicknesse, tooke with an hooke as many in two or three howers as would serue fortie persons a whole day. And this skole of fish continued with our ship for the space of fiue or sixe weekes, all which while we tooke to the quantitie aforesayd, which was no small refreshing to vs. In February 1593. we fell with the Eastermost land of Africa at a place called Baia de Agoa some 100 leagues to the Northeast of the Cape of Good Hope: and finding the winds contrary, we spent a moneth or fiue weekes before we could double the Cape. After wee had doubled it in March following, wee directed our course for the Iland of Santa Helena, and arriued there the third day of Aprill, where wee staied to our great comfort nineteene dayes: in which meane space some one man of vs tooke thirtie goodly Congers in one day, and other rockie fishe and some Bonitos. After our arriuall at Santa Helena, I Edmund Barker went on shore with foure or fiue Peguins or men of Pegu which we had taken, and our Surgion, where in an house by the Chappell I found an Englishman one Iohn Segar of Burie in Suffolke, who was left there eighteene moneths before by Abraham Kendall, who put in there with the Roiall marchant, and left him there to refresh him on the Iland, being otherwise like to haue perished on shipboord: and at our comming wee found him as fresh in colour and in as good plight of body to our seeming as might be, but crazed in minde and halfe out of his wits, as afterward wee perceiued: for whether he were put in fright of vs, not knowing at first what we were, whether friends or foes, or of sudden ioy when he vnderstood we were his olde consorts and countreymen, hee became idle-headed, and for eight dayes space neither night nor day tooke any naturall rest, and so at length died for lacke of sleepe. Here two of our men, whereof the one was diseased with the skuruie, and the other had bene nine moneths sicke of the fluxe, in short time while they were on the Iland, recouered their perfect health. We found in this place great store of very holesome and excellent good greene figs, orenges, and lemons very faire, abundance of goates and hogs, and great plentie of partriges, Guiniecocks, and other wilde foules. Our mariners somewhat discontented being now watered and hauing some prouision of fish, contrary to the will of the capitaine, would straight home. The capitaine because he was desirous to goe for Pernambuc in Brasil, granted their request. And about the 12 of Aprill 1593. we departed from S. Helena, and directed our course for the place aforesayd. The next day our capitaine calling vpon the sailers to finish a foresaile which they had in hand, some of them answered that vnlesse they might goe directly home, they would lay their hands to nothing; whereupon he was constrained to folow their humour. And from thence-foorth we directed our course for our countrey,

Commodities of Pegu, Commodities of Tanaseri.

A great current to the South ward.

A notable reliefe of fishes taken.

Baia de Agoa.

They double the Cape of Buona Speranza.

S. Helena.

Iohn Segar an Englishman left 18 moneths alone in the Ile of santa Helena.

A miraculous effect of extreme feare or extreme ioy.

The description of the commodities of the Ile of santa Helena.

countrey, which we kept vntill we came 8 degrees to the Northward of the Equinoctiall, betweene which 8 degrees and the line, we spent some sixe weekes, with many calme and contrary winds at North, and sometimes to the Eastward, & sometimes to the Westward: which losse of time and expense of our victuals, whereof we had very smal store, made vs doubt to keepe our course and some of our men growing into a mutinie threatned to breake vp other mens chests, to the ouerthrow of our victuals and all our selues, for euery man had his share of his victuals before in his owne custody, that they might be sure what to trust to, and husband it more thriftily. Our capitaine seeking to preuent this mischefe, being aduertised by one of our companie which had bene at the Ile of Trinidada: *M.* Chidleis voyage, that there we should be sure to haue refreshing, hereupon directed his course to that Iland, and not knowing the currents, we were put past it in the night into the gulfe of Paria in the beginning of Iune, wherein we were 8 dayes, finding the current continually setting in, and oftentimes we were in 3 fadomes water, and could find no going out vntil the current had put vs ouer to the Westernside vnder the maine land. where we found no current at all, and more deep water; and so keeping by the shore, the wind off the shore euery night did helpe vs out to the Northward Being cleare, within foure or fiue dayes after we fell with the Ile of Mona where we ankered and rode some eighteene dayes. In which time the Indians of Mona gaue vs some refreshing. And in the meane space there arriued a French ship of Caen in which was capitaine one Monsieur de Barbaterre, of whom wee bought some two buts of wine and bread, and other victuals. Then wee watered and fitted our shippe, and stopped a great leake which broke on vs as we were beating out of the gulfe of Paria. And hauing thus made ready our ship to goe to Sea, we determined to goe directly for New-found-land. But before wee departed, there arose a storme the winde being Northerly, which put vs from an anker and forced vs to the Southward of Santo Domingo. This night we were in danger of shipwracke vpon an Iland called Sauona, which is enuironed with flats lying 4 or 5 miles off: yet it pleased God to cleare vs of them, & so we directed our course Westward along the Iland of Santo Domingo, and doubled Cape Tiberon, and passed through the old chanell betweene S. Domingo and Cuba for the cape of Florida: And here we met againe with the French ship of Caen, whose Captaine could spare vs no more victuals, as he said, but only hides which he had taken by traffike vpon those Ilands, wherewith we were content and gaue him for them to his good satisfaction. After this, passing the Cape of Florida, and cleere of the chanell of Bahama, we directed our course for the banke of Newfound-land. Thus running to the height of 36 degrees, and as farre to the East as the Isle of Bermuda the 17 of September finding the winds there very variable, contrarie to our expectation and all mens writings, we lay there a day or two the winde being northerly, and increasing continually more and more, it grewe to be a storme and a great frete of wind: which continued with vs some 24 houres, with such extremitie, as it caried not onely our sayles away being furled, but also made much water in our shippe, so that wee had sixe foote water in holde, and hauing freed our ship thereof with baling, the winde shifted to the Northwest and became dullerd: but presently vpon it the extremitie of the storme was such that with the labouring of our ship we lost our foremaste, and our ship grewe as full of water as before. The storme once ceased, and the winde contrary to goe our course, we fell to consultation which might be our best way to saue our liues. Our victuals now being vtterly spent, & hauing eaten hides 6 or 7 daies, we thought it best to beare back againe for Dominica, & the Islands adioyning, knowing that there we might haue some reliefe, whereupon we turned backe for the said Islands. But before we could get thither the winde scanted vpon vs, which did greatly endanger vs for lacke of fresh water and victuals; so that we were constrained to beare vp to the Westward to certaine other Ilandes called the Nueblas or cloudie Ilands, towards the Ile of S. Iuan de porto Rico, where at our arriuall we found land-crabs and fresh water, and tortoyses, which come most on lande about the full of the moone. Here hauing refreshed our selues some 17 or 18 dayes, and hauing gotten some small store of victuals into our ship, we resolued to returne againe for Mona: vpon which our determination fiue of our men left vs, remaining still on the Iles of Nueblas for all perswasions

The gulfe of Paria, or Boca del Dragon passed.

A good note.

The Ile of Mona.

The Ile of Sauona enuironed with flats.

Cape de Tiberon.

The old chanell passed.

They returne backe to the West Indies.

Fiue Englishmen left on the Nueblas.

swasions that we could vse to the contrary, which afterward came home in an English shippe. From these Iles we departed and arriued at Mona about the twentieth of Nouember 1593, and there comming to an anker toward two or three of the clocke in the morning, the Captaine, and Edmund Barker his Lieuetenant with some few others went on land to the houses of the olde Indian and his three sonnes, thinking to haue gotten some foode, our victuals being all spent, and we not able to proceede any further vntill we had obteyned some new supply. We spent two or three daies in seeking prouision to cary aboord to relieue the whole companie. And comming downe to go aboord, the winde then being northerly and the sea somewhat growne, they could not come on shore with the boate, which was a thing of small succour and not able to rowe in any rough sea, whereupon we stayed vntill the next morning,

The ship lost by driuing away. thinking to haue had lesse winde and safer passage. But in the night about twelue of the clocke our ship did driue away with fiue men and a boy onely in it, our carpenter secretly cut their owne cable, leauing nineteene of vs on land without boate or any thing, to our great discomfort. In the middest of these miseries reposing our trust in the goodnesse of God, which many times before had succoured vs in our greatest extremities, we contented our selues with our poore estate, and sought meanes to preserue our liues. And because one place was not able to sustaine vs, we tooke our leaues one of another, diuiding our selues into seuerall companies. The greatest reliefe that we sixe which were with the Captaine could finde

Great famine. for the space of nine and twentie dayes was the stalkes of purselaine boyled in water, and nowe and then a pompion, which we found in the garden of the olde Indian, who vpon this our second arriuall with his three sonnes stole from vs, and kept himselfe contignally aloft in the mountaines. After the ende of nine and twentie dayes we espied a French shippe, which afterwarde we vnderstood to be of Diepe, called the Luisa, whose Captaine was one Monsieur Felix, vnto whom wee made a fire, at sight whereof he tooke in his topsayles, bare in with the land, and shewed vs his flagge, whereby we iudged him French: so comming along to the Westerne ende of the Island there he ankered, we making downe with all speede vnto

Two ships of Diepe. him. At this time the Indian and his three sonnes came downe to our Captaine Master Iames Lancaster and went along with him to the shippe. This night he went aboord the French man who gaue him good entertainement, and the next day fetched eleuen more of vs aboord entreating vs all very courteously. This day came another French shippe of the same towne of Diepe which remayned there vntill night expecting our other seuen mens comming downe: who, albeit we caused certaine pieces of ordinance to be shot off to call them, yet came not downe. Whereupon we departed thence, being deuided sixe into one ship, and sixe into another, and leauing this Island departed for the Northside of Saint Domingo, where we remained vntill Aprill following 1494, and spent some two monethes in traffike with the inha-

The French traffike in S. Domingo. bitants by permission for hides and other marchandises of the Countrey. In this meane while there came a shippe of New-hauen to the place where we were, whereby we had intelligence of our seuen men which wee left behinde vs at the Isle of Mona: which was, that two of them brake their neckes with ventring to take foules vpon the cliffes, other three were slaine by the Spaniards, which came from Saint Domingo, vpon knowledge giuen by our men which went away in the Edward, the other two this man of New-hauen had with him in his shippe, which escaped the Spaniards bloodie hands. From this place Captaine Lancaster and his Lieutenant Master Edmund Barker, shipped themselues in another shippe of Diepe, the Captaine whereof was one Iohn La Noe, which was readie first to come away, and leauing the

M. Lancaster returneth to Diepe, and so to England. rest of their companie in other ships, where they were well intreated, to come after him, on Sunday the seuenth of Aprill 1594 they set homewarde, and disbocking through the Caijcos from thence arriued safely in Diepe within two and fortie dayes after, on the 19 of May, where after two dayes we had stayed to refresh our selues, and giuen humble thankes vnto God, and vnto our friendly neighbours, we tooke passage for Rie and landed there on Friday the 24 of May 1594, hauing spent in this voyage three yeeres, sixe weekes and two dayes, which the Portugales performe in halfe the time, chiefely because wee lost our fit time and season to set foorth in the beginning of our voyage.

We vnderstood in the East Indies by certaine Portugales which we tooke, that they haue lately

lately discouered the coast of China to the latitude of nine and fiftie degrees, finding the sea still open to the Northward: giuing great hope of the Northeast or Northwest passage. Witnesse Master Iames Lancaster.

Certaine remembrances of an intended voyage to Brasill, and the Riuer of Plate, by the Edward Cotton, a ship of 260 Tunnes of Master Edward Cotton of Southhampton, which perished through extreme negligence neare Rio Grande in Guinie, the 17 of July 1583.

ARticles of Couenants agreed vpon betweene Edward Cotton Esquier, owner of the good ship called the Edward Cotton of Southhampton, and of all the marchandizes in her laden, of the one part, and William Huddie gentleman, Captaine of the said ship, Iohn Hooper his Lieutenant, Iohn Foster Master, Hugh Smith Pilot for the whole voyage, and William Cheeseman marchant, on the other part.

1 TO obserue and keepe the dayly order of Common prayer aboord the ship, and the companie to be called thereunto, at the least once in the day, to be pronounced openly.

2 Item, that they be ready with the first faire winde, to set saile and sailes in the voyage, and not to put into any port or harbour, but being forcibly constrained by weather, or other apparant and vrgent cause.

3 Item, that they take in, at or about the Isles of Cape Verde, to the quantitie of 25 or 30 tuns of salt, to be imployed among other the owners marchandize, at Santos, and S. Vincent, to his onely behoofe, and the rest of the salt, so much as shall be needed for victuall, and for sauing of the hides to be kept aboord, & the same salt to be prouided either at the fishermens hands neere the said Isles for trucke of commodities, or els to be taken in at the aforesaid Isles, at the discretion of the abouenamed.

4 Item, vpon the due performance of this voiage, the owner bindeth himselfe by this deede, to yeeld vnto any such of the companie, as shall refuse their shares before they depart from the coast of England, 20 markes a single share, for the dutie of the whole voiage, making not aboue 75. shares single in the whole.

5 Item, the company according as they be appointed by the officers of the said ship aboue named, shall at all times be most ready to doe their painfull indeuor, not onely aboord, but in all labours at the land, according to the direction giuen by the aboue named officers, vpon paine of forfeiture of their shares and wages, the same to be diuided amongst the company.

6 Item, that the shares be taken at their returne out of al the traine oile, and hides of the seales, and of all other commodities gotten by their handie labour, and of the salt that shall be vended and other commodities, at, or neere the coast of Brasill, to allow after 9 li. the tunne freight, whereof one third to goe to the companie.

7 Item, that if any man shall practise by any deuise or deuises whatsoeuer, to alter the voiage from the true purpose and intent of the owner, viz. to make their first port at Santos, and Saint Vincent, and there to reuictuall and traffike, and from thence to the riuer of Plate to make their voyage by the traine, and hide of the seales, with such other commodities as are there to be had, according as the owner, with diuers that haue gouernment in the said ship, are bound to her highnesse by their deedes obligatorie in great summes, that all such practisers, vpon due proofe made, shall loose their whole intertainement due by shares or otherwise for this sayde voyage to be adiudged by the Captaine, his Lieutenant, the Master, Pilot, and marchant, or three of them at the least, whereof the Captaine to be one.

8 Item, that the pinnesse be ready at al times to serue the marchants turne vpon his demand, to take in wares and commodities, and to cary and recary to and from the shore, when, and as oft as neede shall be, and to giue due attendance at the marchant and marchants direction during the whole voyage.

9 Item, that no head or chiefe officer being set downe for such an officer vnder the hand of the owner, at the going to sea of the said shippe, shall or may be displaced from his said

place or office, without great cause, and his misdemeanor to be adiudged by the Captaine, and his Lieutenant, the Master, the Pilot, and the marchant, or by the consent of three of them at the least.

10 Item, that vpon the returne of the shippe to the coast of England, the Maister and Pilot put not into any port or harbour, to the Westward of Southhampton, but forced by weather, or such like vrgent cause.

William Huddie. Iohn Foster.
Iohn Hooper. William Cheesman.
Hugh Smith.

A direction as well for the Captaine, and other my friends of the ship, as especially for William Cheesman Marchant, for the voyage to the riuer of Plate.

The Isle of S. Sebastian.

AT your comming to the Isle of Saint Sebastian, vpon the coast of Brasill, you shall according to your discretions, make sale of such commodities, as you may thinke will be thereabout well vented, and likewise to buy commodities without making longer stay there then your victuals be prouiding, but rather to bespeake commodities against your returne from the riuer of Plate, especially of Amber, Sugar, Greene ginger, Cotton wooll, and some quantitie of the peppers of the countrey there. Also for Parats and Munkies, and the beast called Serrabosa. Also you shall barrell vp of the beefe called Petune, two or three barrels, and to lose no good oportunitie, to gather of the Indian figges, and the graines of them to preserue drie, in such quantitie as conueniently may be done: and touching the making of the traine, and preseruing of the hides, I leaue it wholly to the order and the discretion of the chiefe of the companie. Also that in any road where the ship shall ride vpon the coast of America, triall be made with the dragges, for the pearle Oisters, and the same being taken, to be opened and searched for pearle in the presence of the Captaine, his Lieutenant, the Master, the Pilot, and marchant, or three of them, whereof the Captaine or his Lieutenant to be one, and to remaine in the custodie of the Captaine and marchant, vnder two lockes, either of them to haue a key to his owne locke, and that a true inuentorie be deliuered also to the Master and Pilot of the said pearle or other iewels of price gotten in the said voiage, to the intent that no partie be defrauded of his due, and that no concealment be made of any such thing vpon forfeiture, the partie to lose his share and dutie for the voyage that shall so conceale and not reueale it vnto the officers aboue named. Also to doe your best indeuour to try for the best Ore of golde, siluer, or other rich mettals whatsoeuer. Forget not also to bring the kernels and seeds of strange plants with you, the Palmito with his fruit inclosed in him. Serue God, keepe good watch, and stand alwayes vpon your garde.

Edward Cotton.

These things being thus ordered, and the ship of the burden of 260 tunnes, with 83 men of all sortes furnished, and fully appointed for the voyage, began to set saile from Hurst Castle vpon Friday the 20 of May, Anno 1583, and the 17 day of Iuly ensuing fell with the coast of Guinie, to take in fresh water, where, through meere dissolute negligence, she perished vpon a sand, with the most part of the men in her, as appeareth by the confession of one that escaped, the substance and tenor whereof is this.

The confession of William Bends Masters Mate in the Edward Cotton, the 21 of October, Ann. 1584.

HE sayth, that the 17 day of Iuly, Anno 1583. hauing some lacke of fresh water, they, put roome vpon the coast of Guinie, where they were set vpon a sand about 8 leagues from the shore, and this Examinate, with 29 more, got into the pinnesse, who arriued in an Island, being desolate of people, and fiue miles in compasse, where they rested 18 dayes through force of weather, hauing nought to eate but grasse. The rest of the company the ship being

splitted

splitted in two, and in quarters, got them into one of the after quarters, and by the helpe of raftes came also a shore into another Island neere to Rio Grande, where they all died as he surposeth. Rio Grande.

The other 30 in the pinnesse, at the end of 18 dayes, departed that Island, and came to Saint Domingo, where comming on shore, they were taken of the Moores, & stripped naked. And they buried one Coxe an olde man aliue, notwithstanding his pitifull lamentation and skrikings: the rest hauing Rice and water allowed them, liued there a certaine time. This Examinate was at last sold to a Portugall, with whom he dwelt the space of a quarter of a yere, and in the end, a Portugall Carauel comming thither, his master laded the same with Negroes, and he obtained leaue of his master to goe in the same Carauell, & by that meanes arriued at Lisbone, and from thence came into England the 17 of October, 1584, leauing behinde him of his companie aliue, Richard Hacker, Iohn Baker, Iohn Mathew, and a boy, with two others which were gone beyond Saint Domingo: all which, as he saith, were so sicke and diseased, that he iudgeth them to be long before this time dead. One Coxe an old English man buried aliue by the Moores of Rio Grande in Guinea.

The escape of the Primrose a tall ship of London, from before the towne of Bilbao in Biscay: which ship the Corrigidor of the same Prouince, accompanied with 97 Spaniards, offered violently to arrest, and was defeated of his purpose, and brought prisoner into England.

Whereunto is added the Kings Commission for a generall imbargment or arrest of all English, Netherlandish, and Easterlings ships, written in Barcelona the 19 of May 1585.

It is not vnknowen vnto the world what danger our English shippes haue lately escaped, how sharpely they haue beene intreated, and howe hardly they haue beene assaulted: so that the valiancie of those that mannaged them is worthy remembrance. And therefore in respect of the couragious attempt and valiant enterprise of the ship called the Primrose of London, which hath obteined renowne, I haue taken in hande to publish the trueth thereof, to the intent that it may be generally knowen to the rest of the English ships, that by the good example of this the rest may in time of extremitie aduenture to doe the like: to the honour of the Realme, and the perpetuall remembrance of themselues: The maner whereof was as followeth.

VPon Wednesday being the sixe and twentieth day of May 1585, the shippe called the Primrose being of one hundred and fiftie tunnes, lying without the bay of Bilbao, hauing beene there two dayes, there came a Spanish pinnesse to them, wherein was the Corrigidor and sixe others with him: these came aboord the Primrose, seeming to be Marchantes of Biscay, or such like, bringing Cherries with them, and spake very friendly to the Maister of the ship, whose name was Foster, and he in courteous wise bad them welcome, making them the best cheere that he could with beere, beefe, and bisket, wherewith that ship was well furnished: and while they were thus in banquetting with the Maister, foure of the seuen departed in the sayd Pinnesse, and went backe againe to Bilbao: the other three stayed, and were very pleasant for the time. But Master Foster misdoubting some danger secretly gaue speech that he was doubtfull of these men what their intent was; neuerthelesse he sayd nothing, nor seemed in any outward wise to mistrust them at all. Foorthwith there came a ship-boate wherein were seuentie persons being Marchants and such like of Biscay: and besides this boate, there came also the Pinnesse which before had brought the other three, in which Pinnesse there came foure and twentie, as the Spaniards themselues since confessed. These made towards the Primrose, and being come thither, there came aboord the Corrigidor with three or foure of his men: but Master Foster seeing this great multitude desired that there might no more come aboord, but that the rest should stay in their boates, which was granted: neuerthelesse they tooke small heede of these wordes; for on a suddaine they came foorth of the boate, entring the shippe,

shippe, euery Spaniarde taking him to his Rapier which they brought in the boate, with other weapons, and a drumme wherewith to triumph ouer them. Thus did the Spaniards enter the shippe, plunging in fiercely vpon them, some planting themselues vnder the decke, some entring the Cabbens, and a multitude attending their pray. Then the Corrigidor hauing an officer with him which bare a white wand in his hand, sayd to the master of the ship: Yeeld your selfe, for you are the kings prisoner: whereat the Maister sayd to his men, We are betrayed. Then some of them set daggers to his breast, and seemed in furious manner as though they would haue slaine him, meaning nothing lesse then to doe any such act, for all that they sought was to bring him and his men safe aliue to shore. Whereat the Maister was amazed, and his men greatly discomfited to see themselues readie to be conueyed euen to the slaughter: notwithstanding some of them respecting the daunger of the Maister, and seeing how with themselues there was no way but present death if they were once landed among the Spaniards, they resolued themselues eyther to defend the Maister, and generally to shunne that daunger, or else to die and be buried in the middest of the sea, rather then to suffer themselues to come into the tormentors hands: and therefore in very bold and manly sort some tooke them to their iauelings, lances, bore-speares, and shot, which they had set in readinesse before, and hauing fiue Calieuers readie charged, which was all the small shot they had, those that were vnder the hatches or the grate did shoote vp at the Spaniards that were ouer their heads, which shot so amazed the Spaniards on the suddaine, as they could hardly tell which way to escape the daunger, fearing this their small shot to be of greater number then it was: others in very manlike sort dealt about among them, shewing themselues of that courage with bore-speares and lances, that they dismayed at euery stroke two or three Spaniards. Then some of them desired the Maister to commaund his men to cease and holde their handes, but hee answered that such was the courage of the English Nation in defence of their owne liues, that they would slay them and him also: and therefore it lay not in him to doe it. Now did their blood runne about the ship in great quantitie, some of them being shot in betweene the legges, the bullets issuing foorth at their breasts, some cut in the head, some thrust into the bodie, and many of them very sore wounded, so that they came not so fast in on the one side, but now they tumbled as fast ouer boord on both sides with their weapons in their handes, some falling into the sea, and some getting into their boates, making haste towardes the Citie. And this is to be noted, that although they came very thicke thither, there returned but a small companie of them, neither is it knowen as yet how many of them were slaine or drowned, onely one English man was then slaine, whose name was Iohn Tristram, and sixe other hurt. It was great pitie to behold how the Spaniards lay swimming in the sea, and were not able to saue their liues. Foure of them taking hold of the shippe were for pities sake taken vp againe by Maister Foster and his men, not knowing what they were: all the Spaniards bosomes were stuft with paper, to defend them from the shot, and these foure hauing some wounds were drest by the surgion of the shippe. One of them was the Corrigidor himselfe, who is gouernour of a hundred Townes and Cities in Spaine, his liuing by his office being better then sixe hundred pound yerely. This skirmish happened in the euening about sixe of the clocke, after they had laden twentie Tunne of goods and better out of the sayd ship: which goods were deliuered by two of the same ship, whose names were Iohn Burrell, and Iohn Brodbake, who being on shore were apprehended and stayed.

The Corrigidor of Bilbao taken and brought to London.

After this valiant enterprise of eight and twentie English men against 97 Spaniardes, they saw it was in vaine for them to stay and therefore set vp sayles, and by Gods prouidence auoyded all danger, brought home the rest of their goods, and came thence with all expedition: and (God be thanked) arriued safely in England neere London on Wednesday, being the 8 day of Iune 1585. In which their returne to England the Spaniards that they brought with them offered fiue hundred crownes to be set on shore in any place: which, seeing the Maister would not doe, they were content to be ruled by him and his companie, and craued mercie at their hands. And after Master Foster demaunded why they came in such sort to betray and destroy them, the Corrigidor answered, that it was not done onely of them-

themselues, but by the commandement of the king himselfe; and calling for his hose which were wet, did plucke foorth the kings Commission, by which he was authorized to doe all that he did: The Copie whereof followeth, being translated out of Spanish.

The Spanish kings commission for the generall imbargment or arrest of the English, &c.

LIcentiat de Escober, my Corigidor of my Signorie of Biskay, I haue caused a great fleete to be put in readinesse in the hauen of Lisbone, and the riuer of Siuill. There is required for the Souldiers, armour, victuals, and munition, that are to bee imployed in the same great store of shipping of all sortes against the time of seruice, and to the end there may be choise made of the best, vpon knowledge of their burden and goodnesse; I doe therefore require you, that presently vpon the arriuall of this carrier, and with as much dissimulation as may be (that the matter may not be knowen vntill it be put in execution) you take order for the staying and arresting (with great foresight) of all the shipping that may be found vpon the coast, and in the portes of the sayd Signorie, excepting none of Holand, Zeland, Easterland, Germanie, England, and other Prouinces that are in rebellion against mee, sauing those of France which being litle, and of small burden and weake, are thought vnfit to serue the turne. And the stay being thus made, you shall haue a speciall care that such marchandize as the sayd shippes or hulkes haue brought, whether they be all or part vnladen, may bee taken out, and that the armour, munition, tackels, sayles, and victuals may be safely bestowed, as also that it may be well foreseene, that none of the shippes or men may escape away. Which things being thus executed, you shall aduertise me by an expresse messenger, of your proceeding therein: And send me a plaine and distinct declaration of the number of ships that you shall haue so stayed in that coast and partes, whence euery one of them is, which belong to my Rebels, what burthen & goods there are, and what number of men is in euery of them, and what quantitie they haue of armour, ordinance, munition, victuals, tacklings and other necessaries, to the end that vpon sight hereof, hauing made choise of such as shall be fit for the seruice, we may further direct you what ye shall do. In the meane time you shall presently see this my commandement put in execution, and if there come thither any more ships, you shall also cause them to be stayed and arrested after the same order, vsing therein such care and diligence, as may answere the trust that I repose in you, wherein you shall doe me great seruice. Dated at Barcelona the 29 of May. 1585.

And thus haue you heard the trueth and manner thereof, wherein is to be noted the great courage of the maister, and the louing hearts of the seruants to saue their master from the daunger of death: yea, and the care which the master had to saue so much of the owners goods as hee might, although by the same the greatest is his owne losse in that he may neuer trauell to those parts any more without the losse of his owne life, nor yet any of his seruantes: for if hereafter they should, being knowen they are like to taste of the sharpe tormentes which are there accustomed in their Holy-house. And as for their terming English shippes to be in rebellion against them, it is sufficiently knowen by themselues, and their owne consciences can not denie it, but that with loue, vnitie, and concord, our shippes haue euer beene fauourable vnto them, and as willing to pleasure their King, as his subiectes any way willing to pleasure English passengers.

The Letters patents or priuiledges granted by her Maiestie to certaine Noble men and Marchants of London, for a trade to Barbarie, in the yeere 1585.

ELizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. to the Treasurer & Barons of our Eschequer, and to al Maiors, shirifs, constables, customers, collectors of our customes and subsidies, controllers, searchers, and keepers of our hauens and creekes, ports and passages, within this our realme of England and the dominions of the same, and to al our officers, ministers and subiects, and to all other whosoeuer to whom it shall or may appertaine, and to euery of them greeting. Whereas it is made euidently and apparantly knowen vnto vs, that of late yeeres our right trustie and right welbeloued

welbeloued councellors, Ambrose Erle of Warwike, and Robert Erle of Leicester, and also our louing and naturall subiects, Thomas Starkie of our citie of London Alderman, Ierard Gore the elder, and all his sonnes, Thomas Gore the elder, Arthur Atie gentleman, Alexander Auenon, Richard Staper, William Iennings, Arthur Dawbeney, William Sherington, Thomas Bramlie, Anthony Garrard, Robert How, Henry Colthirst, Edward Holmden, Iohn Swinnerton, Robert Walkaden, Simon Lawrence, Nicholas Stile, Oliuer Stile, William Bond, Henrie Farrington, Iohn Tedcastle, Walter Williams, William Brune, Iohn Suzan, Iohn Newton, Thomas Owen, Roger Afield, Robert Washborne, Reinold Guy, Thomas Hitchcocke, George Lydiat, Iohn Cartwright, Henry Paiton, Iohn Boldroe, Robert Bowyer, Anthonie Dassell, Augustine Lane, Robert Lion, and Thomas Dod, all of London, Marchants now trading into the Countrey of Barbary, in the parts of Africa, vnder the gouernement of Muly Hammet Sheriffe, Emperor of Marocco, and king of Fesse and Sus, haue sustained great and grieuous losses, and are like to sustaine greater if it should not be preuented: In tender cõsideration whereof, and for that diuers Marchandize of the same Countries are very necessary and conuenient for the vse and defence of this our Realme of England, and for diuers other causes vs specially mouing, minding the reliefe and benefite of our said subiects, and the quiet trafique and good gouernment to be had, and vsed among them in their said trade, of our speciall grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion haue giuen and granted, and by these presents for vs, our heires and successors, doe giue and grant vnto the saide Earles of Warwike and Leicester, Thomas Starkie, Ierard Gore the elder, Arthur Atie gentleman, Alexander Auenon, Richard Staper, William Iennings, Arthur Dawbenie, William Sherington, Thomas Bramlie, Anthonie Gerrard, Robert Howe, Henry Colthirst, Edward Holmden, Iohn Swinnerton, Robert Walkaden, Simon Lawrence, Nicholas Stile, Oliuer Stile, William Bond, Henry Farrington, Iohn Tedcastle, Walter Williams, William Brune, Iohn Suzan, Iohn Newton, Thomas Owen, Roger Afild, Robert Washborne, Rainold Guie, Thomas Hitchcocke, George Lidiate, Iohn Cartwright, Henry Payton, Iohn Baldroe, Robert Bowyer, Anthony Dassell, Augustine Lane, Robert Lion, and Thomas Dod, that they and euery of them by themselues, or by their factors or seruants, and none others, shall and may, for, and during the space of 12. yeeres, haue and enioy the whole freedome and libertie in the saide trafique or trade, vnto or from the said countrey of Barbary, or to or from any part thereof, for the buying and selling of all maner of wares and marchandizes whatsoeuer, that now or accustomably heretofore haue bene brought or transported, frõ, or to the said country of Barbary, or frõ or to any of the cities, townes, places, ports, roades, hauens, harbors or creeks of the said country of Barbary, any law, statute, graunt, matter, customes or priuileges, to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.

And for the better establishing, ordering and gouerning of the said Erles of Warwike and Leicester, Thomas Starkie, &c. abouesaid, their factors, seruants and assignes in the trade aforesaid, we for vs, our heires and successors, doe by these presents giue and graunt full licence to the saide Thomas Starkie, Ierard Gore the elder, and the rest aforesaide, and to euery of them from time to time, during the said terme of twelue yeres, at their pleasures to assemble and meete together in any place or places conuenient within our citie of London, or elsewhere, to consult of, and for the said trade, and with the consent of the said Erle of Leicester, to make and establish good and necessary orders and ordinances, for, and touching the same, and al such orders and ordinances so made, to put in vre and execute, and them or any of them with the consent of the said Erle of Leicester, to alter, change and make voyde, and if need be, to make new, as at any time during the saide terme, they or the most part of them then liuing and trading, shall finde conuenient.

Prouided alwayes, that the ordinances or any of them bee not contrary or repugnant to the lawes, statutes or customes of this our Realme of England. And to the intent that they onely to whom the said libertie of trafique is graunted by these our Letters patents, and none other our Subiects whatsoeuer, without their special consent and licence before had, should during the said terme haue trade or trafique for any maner of Marchandizes, to, or from the said countrey of Barbary, or to, or from any Citie, towne, place, port, harbor or creeke

croeke within the said countrey of Barbary, to, or out of our said Realmes and dominions, wee doe by these presents straightly charge, commaund, and prohibite all and euery our Subiects whatsoeuer, other then only the said Erles of Warwike and Leicester, Thomas Starkie, and the rest aboue said, and euery of them by themselues, or by their Factors or seruants during the saide terme, to trade or trafique, for or with any marchandize, to, or from the saide Countrey of Barbary, or to, or from any the dominions of the same, as they tender our fauour, and will auoyde our high displeasure, and vpon paine of imprisonment of his and their bodies, at our will and pleasure, and of forfeiting all the marchandizes, or the full value thereof, wherewith they or any of them during the saide terme, shall trade or trafique to or from the said countrey of Barbary, or to, or from the dominions of the same, contrary to this our priuiledge and prohibition, vnlesse it be by and with the expresse licence, consent, and agreement of the saide Erles of Warwike and Leicester, Thomas Starkie, Ierard Gore the elder, and all his sonnes, Thomas Gore the elder, Arthur Atie gentleman, Alexander Auenon, Richard Draper, William Iennings, Arthur Dawbnie, William Sherington, Thomas Bramlie, Anthonie Gerrard, Robert Howe, Henry Colthirst, Edward Holmden, Iohn Swinnerton, Robert Walkaden, Simon Lawrence, Nicholas Stile, Oliuer Stile, William Bond, Henry Farington, Iohn Tedcastle, Walter Williams, William Brune, Iohn Suzan, Iohn Newton, Thomas Owen, Roger Afield, Robert Washborne, Rainold Guy, Thomas Hitchcock, George Lidiate, &c. or by, and with the expresse licence and consent of the more part of them then liuing and trading, first had and obtained, so alwayes, that the sayd Earle of Leicester be one, if hee bee liuing.

And we further for vs, our heires and successors of our speciall grace, meere motion and certaine knowledge, do graunt to the said Erles of Warwike and Leicester, Thomas Starkie, and the rest aboueaid, and to euery of them, that nothing shall be done, to be of force or validitie touching the said trade or trafique, or the exercise thereof, without or against the consent of the saide Erles, Thomas Starkie, (and the others before named) during the time of these our Letters patents for 12. yeeres as aforesaid.

And for that the said Erles, Thomas Starkie, &c. and euery of them aforesaid should not be preuented or interrupted in this their said trade, we do by these presents for vs, our heires and successours, straightly prohibite and forbid all maner of person or persons, as well strangers of what nation or countrey soeuer, as our owne Subiects, other then onely the said Erles, Thomas Starkie, &c. and euery of them as aforesaid, that they nor any of them from hencefoorth during the said terme of 12. yeeres, do or shall bring, or cause to be brought into this our Realme of England, or to any the dominions thereof, any maner of marchandizes whatsoeuer growing, or being made within the said Countrey of Barbary, or within any the dominions thereof, vnlesse it be by and with the licence, consent and agreement of the said Erles, Thomas Starkie, &c. or with the consent and licence of the more part of them then liuing, first had and obtained, so alwayes if the sayd Erle of Leicester (if hee be liuing) be one, vnder the paine that euery one that shall offend or doe against this our present prohibition here last aboue mentioned in these presents, shall forfeite and lose all and singular the said marchandizes to be landed in any our realmes and dominions, cōtrary to the tenor and true meaning of this our prohibition in that behalfe prouided: the one moitie of all and euery which said forfaitures whatsoeuer mentioned or specified in these our present Letters patents, shalbe to vs, our heires & successors: And the other moity of al and euery the said forfaitures, we doe by these presents of our certaine knowledge and meere motion, clearely and wholy for vs, our heires and successors, giue and graunt vnto the said Erles, Thomas Starkie, &c. And these our Letters patents, vpon the onely sight thereof, without any further warrant, shal bee sufficient authoritie to our Treasurer of England for the time being, to our Barons of the Exchequer, and to all other our officers that shall haue to deale in this behalfe, to make full allowance vnto the said Erles, Thomas Starkie, &c. their deputies or assignes of the one moitie of all and singular the goods, marchandizes and things whatsoeuer mentioned in these our present Letters patents, to be forfaited at any time or times during the said terme of twelue yeres: which said allowance we doe straightly charge and commaund

from time to time to be made to the sayd Erles, Thomas Starkie, &c. and to euery of them accordingly, without any maner of delay or deniall of any of our officers whatsoeuer, as they tender our fauour and the furtherance of our good pleasure. And wee doe straightly charge and commaund, and by these presents prohibite all and singular Customers and Collectors of our customes & subsidies, and comptrollers of the same, of and within our Citie and port of London, and all other portes, creekes, & places within this our Realme of England, and euery of them, that they ne any of them take or perceiue, or cause, or suffer to be taken, receiued, or perceiued for vs & in our name, or to our vse, or to ỹ vses of our heires or successors of any person or persons, any sum or summes of money, or other things whatsoeuer during the said terme of 12. yeres, for, and in the name & liew or place of any custome, subsidy & other thing or duties to vs, our heires or successors due or to be due for the customes & subsidies of any marchandizes whatsoeuer growing, being made or cõming out of the said countrey of Barbary, or out of the dominions thereof, nor make, cause, nor suffer to be made any entrie into our or their books of customs & subsidies, nor make any agreement for the subsidies and customs, of, and for any the said marchants, sauing onely with, & in the name of the said Erles, Thomas Starkie, &c. or the most part of them, as they and euery of them will answere at their vttermost perils to the contrary. And for the better and more sure obseruation of this our graunt, wee will, and grant for vs, our heires & successors by these presents, that the Treasurer & barons of our Exchequer for the time being, by force of this our graunt or enrolment thereof in the said court, at al & euery time & times during the said terme of 12. yeres, at & vpon request made vnto them by the said Erles, Thomas Starkie, &c. or by the attorneis, factors, deputies or assignes of them, or the most part of them then liuing and trading, shall and may make & direct vnder the seale of the said Exchequer, one or moe sufficient writ or writs, close or patents, vnto euery or any of our said customers, collectors or cõtrollers of our heires and successors in all and euery, or to any port or ports, creeke, hauen, or other places within this our realme of England, as the said Erles, Thomas Starkie, &c. or any the attorneis, factors, deputies or assignes of them or the most part of them then liuing and trading, shall at any time require, commaunding and straightly charging them and euery of them, that they nor any of them at any time or times during the said terme of 12. yeeres, make any entrie of any wares or marchandizes whatsoeuer, growing, being made or comming out or from the said countrey of Barbary, or the dominions thereof, nor receiue or take any custome, subsidie or other entrie, or make any agreement for the same, other then with or in the name of the said Erles, Thomas Starkie, &c. the factor or factors, deputies or assignes of them or the most part of them then liuing and trading, according to this our graunt, and the true meaning thereof, and according to our saide will and pleasure before in these presents declared. In witnesse whereof we haue caused these our Letters to be made patents. Witnesse our selfe at Westminster the 5. day of July in the 27. yeere of our reigne.

The Ambassage of Master Henry Roberts, one of the sworne Esquires of her Maiesties person, from her highnesse to Mully Hamet Emperour of Marocco and the King of Fesse, and Sus, in the yeere 1585: who remained there as Liger for the space of 3. yeeres. Written briefly by himselfe.

VPon an incorporation granted to the Company of Barbary Marchants resident in London, I Henry Roberts one of her Maiesties sworne Esquires of her person, was appointed her highnesse messenger, and Agent vnto the aforesaid Mully Hamet Emperor of Marocco, king of Fease, and Sus. And after I had receiued my Commission, instructions, and her Maiesties letters, I departed from London the 14. of August in the yeere 1585. in a tall ship called the Ascension, in the company of the Minion and Hopewell, and we all arriued in safetie at Azafi a port of Barbary, the 14. of September next following. The Alcaide of the towne (being the kings officer there, and as it were Maior of the place) receiued mee with all humanitie and honour, according to the custome of the Countrey, lodging me in the chiefest house of the towne, from whence I dispatched a messenger (which in their language they call a Trotero)

tero) to aduertise the Emperour of my arriuall: who immediatly gaue order, and sent certaine souldiers for my guard and conduct, and horses for my selfe, and mules for mine owne and my companies carriages. Thus being accompanied with M. Richard Euans, Edward Sakot, and other English Marchants resident there in the Countrey, with my traine of Moores and carriages, I came at length to the riuer of Tensist, which is within foure miles of Marocco: and there by the water side I pitched my tents vnder the Oliue trees: where I met with all the English Marchants by themselues, and the French and Flemish, and diuers other Christians, which attended my comming. And after we had dined, & spent out the heat of the day, about foure of the clocke in the afternoone we all set forward toward the Citie of Marocco, where we arriued the said day, being the 14. of September, and I was lodged by the Emperours appointment in a faire house in the Iudaria or Iurie, which is the place where the Iewes haue their abode, and is the fairest place, and quietest lodging in all the Citie.

After I had reposed my selfe 3. dayes, I had accesse to the kings presence, deliuered my message and her Maiesties letters, and was receiued with all humanitie, and had fauourable audience from time to time for three yeeres: during which space I abode there in his Court, as her Maiesties Agent and Ligier: and whensoeuer I had occasion of businesse I was admitted either to his Maiestie himselfe, or to his vice Roy, whose name was Alcayde Breme Saphiana, a very wise and discreet person, and the chiefest about his Maiestie. The particulers of my seruice, for diuers good and reasonable causes, I forbeare here to put downe in writing.

After leaue obtained, and an honourable reward bestowed by the Emperour vpon me, I departed from his Court at Marocco the 18. of August 1588. toward a garden of his, which is called Shersbonare, where he promised mee I should stay but one day for his letters: howbeit, vpon some occasion I was stayed vntil the 14. of September at the kings charges, with 40. or 50. shot attending vpon me for my guard and safetie.

From thence at length I was conducted with all things necessary to the port of Santa Cruz, being sixe dayes iourney from Marocco, and the place where our shippes do commonly take in their lading, where I arriued the 21. of the same moneth. In this port I stayed 43. dayes, and at length the second of Nouember I embarqued my selfe, and one Marshok Reiz a Captaine and a Gentleman, which the Emperour sent with mee vpon an Ambas-age to her Maiestie: and after much torment and foule weather at Sea, yet New-yeres day I came on land at S. Iues in Cornwall, from whence passing by land both together vp towards London, we were met without the Citie with the chiefest marchants of the Barbary Company, well mounted all on horseback, to the number of 40. or 50. horse, and so the Ambassadour and my selfe being both in Coche, entred the citie by torchlight, on Sunday at night the 12. of Ianuary 1589.

Este es vn traslado bien y fielmente sacado da vna carta real del Rey Muley Hamet de Fes y Emperador de Marruecos, cuyo tenor es este, que Segue.

COn el nombre de Dios piadoso y misericordioso, &c. El sieruo de Dios soberano, el conquistador per su causa, el successor ensalçado por Dios, Emperador de los Moros, hijo del Emperador de los Moros, Iariffe, Haceni, el que perpetue su honra, y ensalçe su estado. Se pone este nuestro real mandado en manos de los criados de nuestras altas puertas los mercadores Ynglesses; para que por el separados los que la presente vieren, come nuestro alto Conseio les anpara con el fauor de Dios de todo aquello, que les enpeciere y dannare en qualquiera manera, que fueren offendidos, y en qualquiera viaie, que fueren, ninguno les captiuarà en estos nuestros reynos, y puertos, y lugares, que a nos pertenescen: y que les cubre el anporo de nuestro podor de qualquiera fatiga; y ningun los impida commano de enemistad, ni se darà causa, de que se agrauien en qualquiera manera con el fauor de Dios y de su comparo. Y mandamos à los Alcaydes de los nuestros puertos y fortalezas, y à los que en estos nuestros reynos tienen cargo, y à toda la gente commun, que no les alleguen en ninguna manera, con orden, de que sean offendidos en ninguna manera; y esto serà necessariamente: Que es escrita en los medios dias de Rabel, segundo anno de nueue çientos, y nouenta y seys.

Concorda el dia d'esta carta con veynte dias de Março del anno de mil y quiniento y ochenta y siete, lo qual yo Abdel Rahman el Catan, interprete per su Magestad saquè, y Romançe de verbo ad verbum, como en el se contiene, y en Fee dello firmo de my nombre, fecho vt supra.

Abdel Rahman el Catan.

This is a copy well and truely translated of an edict of Muley Hamet king of Fez and Emperour of Marocco, whose tenor is as followeth: To wit, that no Englishmen should be molested or made slaues in any part of his Dominions, obtained by the aforesaid M. Henry Roberts.

The same in English.

IN the Name of the pitifull and the mercifull God, &c. The seruant of the supreme God, the conqueror in his cause, the successor aduanced by God, the Emperour of the Moores, the sonne of the Emperour of the Moores, the Iariffe, the Haçeny, whose honour God long increase and aduance his estate. This our princely commandement is deliuered into the hands of the English marchants, which remaine in the protection of our stately palaces: to the ende that all men which shall see this present writing, may vnderstand that our princely counsaile wil defend them by the fauor of God, from any thing that may impeach or hurt them in what sort soeuer they shalbe wronged: and that, which way soeuer they shall trauaile, no man shall take them captiues in these our kingdomes, ports, and places which belong vnto vs, which also may protect and defend them by our authoritie from any molestation whatsoeuer: and that no man shall hinder them by laying violent hand vpon them, and shall not giue occasion that they may be grieued in any sort by the fauor and assistance of God. And we charge and command our officers of our hauens and fortresses, and all such as beare any authoritie in these our dominions, and likewise all the common people, that in no wise they do molest them, in such sort that they be no way offended or wronged. And this our commandement shall remaine inuiolable, being registred in the middest of the moneth of Rabel in the yeere 996.

The date of this letter agreeth with the 20. of March 1587. which I Abdel Rahman el Catan, interpretour for his Maiestie, haue translated and turned out of the Arabian into Spanish word for word as is conteined therein: and in witnesse thereof haue subscribed my name as aforesaid.

Abdel Rahman el Catan.

En nombre de Dios el piadoso piadador.

Oracion de Dios sobre nuestro Sennor y Propheta Mahumet, y los allegados à el.

A letter of Muly Hamet to the Erle of Leicester.

EL sieruo de Dios, y muy guerrero, y ensalsado por la graçia de Dios, Myra Momanyn, hijo de Myra Momanyn, nieto de Myra Momanyn, el Iarif, el Hazeny, que Dios sustenga sus reynos, y enhalse sus mandados, para el Sennor muy affamado y muy illustre, muy estimado, el Conde de Leycester, despues de dar las loores deuidas à Dios, y las oraçiones, y saludes deuidas à le Propheta Mahumet. Seruirà esta por os hazer saber que llegò a qui à nuestra real Corte vuestra carta, y entendimos lo que en ella se contiene. Y vuestro Ambaxador, que aqui està en nuestra corte me dio à entender la causa de la tardança de los rehenes hasta agora: el qual descuento reçebimos, y nos damos por satisfechos. Y quanta à lo que à nos escrivueys por causa de Iuan Herman, y lo mismo que nos ha dicho el Ambaxador sobre el, antes que llegásse vuestra carta por la quexa del ambaxador, que se auia quexado del, ya auiamos mandado prender lo, y assi que da aora preso, y quedera, hasta que se le haga la iusticia que mas se le ha de hazer. Y con tanto nuestro Sennor os tenga en su guardia. Hecha en nuestra corte real en Marruecos, que Dios sostenga, el 28. dias del mes de Remodan anno 996.

In the Name of the mercifull and pitifull God.

The blessing of God light vpon our lord and prophet Mahumet, and those that are obedient vnto him.

THe seruant of God both mightie in warre and mightily exalted by the grace of God Myra Momanyn, the son of Myra Momanyn, the Iariff, the Hazeni, whose kingdoms God maintaine

maintaine and aduance his authoritie: Vnto the right famous, right noble, & right highly esteemed Erle of Leicester, after due praises giuen vnto God, & due blessings and salutations rendred vnto the prophet Mahumet. These are to giue you to vnderstand, that your letters arriued here in our royal Court, and we wel perceiue the contents thereof. And your Ambassador which remaineth here in our Court told me the cause of the slowenesse of the gages or pledges vntil this time: which reckoning we accept of, and holde our selues as satisfied. And as touching the matter wherof you write vnto vs concerning Iohn Herman, and the selfe same complaint which your Ambassador hath made of him, before the comming of your letter, we had already commaunded him to be taken vpon the complaint which your Ambassadour had made of him, whereupon he stil remaineth in hold, and shal so continue vntil further iustice be done vpon him according to his desert. And so our Lord keepe you in his safegard. Written at our royall court in Marocco, which God maintaine, the 20. day of the moneth Remodan, Anno ‖ 996.

‖ Which is with vs 1587.

The Queenes Maiesties letters to the Emperour of Marocco.

MVy alta, y muy poderoso Sennor,

Auiendo entendido de parte de nuestro Agente la mucha aficion, y volontad, que nos teneys, y quanta honra, y fauor le hazeys por amor nuestro, para dar nos tanto mayor testimonio de vuestra amistad, hemos recebido de lo vno y de le otro muy grande contento, y satisfacion: y assy no podemos dexar de agradesceroslo, como mereceys. Vuestras cartas hemos tambien recibido, y con ellas holgadonos infinitamente, por venir de parte de vn Principe, à quien tenemos tanta obligacion. Nuestro Agente nos ha escripto sobre ciertas cosas, que desseays ser os embiadas de aqui: Y, aunque queriamos poder os en ello puntualmente cõplazer, como pidiz, ha succedido, que las guerras, en que stamos al presente occupadas, no nos lo consienten del todo: Hemos però mandado, que se os satisfaga en parte, y conforme à lo que por agora la necessitad nos permite, como mas particularmente os lo declarará nuestro Agente: esperando, que lo reciberreys en buena parte y cõforme al animo, con que os lo cõcedemos. Yporque nos ha sido referido, que aueys prometido de proceder cõtra vn Iuan Herman vassallo nuestro, (el qual nos ha grauemente offendido) de la manera, que os lo demandaremos, auemos dado orden à nuestro dicho Agente de deziros mas particularmente lo que desseamos ser hecho a cerca deste negocio, rogando os, que lo mandeys assi complir: y que seays seruido de fauorescer siempre al dicho Agente, y tener lo en buen credito, como hasta agora aueys hecho, sin permiter, que nadie os haga mudar de parecer a cerca de las calumnias, que le podran leuantar, ny dudar, que no complamos muy por entero todo, lo que de nuestra parte os prometiere. Nuestro Sennor guarde vostra muy alta y muy poderosa persona, Hecha en nuestra Corte Real de Grenewich a 20. de Iulio 1587.

The Queenes letters to the Emperour.

The same in English.

Right high and mightie Prince, Hauing vnderstood from our Agent the great affection and good wil which you beare vs, and how great honour and fauor you shew him for our sake, to the end to giue vs more ample testimonie of your friendship, we haue receiued very great contentment & satisfaction, as wel of the one as of the other: and withall we could not omit to magnifie you, according to your desert. We haue also receiued your letters, and do not a little reioyce thereof, because they come from a prince vnto whom we are so much beholden. Our Agent hath written vnto vs concerning certaine things which you desire to bee sent vnto you from hence. And albeit we wish that we could particularly satisfie you, as you desire, yet it is fallen out, that the warres, wherein at this present we be busied, wil not suffer vs fully to doe the same: neuerthelesse, wee haue commaunded to satisfie you in part, and according as the present necessitie doeth permit vs, as our Agent will declare vnto you more particularly, hoping you will receiue it in good part, and according to the good will wherewith wee graunt the same. And because it hath bene signified vnto vs that you haue promised to proceed in iustice against one Iohn Herman our subiect, which hath grieuously offended

Iohn Herman an English rebel.

offended vs, in such sort as wee haue sent word vnto you, wee haue giuen order to our said Agent to informe you more particularly in that which we desire to be done in this besines, praying you also to command the same to be put in execution: and that it would please you alwayes to fauour our said Agent and to hold him in good credite, as you haue done hitherto, not suffering your selfe to be changed in your opinion, for all the false reports which they may raise against him, nor to doubt that wee will not accomplish at large all that he shall promise you on our behalfe. Our Lord keepe and preserue your right high and mightie person. Written in our royall Court at Greenwich the 20. of Iuly 1587.

A voyage to the Azores with two pinases, the one called the Serpent, and the other the Mary Sparke of Plimouth, both of them belonging to Sir Walter Ralegh, written by Iohn Euesham Gentleman, wherein were taken the gouernour, of the Isle of Sainct Michael, and Pedro Sarmiento gouernour of the Straits of Magalanes, in the yeere 1586.

THe 10. of Iune 1586. we departed from Plimouth with two Pinases, the one named the Serpent, of the burden of 35. Tunnes and the other the Mary Sparke of Plimouth of the burthen of 50. Tuns, both of them belonging to sir Walter Raleigh knight; and directing our course towards the coast of Spaine, & from thence towards the Isles of the Azores, we tooke a small barke laden with Sumacke and other commodities, wherein was the gouernour of S. Michaels Island, being a Portugal, hauing other Portugals and Spaniards with him. And from thence we sailed to the Island of Graciosa to the Westward of the Island of Tercera, where we discried a saile, and bearing with her wee found her to be a Spaniard: But at the first not greatly respecting whō we tooke, so that we might haue enriched ourselues, which was the cause of this our trauaile, and for that we would not bee knowen of what nation we were, wee displayed a white silke ensigne in our maine toppe, which they seeing, made accompt that we had bene some of the king of Spaines Armadas, lying in wait for English men of war: but when we came within shot of her, we tooke downe our white flagge, and spread abroad the Crosse of S. George, which when they saw, it made them to flie as fast as they might, but all their haste was in vaine, for our shippes were swifter of saile then they, which they fearing, did presently cast their ordinance and small shot with many letters, and the draft of the Straights of Magelan into the Sea, and therevpon immediatly we tooke her, wherein wee also tooke a gentleman of Spaine, named Pedro Sarmiento, gouernour of the Straights of Magelan, which saide Pedro we brought into England with vs, and presented him to our soueraigne Lady the Queene.

The gouernor of S. Michael taken prisoner.

Pedro Sarmiento the gouernour of the Straights of Magelan taken prisoner.

After this, lying off and about the Islands, wee descried another saile, and bearing after her, we spent the maine maste of our Admirall, but yet in the night our Viceadmirall tooke her, being laden with fish from Cape Blanke, the which shippe wee let goe againe for want of men to bring her home. The next day we discried two other sailes, the one a shippe and the other a Caruel, to whom we gaue chase, which they seeing, with all speede made in vnder the Isle of Graciosa, to a certaine Fort there for their succour, where they came to an anker, and hauing the winde of vs we could not hurt them with our ships, but we hauing a small boate, which we called a light horseman, wherein my selfe was, being a Musqueter, and foure more with Caliners, and foure that rowed, came neere vnto the shore against the winde, which when they saw vs come towards them they carried a great part of their marchandize on land, whither also the men of both vessels went and landed, and as soon as we came within Musquet shot, they began to shoote at vs with great ordinance and small shot, and we likewise at them, and in the ende we boorded one shippe wherein was no man left, so we cut her cables, hoysed her sailes, and sent her away with two of our men, and the other 7. of vs passed more neere vnto the shoare, and boorded the Caruel, which did ride within a stones cast from the shoare, and so neere the land that the people did cast stones at vs, but yet in despight of them all we tooke her, and one onely Negro therein; and cutting her cables in the hawse we hoysed her sailes and being becalmed vnder the land we were constrained to rowe her out with our boate, the Fort still shooting at vs, and the people on land with Musquets

A ship laden with fish taken and released againe.

One of the ships taken, and sent away with 2. persons.

The Caruel is taken.

Musquets and culiuers, to the number of 150. or thereabout: and we answered them with the small force wee had; in the time of which our shooting, the shot of my Musquet being a crossebarre-shot happened to strike the gunner of the fort to death, euen as he was giuing leuell to one of his great pieces, and thus we parted from them without any losse or hurt on our side. And now, hauing taken these fiue sailes of shippes, we did as before, turne away the shippe with the fish, without hurting them, and from one of the other shippes wee tooke her maine Maste to serue our Admirals turne, and so sent her away putting into her all the Spaniards and Portugals, (sauing that gentleman Pedro Sarmiento, with three other of the principal men and two Negroes) leauing them all within sight of land, with bread and water sufficient for 10. dayes if neede were. The prizes sent home.

Thus setting our course for England, being off the Islands in the height of 41. degrees, or there about, one of our men being in the toppe discried a saile, then 10. saile, then 15. whereupon it was concluded to sende home those prizes we had, and so left in both our Pinasses not aboue 60. men. Thus wee returned againe to the Fleete wee had discried, where wee found 24. saile of shippes, whereof two of them were Caracks, the one of 1200. and the other of a 1000. tunnes, and 10. Galions, the rest were small shippes and Carauels all laden with Treasure, spices, and sugars with which 24. shippes we with two small Pinasses did fight, and kept company the space of 32. houres, continually fighting with them and they with vs, but the two Caracks kept still betwixt the Fleete and vs, that wee could not take any one of them, so wanting powder, wee were forced to giue them ouer against our willes, for that wee were all wholly bent to the gaining of some of them, but necessitie compelling vs, and that onely for want of powder, without losse of any of our men, (which was a thing to be wondered at considering the inequalitie of number) at length we gaue them ouer. Thus we againe set our course for England, and so came to Plimouth within 6. houres after our prizes, which we sent away 40. houres before vs, where wee were receiued with triumphant ioy, not onely with great Ordinance then shot off, but with the willing hearts of all the people of the Towne, and of the Countrey thereabout; and we not sparing our Ordinance (with the powder wee had left) to requite and answere them againe. And from thence wee brought our prizes to Southampton, where sir Walter Ralegh being our owner, rewarded vs with our shares. Two Caracks, 10. Galions, 12. small ships. The 2. pinasses returne for England.

Our prizes were laden with sugars, Elephants teeth, waxe, hides, rice, brasill, and Cuser, as by the testimonie of Iohn Euesham himselfe, Captaine Whiddon, Thomas Rainford, Beniamin Wood, William Cooper Master, William Cornish Master, Thomas Drake Corporall, Iohn Ladd gunner, William Warefield gunner, Richard Moone, Iohn Drew, Richard Cooper of Harwich, William Beares of Ratcliffe, Iohn Row of Saltash, and many others, may appeare.

A briefe relation of the notable seruice performed by Sir Francis Drake vpon the Spanish Fleete prepared in the Road of Cadiz: and of his destroying of 100. saile of barks; Passing from thence all along the coast to Cape Sacre, where also hee tooke certaine Forts: and so to the mouth of the Riuer of Lisbon, and thence crossing ouer to the Isle of Sant Michael, supprized a mighty Carack called the Sant Philip comming out of the East India, which was the first of that kinde that euer was seene in England: Performed in the yeere 1587.

HEr Maiestie being informed of a mightie preparation by Sea begunne in Spaine for the inuasion of England, by good aduise of her graue and prudent Counsell thought it expedient to preuent the same. Whereupon she caused a Fleete of some 30. sailes to be rigged and furnished with all things necessary. Ouer that Fleete she appointed Generall sir Francis Drake (of whose manifold former good seruices she had sufficient proofe) to whom she caused 4. ships of her Nauie royall to be deliuered, to wit, The Bonauenture wherein himselfe went as General; the Lion vnder the conduct of Master William Borough Controller of the Nauie; the Dread-nought vnder the command of M. Thomas Venner; and the Rainebow, captaine whereof was M. Henry Bellingham: vnto which 4 ships two of her pinasses were

were appointed as hand-maids. There were also added vnto this Fleet certaine tall ships of the Citie of London, of whose especiall good seruice the Generall made particular mention in his priuate Letters directed to her Maiestie. This Fleete set saile from the sound of Plimouth in the moneth of April towards the coast of Spaine.

The 16. of the said moneth we mette in the latitude of 40. degrees with two ships of Middleborough, which came from Cadiz; by which we vnderstood that there was great store of warlike prouision at Cadiz & thereabout ready to come for Lisbon. Vpon this information our Generall with al speed possible, bending himselfe thither to cut off their said forces and prouisions, vpon the 19. of April entered with his Fleet into the Harbor of Cadiz: where at our first entring we were assailed ouer against the Towne by sixe Gallies, which notwithstanding in short time retired vnder their fortresse.

There were in the Road 60. ships and diuers other small vessels vnder the fortresse: there fled about 20. French ships to Port Real, and some small Spanish vessels that might passe the sholdes. At our first cōming in we sunke with our shot a ship of Raguza of a 1000. tunnes, furnished with 40. pieces of brasse and very richly laden. There came two Gallies more from S. Mary port, and two from Porto Reale, which shot freely at vs, but altogether in vaine: for they went away with the blowes well beaten for their paines.

Before night we had taken 30. of the said ships, & became Masters of the Road, in despight of the Gallies, which were glad to retire them vnder the Fort: in the number of which ships there was one new ship of an extraordinary hugenesse in burthen aboue 1200. tunnes, belonging to the Marquesse of Santa Cruz being at that instant high Admiral of Spaine. Fiue of them were great ships of Biskay, whereof 4. we fired, as they were taking in the Kings prouision of victuals for the furnishing of his Fleet at Lisbon: the fift being a ship about 1000. tunnes in burthen, laden with Iron-spikes, nailes, yron hoopes, horse-shooes, and other like necessaries bound for the West Indies we fired in like maner. Also we tooke a ship of 250. tunnes laden with wines for the Kings prouision, which wee caried out to the Sea with vs, and there discharged the said wines for our owne store, and afterward set her on fire. Moreouer we tooke 3. Flyboats of 300. tunnes a piece laden with biscuit, whereof one was halfe vnladen by vs in the Harborow, and there fired, and the other two we tooke in our company to the Sea. Likewise there were fired by vs ten other ships which were laden with wine, raisins, figs, oiles, wheat, & such like. To conclude, the whole number of ships and barkes (as we suppose) then burnt, suncke, and brought away with vs, amounted to 30. at the least, being (in our iudgement) about 10000. tunnes of shipping.

There were in sight of vs at Porto Real about 40. ships, besides those that fled from Cadiz.

We found little ease during our aboad there, by reason of their continuall shooting from the Gallies, the fortresses, and from the shoare: where continually at places conuenient they planted new ordinance to offend vs with: besides the inconuenience which wee suffered from their ships, which, when they could defend no longer, they set on fire to come among vs. Whereupon when the flood came wee were not a little troubled to defend vs from their terrible fire, which neuerthelesse was a pleasant sight for vs to beholde, because we were thereby eased of a great labour, which lay vpon vs day and night, in discharging the victuals, and other prouisions of the enemie. Thus by the assistance of the almightie, and the inuincible courage and industrie of our Generall, this strange and happy enterprize was atchieued in one day and two nights, to the great astonishment of the King of Spaine, which bread such a corrasiue in the heart of the Marques of Santa Cruz high Admiral of Spaine, that he neuer enioyed good day after, but within fewe moneths (as may iustly be supposed) died of extreame griefe and sorrow.

Thus hauing performed this notable seruice, we came out of the Road of Cadiz on the Friday morning the 21. of the said moneth of April, with very small losse not worth the mentioning.

After our departure ten of the Gallies that were in the Road came out, as it were in disdaine of vs, to make some pastime with their ordinance, at which time the wind skanted vpon vs, whereupon we cast about againe, and stood in with the shoare, & came to an anker within a league

league of the towne: where the said Gallies, for all their former bragging, at length suffred vs to ride quietly.

We now haue had experience of Gally-fight: wherein I can assure you, that onely these 4. of her Maiesties ships will make no accompt of 20. Gallies, if they may be alone, and not busied to guard others. There were neuer Gallies that had better place and fitter opportunitie for their aduantage to fight with ships: but they were still forced to retire, wee riding in a narrow gut, the place yeelding no better, and driuen to maintaine the same, vntill wee had discharged and fired the shippes, which could not conueniently be done but vpon the flood, at which time they might driue cleare off vs. Thus being victualed with bread and wine at the enemies cost for diuers moneths (besides the prouisions that we brought from home) our Generall dispatched Captaine Crosse into England with his letters, giuing him further in charge to declare vnto her Maiestie all the particularities of this our first enterprize.

After whose departure wee shaped our course toward Cape Sacre, and in the way thither wee tooke at seuerall times of ships, barkes, and Caruels well neere an hundred, laden with hoopes, gally-oares, pipe-staues, & other prouisions of the king of Spaine, for the furnishing of his forces intended against England, al which we burned, hauing delt fauourably with the men and sent them on shoare. We also spoiled and cõsumed all the fisher-boats and nets thereabouts, to their great hinderance: and (as we suppose) to the vtter ouerthrow of the rich fishing of their Tunies for the same yere. At length we canæ to the aforesaid Cape Sacre, where we went on land; and the better to enioy the benefite of the place, and to ride in harborow at our pleasure, we assailed the same castle, and three other strong holds, which we tooke some by force and some by surrender.

Thence we came before the hauen of Lisbon ankering nere vnto Cascais, where the Marques of Santa Cruz was with his Gallies, who seeing vs chase his ships a shoare, & take and carry away his barks and Caruels, was content to suffer vs there quietly to tary, and likewise to depart, and neuer charged vs with one canon-shot. And when our Generall sent him worde that hee was there ready to exchange certaine bullets with him, the marques refused his chalenge, sending him word, that he was not then ready for him, nor had any such Commission from his King.

Our Generall thus refused by the Marques, and seeing no more good to be done in this place, thought it conuenient to spend no longer time vpon this coast: and therefore with consent of the chiefe of his Company he shaped his course toward the Isles of the Açores, and passing towards the Isle of Saint Michael, within 20. or 30. leagues thereof, it was his good fortune to meete with a Portugale Carak called Sant Philip, being the same shippe which in the voyage outward had caried the 3. Princes of Iapan, that were in Europe, into the Indies. This Carak without any great resistance he tooke, bestowing the people thereof in certaine vessels well furnished with victuals, and sending them courteously home into their Countrey: and this was the first Carak that euer was taken comming foorth of the East Indies; which the Portugals tooke for an euil signe, because the ship bare the Kings owne name. The Carak called Sanct Philip taken.

The riches of this prize seemed so great vnto the whole Company (as in trueth it was) that they assured themselues euery man to haue a sufficient reward for his trauel: and thereupon they all resolued to returne home for England: which they happily did, and arriued in Plimouth the same Sommer with their whole Fleete and this rich booty, to their owne profite and due commendation, and to the great admiration of the whole kingdome.

And here by the way it is to be noted, that the taking of this Carak wrought two extraordinary effects in England: first, that it taught others, that Caracks were no such bugs but that they might be taken (as since indeed it hath fallen out in the taking of the Madre de Dios, and fyreing and sinking of others) and secondly in acquainting the English Nation more generally with the particularities of the exceeding riches and wealth of the East Indies: whereby themselues and their neighbours of Holland haue bene incouraged, being men as skilfull in Nauigation and of no lesse courage then the Portugals to share with them

in the East Indies: where their strength is nothing so great as heretofore hath bene supposed.

A Patent granted to certaine Marchants of Exeter, and others of the West parts, and of London, for a trade to the Riuer of Senega and Gambra in Guinea, 1588.

ELizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. To our Treasurer and Admirall of England, our Treasurer and Barons of our Exchequer, and all and euery our Officers, ministers and subiects whatsoeuer, greeting. Whereas our welbeloued subiects William Brayley, Gilbert Smith, Nicolas Spicer, and Iohn Doricot of our City of Exeter marchants, Iohn Yong of Coliton in our county of Deuon marchant, Richard Doderige of Barnestable in our saide Countie of Deuon Marchant, Anthonie Dassell, and Nicolas Turner of our Citie of London Marchants, haue bene perswaded and earnestly moued by certaine Portugals resident within our Dominions, to vndertake and set forward a voyage to certaine places on the coast of Guinea: Videlicet, from the Northermost part of the Riuer commonly called by the name of the Riuer of Senega, and from and within that Riuer all along that coast vnto the Southermost part of another Riuer commonly called by the name of Gambra, and within that Riuer: which, as we are informed, they haue already once performed accordingly: And for that we are credibly giuen to vnderstand that the further prosecuting of the same voyage, and the due and orderly establishing of an orderly trafique and trade of marchandize into those Countries, wil not only in time be very beneficial to these our Realmes and dominions, but also be a great succour and reliefe vnto the present distressed estate of those Portugals, who by our princely fauour liue and continue here vnder our protection: And cõsidering that the aduenturing and enterprising of a newe trade cannot be a matter of small charge and hazard to the aduenturers in the beginning: we haue therefore thought it conuenient, that our said louing subiects William Brayley, Gilbert Smith, Nicholas Spicer, Iohn Doricot, Iohn Young, Richard Doderige, Anthonie Dassell, and Nicholas Turner, for the better incouragement to proceede in their saide aduenture and trade in the said Countreis, shal haue the sole vse and exercise thereof for a certaine time. In consideration whereof, and for other waightie reasons and considerations vs specially mouing, of our speciall grace, certaine knowledge and meere motion, we haue giuen and graunted, and by these presents for vs, our heires and successors doe giue and graunt vnto the said William Brayley, Gilbert Smith, Nicholas Spicer, Iohn Doricot, Iohn Young, Richard Doderide, Anthony Dassell and Nicholas Turner, and to euery of them, and to such other our Subiects as they or the most part of them shall thinke conuenient to receiue into their Company and society, to be the traders with them into the said Countreis, that they and euery of them by themselues or by their seruants or Factors and none others, shall and may for and during the full space and terme of tenne yeeres next ensuing the date of these presents, haue and enioy the free and whole trafique, trade and feat of marchandise, to and from the said Northermost part of the said Riuer, commonly called by the name of the Riuer of Senega: and from and within that riuer all along the coast of Guinea, vnto the Southermost part of the said Riuer, commonly called by the name of the Riuer of Gambra, and within that Riuer also. And that they the said William Brayley, Gilbert Smith, Nicholas Spicer, Iohn Doricot, Iohn Yong, Richard Doderige, Anthony Dassel and Nicholas Turner, & euery of them, by themselues or by their seruants or Factors, & such as they or the most part of them shall receiue into their Company and societie, to be traders with them into the syd Countreis (as is aforesaid) and none others, shall and may, for, and during the said space and terme of 10. yeres, haue and enioy the sole & whole trafique or trade of marchandize into and from the said places afore limitted and described, for the buying & selling, bartering and changing of and with any goods, wares, and marchandizes whatsoeuer, to be vented had or found, at or within any the cities, townes, or places situated or being in the countries, partes & coastes of Guinea before limitted, any law, statute, or graunt, matter, custome or priuileges to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding. And for the better ordering, establishing,

A former voyage to Gambra.

blishing, & gouerning of the said societie and Company in the said trade and trafique of marchandizes, & the quiet, orderly & lawfull exercise of the same, We for vs, our heires, and successors, do by these presents giue and graunt full license and authoritie vnto the said William Brayley, Gilbert Smith, Nicholas Spicer, John Doricot, John Young, Richard Doderige, Anthonie Dassell, and Nicholas Turner, and to such others as they shall receiue into their saide societie and company to be traders into the said countreis, as is aforesaid, and to euery of them, that they or the most part of them shall and may at all conuenient times at their pleasures, assemble and meete together in any place or places conuenient, as well within our citie of Exeter, as elsewhere within this our Realme of England, or other our dominions, during the said terme of ten yeere, to consult of, for, and concerning the saide trade and trafique of marchandize, and from time to time to make, ordaine, and stablish good, necessary, and reasonable orders, constitutions, and ordinances, for, and touching the same trade. And al such orders, constitutions, and ordinances so to be made, to put in vre and execute, and them, or any of them, to alter, change, and make voyd, and, if neede be, to make new, as at any time, during the said terme of ten yeeres, to them, or the most part of them then trading, as is aforesaide, shall be thought necessary and conuenient. Vnto all and euery which said orders, constitutions, and ordinances, they, and euery of them, and all other persons which shall hereafter be receiued into the saide societie and Company, shall submit themselues, and shall well and duely obserue, performe, and obey the same, so long as they shall stand in force, or else shall pay and incurre such forfeitures, paines, and penalties, for the breach thereof, and in such maner and forme, and to such vses & intents, as by the saide orders, constitutions, and ordinances shall be assessed, limitted and appointed. So alwayes, as the same orders, constitutions and ordinances be not repugnant or contrary to the lawes, statutes, and customes of this Realme of England, nor any penaltie to exceede the reasonable forme of other penalties, assessed by the Company of our Marchants, named Aduenturers. And to the intent that they onely, to whom the said power and libertie of trafique and trade of marchandize is graunted by these our letters patents aforesaid, and none others whatsoeuer, without their speciall consent and license before had, shall, during the said terme of ten yeeres, vse, or haue trade or trafique, with or for any maner of goods or marchandizes, to and from the saide coastes or parts of Guinea afore limited: Wee doe by these presents, by our royall and supreme authoritie, straightly charge and commaund, that no person or persons whatsoeuer, by themselues, or by their factors, or seruants, during the said terme of 10. yeres, shall in any wise trade or trafique, for or with any goods or marchandizes, to or from the said coasts and parts of Guinea afore limitted, other then the said William Brayley, Gilbert Smith, Nicholas Spicer, John Doricot, John Young, Richard Doderige, Anthony Dassell, and Nicholas Turner, and such as from time to time, they, or the most part of them, shall receiue into their societie or company, to be traders with them, as is aforesaid, as they tender our fauour, and will auoyde our high displeasure, and vpon paine of imprisonment of his or their bodies, at our will and pleasure, and to lose and forfeit the ship or shippes, and all the goods, wares, and marchandizes, wherewith they, or any of them shal, during the said terme of 10. yeres, trade, or trafique to or from the said Countries, or any part thereof, according to the limitation aboue mentioned, contrary to our expresse prohibition and restraint, in that behalfe. And further, we do by these presents giue and graunt full power and authoritie to the said William Brayly, Gilbert Smith, Nicholas Spicer, John Doricot, John Yong, Richard Doderige, Anthony Dassell, and Nicholas Turner, and to such other persons, as they shal receiue into their societie and company, to be traders with them, as is aforesaid, and the most part of them, for the time being: that they, and euery of them, by themselues, their factors, deputies, or assignes, shall and may, from time to time, during the said terme of 10. yeres, attach, arrest, take, and sease all, and all maner of ship, and ships, goods, wares, and marchandizes whatsoeuer, which shall be brought from, or caried to the said coasts and parts of Guinea afore limited, contrary to our will and pleasure, and the true meaning of the same, declared and expressed in these our letters patents. Of all and euery which said forfaitures whatsoeuer, the one third part shall be vnto vs, our heires, and successors, and

another thirde part thereof we giue and graunt by these presents, for and towards the reliefe of the saide Portugals continuing here vnder our protection, as is aforesaid. And the other third part of al the same forfaitures, we do by these presents, of our certaine knowledge and meere motion, for vs, our heires and successors, giue and grant cleerely and wholy vnto the said William Brayley, Gilbert Smith, Nicholas Spicer, Iohn Doricot, Iohn Yong, Richard Doderige, Anthony Dassel, and Nicholas Turner, and such other persons, as they shall receiue into their societie, and company, as is aforesaid. And these our letters patents, or the inrolment or exemplification of the same, without any further or other warrant, shall from time to time, during the said tenne yeeres, be a sufficient warrant and authoritie to our Treasurer of England, for the time being, and to the barons of our Exchequer, and to all other our officers and ministers whatsoeuer, to whom it shall or may appertaine, to allow, deliuer, and pay one thirde part of all the said forfeitures, to the vse of the said Portugals, and one other thirde part of the same forfeitures, to the saide William Brayley, Gilbert Smith, Nicholas Spicer, Iohn Doricot, Iohn Yong, Richard Doderige, Anthony Dassell, and Nicholas Turner, and such other persons, as they shall receiue into their societie and Company, to be traders with them, as aforesaide, to their owne proper vse and behoofe: which said allowances and paiments thereof, our will and pleasure is, and we do straightly charge and commaund, to bee from time to time duely made and performed accordingly, without any delay or denial of any our officers aforesaid, or any other our officers or *ministers* whatsoeuer. And we do straightly charge and commaund, and by these presents prohibite all and singular our customers, collectors, and farmers of our Customes and subsidies, and controllers of the same, of and within our ports of the citie of London, and the Citie of Exeter, and all other ports, creekes, and places, within this our Realme of England, and euery of them, and all other our officers and *ministers* whatsoeuer, which haue or shall haue any dealing or intermedling, touching our said Customes and subsidies, that they, ne any of them by themselues, their clearks, deputies, or substitutes, or any of them take or receiue, or in any wise cause or suffer to be taken or receiued for vs, or in our name, or to our vse, or for, or in the names or to the vses of our heires or successors, of any person, or persons, any summe or summes of money, or other things whatsoeuer, during the said terme of ten yeeres, for, or in the name, lieu, or place of any Custome, subsidie, or other thing or duetie, to vs, our heires, or successors, due, or to be due, for the Customes or subsidies of any such goods, wares, or marchandizes, to be transported, caried, or brought to or from the priuileged places, before in these presents mentioned, or any of them: nor make, nor cause to be made any entry into, or of the bookes of subsidies or customes, nor make any agreement for the Customes or subsidies, of, or for any goods, wares, or marchandizes, to bee sent to, or returned from any the priuileged places, before in these presents mentioned, sauing onely with, and in the name, and by the consent of the saide William Brayley, Gilbert Smith, Nicholas Spicer, Iohn Doricot, Iohn Yong, Richard Doderige, Antonie Dassel, and Nicholas Turner, or of some of them, or of such as they or the most part of them shall receiue into their societie and Company, as aforesaid. Prouided alwaies, that if at any time hereafter, we our selues, by our writing signed with our proper hand, or any sixe or more of our priuie Counsell, for the time being, shall, by our direction, and by writing signed and subscribed with their hands, signifie and notifie to the said William Brayley, Gilbert Smith, Nicholas Spicer, Iohn Doricot, Iohn Yong, Richard Doderige, Anthony Dassell, and Nicholas Turner, or to any of them, or to any other, whom they, or the most part of them shal receiue into their Companie and society, as is aforesaid, or otherwise to our officers in our ports of Exeter, or Plimouth, by them to be notified to such as shall haue interest in this speciall priuilege, that our will and pleasure is, that the said trade and trafique shal cease, and be no longer continued into the saide coastes and partes of Guinea before limited: then immediatly from and after the ende of sixe moneths next insuing, after such signification & notification so to be giuen to any of the said Company and societie, as is aforesaid, or otherwise to our Officers in our ports of Exeter or Plimouth, by them to be notified to such as shall haue interest in this speciall priuilege, these our present letters Patents, and our graunt therein contained shall be vtterly voyde,

voyde, and of none effect, ne validitie in the lawe, to all intents and purposes: any thing before mentioned to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding. Witnesse our selfe at Westminster, the thirde day of May, in the thirtieth yere of our Reigne 1588.

A voyage to Benin beyond the Countrey of Guinea, set foorth by Master Bird and Master Newton Marchants of London, with a shippe called the Richard of Arundell, and a Pinesse; Written by Iames Welsh, who was chiefe Master of the said voyage, begunne in the yeere 1588.

VPon the twelft of October wee wayed our ankers at Ratcliffe and went to Blackwall. And the next day sayling from thence, by reason of contrary winde and weather, wee made it the 25. of October before wee were able to reach Plimouth, and there we stayed (to our great expense of victuals) for lacke of winde and weather vnto the 14. of December.

On Saturday the said 14. of December we put from thence, and about midnight were thwart of the Lizart.

Thursday the second of Ianuary wee had sight of the land neere Rio del oro, God be thanked, and there had 22. degrees of latitude, and 47. minutes. Rio del oro is in 22. degrees, and 47. min.

The thirde of Ianuary wee had sight of Cauo de las Barbas, and it bare Southeast fiue leagues off. Cauo de las Barbas.

The 4. we had sight of the Crosiers in the morning. Crosiers.

Tuesday the 7. day we had sight of Cauo verde, and I finde this place to be in latitude 14. degrees, and 43. minutes, being 4. leagues from the shoare. Cape Verde, in 14. degr. 43. Mi.

Friday the 17. Cauo de Monte bare off vs North Northeast, we sounded and had 50. fathom blacke oase, and at 2. of the clocke it bare North Northwest 8. leagues off. And Cauo Mensurado bare of vs East and by South, and wee went Northeast with the maine: here the currant setteth to the East Southeast alongst the shoare, and at midnight wee sounded and had 26. fathome blacke oase. Cauo de Monte. Cauo Mensurado.

The 18. in the morning we were thwart of a land much like Cauo verde, and it is as I iudge 9. leagues from Cauo Mensurado; it is a hill sadlebacked, and there are 4. or 5. one after another: and 7. leagues to the Southward of that, we saw a row of hils sadlebacked also, and from Cauo Mensurado are many mountaines.

The 19. we were thwart Rio de Sestos, and the 20. Cauo dos Baixos was North & by West 4. leagues off the shoare, and at afternoone there came a boate from the shoare with 3. Negroes, from a place (as they say) called Tabanoo. And towards euening we were thwart of an Island, and a great many of small Islands or rockes to the Southward, and the currant came out of the Souther-boord: we sounded and had 35. fathomes. Rio de Sestos. Cauo dos Baixos. Tabanoo.

The 21. wee had a flat hill that bare North Northeast off vs, and wee were from the shoare 4. leagues, and at 2. a clocke in the afternoone we spake with a Frenchman riding neere a place called Ratire, and another place hard by called Crua. This Frenchman caried a letter from vs to M. Newton: wee layd it on hull while wee were writing of our letter; and the current set vs to the Southward a good pase alongst the shore South Southeast. A French ship at Ratire. Crua. A currant to the Southeastward.

The 25. we were in the bight of the bay that is to the Westward of Capo de Tres puntas: the currant did set East Northeast.

The 28. we lay sixe glasses a hull tarying for the pinesse.

The last of Ianuary the middle part of Cape de tres puntas was thwart of vs three leagues at seuen of the clocke in the morning: and at eight the pinesse came to an anker: and wee prooued that the current setteth to the Eastward: and at sixe at night the vttermost lande bare East and by South 5. leagues, and we went Southwest, and Southwest and by South. Cape de tres puntas.

Saturday the first of February 1588. we were thwart of a Round foreland, which I take to be the Eastermost part of Capo de tres puntas: and within the said Round foreland was a great bay with an Island in the said bay.

The second of February wee were thwart of the Castle of Mina, and when the thirde glasse of our Looke-out was spent, we spied vnder our Larbord-quarter one of their Boates with certaine Negroes, and one Portugale in the Boate, wee would haue had him to come aboord, The Castle of Mina.

aboord, but he would not. And ouer the castle vpon the hie rockes we did see as it might
Two white watch-houses. be two watch-houses, and they did shew very white: and we went eastnortheast.

The 4 in the morning we were thwart a great high hill, and vp into the lande were more
Monte Redondo. high ragged hilles, and those I reckoned to be but little short of Monte Redondo. Then I reckoned that we were 20 leagues Southeast-ward from the Mina, and at 11 of the clocke I sawe two hilles within the land, these hils I take to be 7 leagues from the first hils. And to sea-ward of these hilles is a bay, and at the east end of the bay another hill, and from the hils the landes lie verie low. We went Eastnortheast, and East and by North 22 leagues, and then East along the shore.

The 6 we were short of Villa longa, and there we met with a Portugall Carauell.

Villa longa. The 7 a faire temperate day, and all this day we road before Villa longa.

The 8 at noone we set saile from Villa longa, and ten leagues from thence we ankered againe and stayed all that night in ten fadom water.

The 9 we set saile, and all alongst the shore were very thicke woodes, and in the after-
Rio de Lagos. noone we were thwart a riuer, & to the Eastward of the riuer a litle way off was a great high bush-tree as though it had no leaues, and at night we ankered with faire and temperate weather.

The 10 we set sayle and went East, and East and by South 14 leagues along the shoare, which was so full of thicke woods, that in my iudgement a man should haue much to doe to passe through them, and towards night we ankered in 7 fadome with faire weather.

The 11 we sayled East and by South, and three leagues from the shore we had but 5 fadome water, and all the wood vpon the land was as euen as if it had beene cut with a paire of gar-deners sheeres, and in running of two leagues we descerned a high tuft of trees vpon the brow of a land, which shewed like a Porpose head, and when wee came at it, it was but part of the lande, and a league further we saw a head-land very low and full of trees, and a great
Very shallow water. way from the land we had very shallow water, then we lay South into the sea, because of the sands for to get into the deepe water, and when we found it deepe, we ankered in fiue fadom thwart the riuer of Iaya, in the riuers mouth.

The 12 in the morning we road still in the riuers mouth. This day we sent the pinnesse and the boat on land with the marchants, but they came not againe vntill the next morning. The shallowest part of this riuer is toward the West, where there is but 4 fadom and a halfe, and it is very broad. The next morning came the boate aboord, and they also said it was
Rio de Iaya. Rio de Iaya. Here the currant setteth Westward, and the Eastermost land is higher then the Westermost.

Thursday the 13 we set saile, and lay South Southeast along the shore, where the trees are wonderfull euen, and the East shore is higher then the West shore, and when wee had sayled 18 leagues we had sight of a great riuer, then we ankered in three fadom and a halfe, and
Rio Benin. the currant went Westward. This riuer is the riuer of Benin, and two leagues from the maine it is very shallowe.

The 15 we sent the boat and pinnesse into the riuer with the marchants, and after that we set saile, because we road in shallow water, and went Southsoutheast, and the starbord tacke
A currant Westward. aboord vntill we came to fiue fathom water, where we road with the currant to the Westward: then came our boat out of the harbour and went aboord the pinnesse. The West part of the land was high browed much like the head of a Gurnard, and the Eastermost land was lower, and had on it three tufts of trees like stackes of wheate or corne, and the next day in the morning we sawe but two of those trees, by reason that we went more to the East-ward. And here we road still from the 14 of Februarie vntill the 14 of Aprill, with the winde at Southwest.

The 16 of Februarie we rode still in 5 fadome, and the currant ranne still to the Westward, the winde at Southwest, and the boat and pinnesse came to vs againe out of the riuer, and
Ten foote water vpon the barre of Rio de Benin. told vs that there was but ten foote water vpon the barre. All that night was drowsie, and yet reasonable temperate.

The

The 17 a close day the winde at Southwest. Our marchants wayed their goods and put them aboord the pinnesse to goe into the riuer, and there came a great currant out of the riuer and set to the Westward.

The 18 the marchants went with the boat and pinnesse into the riuer with their commodities. This day was close and drowsie, with thunder, raine and lightning.

The 24 a close morning and temperate, and in the afternoone the boat came to vs out of the riuer from our marchants.

Twesday the 4 of March, a close soultry hot morning, the currant went to the Westward, and much troubled water came out of the riuer.

The 16 our pinnesse came a boord and Anthonie Ingram in her, & she brought in her 94 bags of pepper, and 28 Elephants teeth, and the Master of her and all his company were sicke. This was a temperate day and the winde at Southwest.

Sicknesse among our men.

The 17. 18. and 19 were faire temperate weather and the winde at Southwest. This day the pinnesse went into the riuer againe, and carried the Purser and the Surgion.

The 25 of the said moneth 1589 we sent the boate into the riuer.

The 30 our pinnesse came from Benin, and brought sorowfull newes, that Thomas Hemstead was dead and our Captaine also, and she brought with her 159 Cerons or sackes of pepper and Elephants teeth.

The death of the Captaine. Pepper & Elephants teeth. A good note.

Note that in all the time of our abiding here, in the mouth of the riuer of Benin, and in all the coast hereabout it is faire temperate weather, when the winde is at Southwest. And when the winde is at Northeast and Northerly, then it raineth, with lightning and thunder, and is very intemperate weather.

The 13 of Aprill 1589 we set saile homewards in the name of Iesus. In the morning we sayled with the winde at Southwest, and lay West and by North, but it prooued calme all that night, and the currant Southeast.

The 14 the riuer of Benin was Northeast 7 leagues from the shore, and there was litle winde and towards night calme.

The 17 a faire temperate day the winde variable, and we had of latitude foure degrees and 20 minutes.

The 25 a faire temperate day the winde variable, and here we had three degrees & 29 minuts of latitude.

The 8 of May we had sight of the shore, which was part of Cauo de Monte, but we did not thinke we had beene so farre, but it came so to passe by reason of the currant. In this place M. Towrson was in like maner deceiued with the currant.

A deceiptfull currant.

The 9 we had sight of Cauo de monte.

The 17 a darke drowsie day, this was the first night that I tooke the North starre.

The 26 a temperate day with litle winde, and we were in 12 degrees and 13 minutes of latitude.

The 30 we met a great sea out of the Northwest.

The 6 of Iune we found it as temperate as if we had beene in England, & yet we were within the height of the sunne, for it was declined 23 degrees, and 26 minuts to the Northward, and we had 15 degrees of latitude.

The 8 faire and temperate as in England, here we met with a counter sea, out of the Southborde.

The 15 a faire temperate day, the winde variable, here we had 18 degrees and fiftie nine minutes.

The 12 of Iuly in 30 degrees of latitude we met with great store of rockweed, which did stick together like clusters of grapes, and this continued with vs vntill the 17 of the said moneth, and then we saw no more, at which 17 day we were in two and thirtie degrees sixe and fortie minutes of latitude.

Rockweed or Saragas all along the sea.

The 25 at sixe of the clocke in the morning, we had sight of the Isle of Pike, it bare North and by East from vs, we being 15 leagues off.

The 27 we spake with the poste of London and she told vs good newes of England.

The

The nine and twentieth we had sight of the Ialand of Cueruo, and the 30 we saw the Ialand of Flores.

The 27 of August in 41 degrees of latitude we saw 9 saile of Britons, and three of them followed vs vntill noone, and then gaue vs ouer.

The 30 we had sight of Cape Finisterre.

The eight of September at night wee put into Plimouth sound, and road in Causon bay all night.

The 9 we put into Catwater and there stayed vntill the 28 of September, by reason of want of men and sicknesse.

The nine and twentieth we set sayle from Plimouth, and arriued at London the second of October 1589.

The commodities that we caried in this voyage were cloth both linnen & woollen, yron worke of sundry sorts, Manillios or bracelets of copper, glasse beades, and corrall.

The commodities that we brought home were pepper and Elephants teeth, oyle of palme, cloth made of Cotton wooll very curiously wouen, and cloth made of the barke of palme trees. Their monie is pretie white shels, for golde and silver we saw none. They haue also great store of cotton growing: their bread is a kind of roots, they call it Inamia, and when it is well sodden I would leaue our bread to eat of it, it is pleasant in eating, and light of digestion, the roote thereof is as bigge as a mans arme. Our men vpon fish-dayes had rather eate the rootes with oyle and vineger, then to eate good stockfish. There are great store of palme trees, out of the which they gather great store of wine, which wine is white and very pleasant, & we should buy two gallons of it for 20 shels. They haue good store of sope, and it smelleth like beaten violets. Also many pretie fine mats and baskets that they make, and spoones of Elephants teeth very curiously wrought with diuers proportions of foules and beasts made vpon them. There is vpon the coast wonderfull great lightning and thunder, in so much as I neuer hard the like in no Countrey, for it would make the decke or hatches tremble vnder our feete, and before we were well acquainted with it, we were fearefull, but God be thanked we had no harme. The people are very gentle and louing, and they goe naked both men and women vntill they be married, and then they goe couered from the middle downe to the knees. They would bring our men earthen pottes of the quantitie of two gallons, full of hony and hony combes for 100 shelles. They would also bring great store of Oranges and Plantans which is a fruit that groweth vpon a tree, and is very like vnto a Cucumber but very pleasant in eating. It hath pleased God of his merceifull goodnesse to giue me the knowledge how to preserue fresh water with little cost, which did serue vs six moneths at the sea, & when we came into Plimmouth it was much wondered at, of the principal men of the towne, who said that there was not sweeter water in any spring in Plimouth. Thus doth God prouide for his creatures, vnto whom be praise now and for euermore, Amen.

Inamia, a kind of bread in Benin.

Wine of palm trees.

Abundance of hony.

This preseruation is wrought by casting into an hogshead of water an handful of bay-salt, as the author told me.

The voiage set forth by M. Iohn Newton, and M. Iohn Bird marchants of London to the kingdome and Citie of Benin in Africa, with a ship called the Richard of Arundell, and a pinnesse, in the yere 1588. briefely set downe in this letter following, written by the chiefe Factor in the voyage to the foresaid Marchants at the time of the ships first arriuall at Plimouth.

WOrshipful Sirs, the discourse of our whole proceeding in this voyage wil aske more time and a person in better health then I am at this present, so that I trust you will pardon me, till my comming vp to you: in the meane time let this suffice. Whereas we departed in the moneth of December from the coast of England with your good ship the Richard of Arundell and the pinnesse, we held on our direct course towards our appointed port, and the 11 day of Februarie following we arriued in the hauen of Benin, where we found not water enough to carry the ship ouer the barre, so that we left her without in the road, and with the pinnesse & ship boat, into which we had put the chiefest of our marchãdise, we went vp the riuer to a place called Goto, where we arriued the 20 of February, the foresaid Goto being

Goto in Benin.

the

the neerest place that we could come to by water, to go for Benin. From thence we presently sent Negroes to the king, to certifie him of our arriuall, and of the cause of our comming thither: who returned to vs againe the 22 day with a noble man in their company to bring vs vp to the Citie, and with 200 Negroes to carrie our commodities: hereupon the 23 day we deliuered our marchandize to the kings Factor, & the 25 day we came to the great Citie of Benin, where we were well intertained: The sixe & twenty day we went to the Court to haue spoken with the king, which (by reason of a solemne feast then kept amongst them) we could not doe: but yet we spake with his Veadore, or chiefe man, that hath the dealing with the Christians: and we conferred with him concerning our trading, who answered vs, that we should haue all things to our desire, both in pepper and Elephants teeth. The great citie of Benin.

The first of March, we were admitted to the kings presence, and he made vs the like courteous answere for our traffike: the next day we went againe to the Court, where the foresaid Veadore shewed vs one basket of greene pepper, and another of dry in the stalkes: wee desired to haue it plucked from the stalks and made cleane, who answered, that it would aske time, but yet it should be done: and that against another yeere it should be in better readines, & the reason why we found it so vnprepared was, because in this kings time no Christians had euer resorted thither, to lade pepper. The next day there were sent vs 12 baskets, and so a litle euery day vntill the 9 of March at which time we had made vpon 64 aeroes of pepper, and 28 Elephants teeth. In this time of our being at Benin (our natures at this first time not so well acquainted with that climate) we fell all of vs into the disease of the feuer, whereupon the Captaine sent me downe with those goods which we alreadie had receiued, to the rest of our men at Goto: where being arriued, I found all the men of our pinnesse sicke also, and by reason of their weakues not able to conuey the pinnesse and goods downe to the place where our ship road: but by good hap within two houres after my comming to Goto, the boate came vp from the ship, to see how all things stood with vs, so that I put the goods into the boat, and went downe towards the ship: but by that time I was come aboord, many of our men died: namely, Master Benson, the Cooper, the Carpenter, & 3or 4 more, & my selfe was also in such a weake state that I was not able to returne againe to Benin. Whereupon I sent vp Samuel Dunne, and the Chirurgian with him to our men, that were about to let them blood, if it were thought needfull: who at their comming to Benin, found the Captaine and your sonne William Bird dead, and Thomas Hempsteede very weake, who also died within two dayes after their comming thither. This sorrowfull accident caused them with such pepper and teeth, as they could then find, speedily to returne to the ship, as by the Cargason will appeare: at their comming away the Veadore tolde them, that if they could or would stay any longer time, he would vse all possible expedition to bring in more commodities: but the common sicknesse so increased and continued amongst vs all, that by the time our men which remained were come aboord, we had so many sicke and dead of our companie, that we looked all for the same happe, and so thought to loose both our ship, life, countrey and all. Very hardly and with much adoe could we get vp our ankers, but yet at the last by the mercie of God hauing gotten them vp, but leauing our pinnesse behinde vs, we got to sea, and set saile, which was vpon the 13 of Aprill. After which by little and little our men beganne to gather vp their crums and to recouer some better strength: and so sailing betwixt the Ilands of Cape Verde, and the maine we came to the Islands of the Azores vpon the 25 of Iuly, where our men beganne a fresh to grow ill, and diuers died, among whom Samuel Dun was one, and as many as remained liuing were in a hard case: but in the midst of our distresse, it fell so wel out, by Gods good prouidence, that we met with your ship the Barke Burre, on this side the North cape, which did not only keepe vs good copanie, but also sent vs sixe fresh men aboord, without whose helpe, we should surely haue tasted of many inconueniences. But by this good meanes we are now at the last arriued in Plimouth, this 9 day of September: and for want of better health at this time, I referre the further knowledge of more particularities, till my comming to London.

Yours to commaund

Anthony Ingram.

The second voyage to Benin, set foorth by Master Iohn Newton, and Master Iohn Bird Marchants of London in the yeere 1590 with a ship called the Richard of Arundell of the burthen of one hundreth tunnes, and a small pinnesse, in which voyage Master Iames Welsh was chiefe Maister.

The third of September 1590 we set saile from Ratclife, and the 18 of the said moneth we came into Plimouth sound, and the two and twentieth we put to sea againe, and at midnight we were off the Lisart, and so passed on our voyage vntill the 14 of October, on which day we had sight of Forteuentura one of the Canarie Islands, which appeared very ragged as we sailed by it.

The 16 of October, in the latitude of 24 degrees and nine minutes we met with a great hollow sea, the like whereof I neuer saw on this coast, and this day there came to the ships side a monstrous great fish (I thinke it was a Gobarto) which put vp his head to the steepe tubs where ỹ cooke was in shifting the victuals, whō I thought the fish would haue caried away.

The 21 in this latitude of 18 degrees we met with a countersea out of the North boord, and the last voyage in this very place we had the countersea out of the South, being very calme weather as now it is also.

A token of a Northerly winde.

The 24 we had sight of Cauo Verde, and the 25 we met with a great hollow sea out of the North, which is a common signe that the winde will be Northerly, and so it prooued.

The 15 of Nouember we met with three currants out of the West and Northwest, one after another, with an houres time betweene each currant. This was in the latitude of 6 degrees and 42 minutes.

Great currants.

The 18 day we met with two other great currants out of the Southwest, and the 20 we saw another current out of the Northeast, and the 24 we had a great current out of the Southsouthwest, and at 6 of the clocke towards night we had 3 currents more.

The 27 we thought that we had gone at the least 2 leagues and a halfe euery watch, and it fell out that we sailed but one league euery watch for the space of 24 hours, by meanes of a great billow and current that came still out of the South.

The 5 of December in setting the watch we cast about and lay East Northeast, and Northeast, and here in 5 degrees and a halfe our pinnesse lost vs wilfully.

The 7 at the going downe of the Sunne we saw a great blacke spot in the Sunne, and the 8. day both at rising and setting we saw the like, which spot to our seeming was about the bignesse of a shilling, being in 5 degrees of latitude, and still there came a great billow out of the southerboord.

The 14 we sounded and had 15 fadom water and grosse red sand, and 2 leagues from the shore the currant set Southeast along the shore with a billow still out of the southerboord.

The 15 we were thwart a rocke somewhat like the Mewstone in England, it was 2 leagues from vs, here we sounded and had 27 fadom, but the rocke is not aboue a mile from the shore,

Two rocks.

and a mile farther we saw another rocke, and betweene them both broken ground; here we sounded and had but 20 fadome and blacke sand, and we might see plaine that the rockes went not along the shore, but from the land to the seaward, and about 5 leagues to the Southward we sawe a great bay. here we had 4 degrees and 27 minuts.

A French ship of Hunfleur.

The 16 we met with a French ship of Hunfleur, who robbed our pinnesse, we sent a letter by him, and this night we saw another spot in the sunne at his going downe. And towards euening we were thwart of a riuer, and right ouer the riuer was a high tuft of trees.

Cauo de las Palmas.

The 17 we ankered in the riuers mouth, and then we found the land to be Cauo de las Palmas, and betweene vs & the cape was a great ledge of rockes, one league and a halfe into the sea, and they bare to the West of the Cape, we saw also an Island off the point of the foreland, thus it waxed night that we could perceiue no more of the lande, but onely that it trended in like a bay, where there runneth a streame as if it were in the riuer of Thames, and this was the change day of the Moone.

The 19 a faire temperate day, and the wind South, we went East, and the lande a sterne

of

of vs West, and it shewed low by the water side like Islands, this was the East of Cauo de las Palmas, and it trended in with a great sound, and we went East all night, and in the morning weè were but 3 or 4 leagues from the shore.

The 20 we were thwart of a riuer called Rio de los Barbos. Rio de los Barbos.

The 21 we went along the shore East, & 3 or 4 leagues to the West of Cauo de tres puntas, I find the bay to be set deeper then it is by 4 leagues, and at 4 of the clocke the land begun to shewe high, and the first part of it full of Palme trees.

The 24 still going by the shore, the land was very low and full of trees by the water side, and at 12 of the clocke we ankered thwart of the riuer called, Rio de Boilas. Here we sent our boate a shore with the marchants, but they durst not put into the riuer because of a great billow that continually brake at the enterance vpon the barre. Rio de Boilas.

The 28 we sailed alongst the shore, and ankered at night in seuen fadom because a great current would haue put vs backe, which came from the East Southeast from Papuas. Papuas.

The 29 at noone we were thwart of Arda, and there we tooke a Carauel but the men were fled on land, then we went aboord her, but she had nothing in her but only a litle oyle of Palme trees, and a few roots. The next morning our Captaine and marchants went to meete Portugals, that came in a boate to speake with vs, where they communed about the buying of the Carauell of our men againe, and the Portugals promised that we should haue for the Carauell, certaine bullocks and Elephants teeth, and they gaue vs one tooth and one bullocke presently, and sayd they would bring vs the rest the next day. Arda.

The first of Ianuarie our Captaine went on land to speake with the Portugales, but when he saw they did dissemble, he came aboord againe, and presently we vnrigged the Carauell, and set her on fire before the towne. Then we set saile and went along the coast, where we saw a Date tree, the like whereof is not in all that coast vpon the water side, also we fell on ground a litle in one place: Thus we went to Villa longa, and there ankered. Ianuarie. Villa longa.

The third we were as far shot as Rio de Lagoa, where our marchants went a shore and vpon the barre they found 3 fadom flat, but they went not in because it was late. There is also to the Eastward of this riuer a Date tree higher than all the rest of the other trees thereabout. Thus we went along the coast, and euery night ankered, & al the shore as we went was full of trees and thicke woods. Rio de Lagoa.

The 6 day in the morning it was very foggy, so that we could not see the land, and at three of the clocke in the afternoone it cleared vp, & then we found our selues thwart of the riuer of Iaya, and when we found the shallow water, we bare into the sea South, as we did the voyage before, and came to an ancre in fiue fadom water. The next day we set saile againe, and towards noone we were thwart of the riuer of Benin in foure fadom water. The riuer of Iaya. The riuer of Benin.

The 10 day our Captaine went on land with the shallop at 2 a clocke in the afternoone. All this weeke it was very foggy euery day vntill ten a clocke, and all this time hitherto hath beene as temperate as our summer in England. This day we went into the road and ankered, & the west point of the road bare East northeast off vs, wee riding in foure fadome water.

The 21 a faire temperate day, this day M. Hassald went to the towne of Goto, to heare newes of the Captaine. Goto.

The 23 came the Carauell, and Samuell in her, and she brought 63 Elephants teeth, and three bullocks. The Carauell brie ell teeth aboord.

The 28 a faire temperate day, and towards night there fell much raine, lightning, and thunder, this day our boate came aboord from Goto.

The 24 of Februarie, we tooke in 298 Cerons or sackes of pepper, and 4 Elephants teeth, and the winde was at Southeast. And the 26 we put the rest of our goods into the Carauell, and M. Hassald went with her to Goto. 298. sacks of pepper.

The 5 of March ẏ Carauel came againe & brought 21 Cerons of pepper, & 4 Elephants teeth.

The 9 of Aprill our Caruell came aboord with water for our prouision for the sea, and this day also we lost our shallope.

Three spouts. The 17 a drowsie rainie day, and in the afternoone we saw 3 great spoutes of raine, two on our larbord side, and one right with the ships head, but God be thanked, they came not at vs, and this day we tooke in the last of our water for the sea, and the 26 we victualed our Caruell to go with vs to the sea.

They returned homeward. The 27 we set saile to goe homewarde with the winde at Southwest, and at two a clocke in the afternoone, the riuer of Benin was Northeast 8 leagues from vs.

The 3 of May we had such a terrible gust with raine, lightning & thunder, that it tore and split our fore saile, and also the Caruels fore-sayle and maine-sayle, with the wind at Southeast.

The 12 a faire temperate day, much like our sommer mornings in England, being but one degree & a halfe from the line, but at midnight we had a cruell gust of raine, & the wind at northeast.

The 24 we were South from Cape de las Palmas 37 leagues.

Braua. The first of Iuly we had sight of the Iland of Braua, and it bare East 7 leagues off, and this Island is one of the Islands of Cape Verde.

The 13 of August we spake with the Queenes ships, the Lord Thomas Howard being Admirall, and sir Richard Greeneuill Viceadmirall. They kept vs in their company vntill the 15 day at night, themselues lying a hull, in waight for purchase 30 leagues to the South-west of the Island of Flores.

We departed in company of a prize. The 15 we had leaue to depart with a fly-boat laden with sugar that came from Sant Thome, which was taken by the Queenes ships, whereof my Lord Admirall gaue me great charge, not to leaue her vntill she were harbored in England.

Corua. The three and twentieth the Northeast part of the Island of Coruo bare off vs East and by South sixe leagues off.

The 17 of September we met with a ship of Plimouth that came out of the West Indies, but she could tell vs no newes. The next day we had sight of another sayle, this day also one of our company named M. Wood died.

The 23 we spake with the Dragon of my Lord of Cumberland, whereof Master Iuie was Maister.

The second of October we met with a ship of New-castle which came from Newfoundland, and out of her we had 300 couple of Newland fish.

The 6 we had sight of Sillie, and with raine and winde we were forced to put into S. Maries sound, where we staied all night, and 4 dayes after.

The 11 we set saile againe, and comming out had three fadom vpon the barre at a high water, then we lay out Southeast, through Crow-sand, and shortly after we had sight of the lands end, and at ten of the clocke we were thwart of the Lysart.

The 13 we were put into Dartmouth, and there we stayd vntill the 12 of December. From thence we put out with the winde at West, and the 18 of December, God be praised, we ankered at Limehouse in the Thames, where we discharged 589 sacks of Pepper, 150 Elephants teeth, and 32 barrels of oile of Palme trees.

The commodities that we caried out this second voyage were Broad cloth, Kersies, Bayes, Linnen cloth, Yron vnwrought, Bracelets of Copper, Corall, Hawks belles, Horsetailes, Hats, and such like.

This voyage was more comfortable vnto vs then the first, because we had good store of fresh water, and that very sweet: for as yet we haue very good water in the shippe which we brought out of the riuer of Benin the first day of Aprill 1591. and it is at this day (being the 7 of Iune 1592.) to be seen aboord the ship as cleare and as sweet as any fountaine can yeeld.

It is more temperate vnder the equinoctiall, then on the coast of Guinie & Benin. In this voyage we sailed 350 leagues within halfe a degree of the equinoctiall line, and there we found it more temperate, than where we rode. And vnder the line wee did kill great store of small Dolphines, and many other good fishes, and so did we all the way, which

was

was a very great refreshing vnto vs, and the fish neuer forsooke vs, vntil we were to the Northwards of the Ilands of Azores, and then we could see no more fish, but God be thanked wee met with good company of our countrey ships which were great comfort vnto vs, being fiue moneths before at Sea without any companie.

By me Iames Welsh master of the Richard of Arundell, in both these voyages to the riuer of Benin.

An Aduertisement sent to Philip the second king of Spaine from Angola by one Baltazar Almeida de Sousa, touching the state of the foresayd countrey, written the 21 of May, 1591.

THe 26 of Iuly I certified your maiestie by John Frere de Bendanha your maiesties pay-master and commissioner, with the gouernour Paulo Diae, which is lately deceased, of all things that happened the 28 of December in the yere last past 1590. Now I thought it conuenient to aduertise your maiestie what hath fallen out since that time, which is as foloweth. The gouernour Luis Serrano encamped himselfe eight leagues from Cabasa, where the Negro king dwelleth with 350 Portugal souldiers: & afterward being there encamped, it hapned that the king of Matamba sent a strong and mightie army, & in warlike maner, with strange inuentions for the sayd purpose. So the king of Angola gaue this other king battell, and the gouernour sent 114 souldiers Portugals to helpe the said king of Angola: in which battell it was the will of God that our army was ouerthrowen and all slaine, as well our Portugals as the Moores which tooke part with them. So with this ouerthrow it happened that this realme the second time hath rebelled against your maiestie. Hereupon the Gouernour assembling the rest of his Portugall souldiers, to the number of 250 altogether, went to Amasanguano, which is now his place of abode. Moreouer, besides the manifold losses which haue befallen the Portugals in this realme, your maiestie hath sustained other great misfortunes both in your lands and goods. And because I cannot personally come to certifie your maiestie thereof, I thought it good to write some part of the same whereby your maiestie may vnderstand the estate of this countrey. This realme, for the most part there of hath twise bene wonne, and twise lost for want of good gouernment. For here haue bene many gouernours which haue pretended to do iustice, but haue pitifully neglected the same, and practised the cleane contrary. And this I know to be most true. But the onely way to recouer this realme, and to augment your maiesties lands, goods and treasure, must be by sending some nôble and mighty man to rule here, which must bring authoritie frô your maiestie, and by taking streight order that enery captaine which doeth conquere here may bee rewarded according to his deserts. Likewise your maiestie must send hither 2000 good souldiers, with munition and sufficient store of prouision for them. And by this meane your highnesse shall know what yeerely reuenue Angola will yeeld vnto your coffers, and what profit will grow thereof. Otherwise your maiestie shall reape but litle benefit here. If with my presence I may doe your maiestie any seruice in giuing information of the state of this realme, as one which haue had experience thereof, and haue seene the order of it, vpon the vnderstanding of your maiesties pleasure herein, I will doe my best indeuour. And the cause wherefore I haue not done this heretofore hath bene, by reason that the Gouernours of this realme would suffer none of the captaines which haue conquered this countrey to informe your maiestie of that which is needfull for your seruice, and the augmenting of this conquest. Our lord preserue your catholique person with increase of many kingdomes, and the augmentation of youre crowne. Written in the conquest of the realme of Angola the 21 of May 1591.

Paulo Diae Gouernour of Angola.

The king of Matamba & 114 Portugals slain in Angola.

Amasanguano the Portugals abode in Angola.

The only way to recouer & retaine the realme of Angola.

An vnmeet match of lewd gouernours.

Your maiesties most loiall subiect,

Baltazar Almeida de Souza.

A true

A true discourse written (as is thought) by Colonel Antonie Winkfield emploied in the voiage to Spaine and Portugall, 1589. sent to his particular friend, & by him published for the better satisfaction of all such as hauing bene seduced by particular report, haue entred into conceits tending to the discredite of the enterprise and Actors of the same.

ALthough the desire of aduancing my reputation caused me to withstand the many perswasions you vsed to hold me at home, & the pursuite of honorable actions drew me (contrary to your expectation) to neglect that aduise, which in loue I know you gaue me: yet in respect of the many assurances you haue yeelded mee of your kindest friendship, I cannot suspect that you will either loue or esteeme me the lesse, at this my returne: and therefore I wil not omit any occasion which may make me appeare thankfull, or discharge any part of that duetie I owe you; which now is none other then to offer you a true discourse how these warres of Spaine and Portugall haue passed since our going out of England the 18 of Aprill, till our returne which was the first of Iuly. Wherein I wil (vnder your fauourable pardon) for your further satisfaction, as well make relation of those reasons which confirmed me in my purpose of going abroad, as of these accidents which haue happened during our aboad there; thereby hoping to perswade you that no light fansie did drawe me from the fruition of your dearest friendship, but an earnest desire by following the warres to make my selfe more woorthy of the same.

Hauing therefore determinately purposed to put on this habite of a souldier, I grew doubtfull whether to employ my time in ỹ wars of the low Countries, which are in auxiliarie maner maintained by her maiestie, or to folow the fortune of this voiage, which was an aduenture of her and many honorable personages, in reuenge of vnsupportable wrongs offered vnto the estate of our countrey by the Castilian king: in arguing whereof, I find that by how much the chalenger is reputed before the defendant, by so much is the iourney to be preferred before those defensiue wars. For had the duke of Parma his turne bene to defend, as it was his good fortune to inuade: from whence could haue proceeded that glorious honor which these late warres haue laid vpon him, or what could haue bene said more of him, then of a Respondent (though neuer so valiant) in a priuate Duell: Euen, that he hath done no more then by his honor he was tied vnto. For the gaine of one towne or any small defeat giueth more renoume to the Assailant, then the defence of a countrey, or the withstanding of twentie encounters can yeeld any man who is bound by his place to guard the same: whereof as well the particulars of our age, especially in the Spaniard, as the reports of former histories may assure vs, which haue still laied the fame of all warres vpon the Inuader. And do not ours in these dayes liue obscured in Flanders, either not hauing wherewithall to manage any warre, or not putting on armes, but to defend thẽselues when the enemie shall procure them? Whereas in this short time of our Aduenture, we haue won a towne by escalade, battered & assaulted another, ouerthrowen a mightie princes power in the field, landed our armie in 3 seueral places of his kingdom, marched 7 dayes in the heart of his country, lien three nights in the suburbs of his principall citie, beaten his forces into the gates thereof, and possessed two of his frontier forts, as shall in discourse thereof more particularly appeare: whereby I conclude, that going with an Inuader, and in such an action as euery day giueth new experience, I haue much to vaunt of, that my fortune did rather carry me thither then into the wars of Flanders. Notwithstanding the vehement perswasions you vsed with me to the contrary, the grounds whereof sithence you receiued them from others, you must giue me leaue to acquaint you with the error you were led into by thẽ, who labouring to bring the world into an opinion that it stood more with the safetie of our estate to bend all our forces against the prince of Parma, then to folow this action by looking into the true effects of this iourney, will iudicially conuince themselues of mistaking the matter. For, may the conquest of these countries against the prince of Parma be thought more easie for vs alone now, then the defence of them was 11 yeeres ago, with the men and money of the Queene of

of England? the power of the Monsieur of France? the assistance of the principal states of Germanie? and the nobilitie of their owne country? Could not an armie of more then 20000 horse, & almost 30000 foot, beat Don Iohn de Austria out of the countrey, who was possessed of a very few frontier townes? & shall it now be laid vpon her maiesties shoulders to remoue so mightie an enemie, who hath left vs but 3 whole parts of 12 vnconquered? It is not a iourney of a few moneths, nor an auxiliarie warre of fiue yeeres that can damnifie the king of Spaine in those places where we shall meet at euery 8 or 10 miles end with a towne, which will cost more the winning then will yeerely pay 4 or 5 thousand mens wages, where all the countrey is quartered by riuers which haue no passage vnfortified, and where most of the best souldiers of Christendom that be on our aduerse party be in pension. But our armie, which hath not cost her maiestie much aboue the third part of one yeres expenses in the Low countries, hath already spoiled a great part of the prouision he had made at the Groine of all sortes, for a new voyage into England; burnt 3 of his ships, whereof one was a second in the last yeres expedition called S. Iuan de Colorado, taken frō him aboue 150 pieces of good artillerie; cut off more then 60 hulks and 20 French ships wel maned fit and readie to serue him for men of war against vs, laden for his store with corne, victuals, masts, cables and other marchandizes; slaine and taken the principal men of war he had in Galitia; made Don Pedro Enriques de Gusman, Conde de Fuentes, Generall of his forces in Portugall, shamefully run at Peniche; laid along of his best Commanders in Lisbon; and by these few aduentures discouered how easily her maiestie may without any great aduenture in short time pull the Tirant of the world vpon his knees, as wel by the disquieting his vsurpation of Portugall as without difficultie in keeping the commoditie of his Indies from him, by sending an army so accomplished, as may not be subiect to those extremities which we haue endured: except he draw, for those defences, his forces out of the Low countries and disfurnish his garisons of Naples & Milan, which with safetie of those places he may not do. And yet by this meane he shall rather be enforced thereunto, thē by any force that can be vsed there against him: wherefore I directly conclude that this proceeding is the most safe and necessary way to be held against him, and therefore more importing then the war in the Low countries. Yet hath the iourney (I know) bene much misliked by some, who either thinking too worthily of the Spaniards valure, too indifferently of his purposes against vs, or too vnworthily of them that vndertooke this iourney against him, did thinke it a thing dangerous to encounter the Spaniard at his owne home, a thing needlesse to proceed by inuasion against him, a thing of too great moment for two subiects of their qualitie to vndertake: And therefore did not so aduance the beginnings as though they hoped for any good successe theref.

The chances of wars be things most vncertaine: for what people soeuer vndertake them, they are in deed as chastisements appointed by God for the one side or the other. For which purpose it hath pleased him to giue some victories to the Spaniards of late yeeres against some whom he had in purpose to ruine. But if we consider what wars they be that haue made their name so terrible, we shal find them to haue bin none other then against the barbarous Moores, the naked Indians, and the vnarmed Netherlanders, whose yeelding rather to the name thē act of the Spaniards, hath put them into such a conceit of their mightines, as they haue considerately vndertaken the conquest of our monarchie, consisting of a people vnited & always held sufficiently warlike: against whom what successe their inuincible army had the last yeere, as our very children can witnes, so I doubt not but this voiage hath sufficiently made knowen what they are euen vpon their owne dunghill, which, had it bene set out in such sort as it was agreed vpon by their first demaund, it might haue made our nation the most glorious people of the world. For hath not the want of 8 of the 12 pieces of artillerie, which were promised vnto the Aduenture, lost her maiestie the possession of the Groine and many other places, as hereafter shall appeare, whose defensible rampires were greater then our batterie (such as it was) cold force: and therefore were left vnattempted?

It was also resolued to haue sent 600 English horses of the Low countries, whereof we had

had not one, notwithstanding the great charges expended in their transportation hither: and that may the army assembled at Puente de Burgos thanke God of, as well as the forces of Portugall, who foreran vs 6 daies together: Did we not want 7 of the 13 old Companies, which we should haue had frō thence; foure of the 10 Dutch Companies; & 6 of their men of war for the sea, from the Hollanders: which I may iustly say we wanted, in that we might haue had so many good souldiers, so many good ships, and so many able bodies more then we had?

Did there not vpō the first thinking of the iourney diuers gallant Courtiers put in their names for aduenturers to the summe of 10000 li. who seeing it went forward in good earnest, aduised themselues better, and laid the want of so much money vpon the iourney?

Was there not moreouer a round summe of the aduenture spent in leuying, furnishing, and maintaining 3 moneths 1500 men for the seruice of Berghen, with which Companies the Mutinies of Ostend were suppressed, a seruice of no smal moment?

What misery the detracting of the time of our setting out, which should haue bene the 1 of February, did lay vpon vs, too many can witnes: and what extremitie the want of that moneths victuals which we did eat, during the moneth we lay at Plimmouth for a wind, might haue driuen vs vnto, no man can doubt of, that knoweth what men do liue by, had not God giuen vs in the ende a more prosperous wind and shorter passage into Galitia then hath bene often seen, where our owne force & fortune reuictualled vs largely: of which crosse windes, that held vs two dayes after our going out, the Generals being wearie, thrust to Sea in the same, wisely chusing rather to attend the change thereof there, then by being in harborough to lose any part of the better, when it should come by hauing their men on shore: in which two dayes 25 of our companies shipped in part of the fleet were scattered from vs, either not being able or willing to double Vshant.

These burdens layed vpon our Generals before their going out, they haue patiently endured, and I thinke they haue thereby much enlarged their honour: for hauing done thus much with the want of our artillery, 600 horse, 3000 foot, 20000 li. of their aduenture, and one moneths victuals of their proportion, what may he coniectured they would haue done with their ful cōplement?

For the losse of our men at sea, since we can lay it on none but the will of God, what can be said more, then that it is his pleasure to turne all those impediments to the honor of them against whom they were intended: and he will still shew himselfe the Lord of hosts in doing great things by thē, whom many haue sought to obscure: who if they had let the action fall at the height thereof in respect of those defects, which were such especially for the seruice at land, as would haue made a mighty subiect stoope vnder thē, I do not see how any man could iustly haue layd any reproch vpon him who commanded the same, but rather haue lamented the iniquity of this time, wherein men whom forren countries haue for their conduct in seruice worthily esteemed of, should not only in their owne countrey not be seconded in their honorable endeuors, but mightily hindred, euen to ỹ impairing of their owne estates, which most willingly they haue aduentured for the good of their countries: whose worth I will not value by my report, lest I should seem guiltie of flattery (which my soule abhorreth) & yet come short in the true measure of their praise. Onely for your instructiō against them who had almost seduced you from the true opinion you hold of such men, you shall vnderstand that Generall Norris frō his booke was trained vp in the wars of the Admiral of France, and in very yong yeeres had charge of men vnder the erle of Essex in Ireland: which with what commendations he then discharged, I leaue to the report of them who obserued those seruices. Vpon the breach betwixt Don Iohn & the States, he was made Colonell generall of all ỹ English forces there present, or to come, which he continued 2 yeeres: he was then made Marshall of the field vnder Conte Hohenlo: and after that, General of the army in Frisland: at his cōming home in the time of Monsieurs gouernment in Flanders, he was made lord President of Munster in Ireland, which he yet holdeth, from whence within one yere he was sent for, & sent Generall of the English forces which her maiestie thē lent to the Low countries, which he held til the erle of Leicesters going ouer. And

he

he was made Marshall of the field in England, the enemy being vpon our coast, and when it was expected the crowne of England should haue bene tried by battel. Al which places of commandement which neuer any Englishman successiuely attained vnto in forren wars, and the high places her maiestie had thought him woorthy of, may suffice to perswade you, that he was not altogether vnlikely to discharge that which he vndertooke.

What fame general Drake hath gotten by his iourney about the world, by his aduentures to the west Indies, & the scourges he hath laid vpon the Spanish nation, I leaue to the Southerne parts to speake of, & refer you to The Booke extant in our own language treating of ỹ same, & beseech you considering the waighty matters they haue in all the course of their liues with wonderfull reputation managed, that you wil esteeme them not wel informed of their proceedings, that thinke them insufficient to passe through that which they vndertooke, especially hauing gone thus far in the view of the world, through so many incombrances, & disappointed of those agreements which led them ỹ rather to vndertake the seruice. But it may be you wil thinke me herein either to much opinionated of the voiage, or conceited of the Commanders, ỹ labouring thus earnestly to aduance the opinion of them both, haue not so much as touched any part of the misorders, weaknes & wants that haue bene amongst vs, whereof they that returned did plentifully report. True it is, I haue conceiued a great opinion of the iourney, & do thinke honorably of the Commanders: for we find in greatest antiquities, that many Commanders haue bene receiued home with triumph for lesse merite, & that our owne countrey hath honored men heretofore with admiration for aduentures vnequal to this: it might therefore in those daies haue seemed superfluous to extend any mans commendations by particular remembrances, for that then all men were ready to giue euery man his due: But I hold it most necessary in these daies, sithence euery vertue findeth her direct opposite, & actions woorthy of all memory are in danger to be emniously obscured, to denounce the prayses of the action, and actors to the ful, but yet no further then with sinceritie of trueth, & not without grieuing at the iniury of this time, wherein is enforced a necessitie of Apologies for those men & matters, which all former times were accustomed to entertaine with the greatest applause that might be. But to answere the reports which haue bene giuen out in reproach of the actors and action by such as were in the same: let no man thinke otherwise, but that they, who fearing the casuall accidents of war had any purpose of returning, did first aduise of some occasion that should mone them thereunto: and hauing found any whatsoeuer did thinke it sufficiently iust, in respect of the earnest desire they had to seeke out matter that might colour their coming home.

Of these there were some, who hauing noted the late Flemish warres did finde that many yong men haue gone ouer and safely returned souldiers within fewe moneths, in hauing learned some wordes of Arte vsed in the warres, and thought after that good example to spend like time amongst vs: which being expired they beganne to quarrell at the great mortalitie that was amongst vs.

The neglect of discipline in the Armie, for that men were suffered to be drunke with the plentie of wines.

The scarsitie of Surgions.

The want of carriages for the hurt and sicke: and the penurie of victuals in the Campe: Thereupon diuining that there would be no good done: And that therefore they could be content to lose their time, and aduenture to returne home againe.

These men haue either conceiued well of their owne wits (who by obseruing the passages of the warre were become sufficiēt souldiers in these fewe weeks, & did long to be at home, where their discourses might be wondred at) or missing of their Portegues and Milrayes which they dreamed on in Portugall, would rather returne to their former maner of life, then attend the ende of the iourney. For seeing that one hazard brought another; and that though one escaped the bullet this day it might light vpon him to morow, the next day, or any day; and that the warre was not confined to any one place, but ỹ euery place brought foorth new enemies, they were glad to see some of the poore souldiers fal sicke, ỹ fearing to be infected by them they might iustly desire to go home.

Answere to the first. The sicknesse I confesse was great, because any is too much. But hath it bene greater then is ordinary amongst Englishmen at their first entrance into the warres, whithersoeuer they goe to want the fulnesse of their flesh pots? Haue not ours decayed at all times in France, with eating yong fruits and drinking newe wines? haue they not abundantly perished in the Low countreys with cold, and rawnesse of the aire, euen in their garrisons? Haue there not more died in London in sixe moneths of the plague, then double our Armie being at the strongest? And could the Spanish armie the last yeere (who had all prouisions that could be thought on for an Armie, and tooke the fittest season in the yeere for our Climate) auoyd sicknes amongst their souldiers? May it then be thought that ours could escape there, where they found inordinate heat of weather, and hot wines to distemper them withall?

But can it be, that wee haue lost so many as the common sort perswade themselues wee haue? It hath bene prooued by strickt examinations of our musters, that we were neuer in our fulnesse before our going from Plimouth 11000. souldiers, nor aboue 2500. Marriners. It is also euident that there returned aboue 6000. of all sorts, as appeareth by the seuerall paiments made to them since our comming home. And I hauely truely shewed you that of these numbers very neere 3000. forsooke the Armie at the Sea, whereof some passed into France and the rest returned home. So as we neuer being 13000. in all, and hauing brought home aboue 6000. with vs, you may see how the world hath bene seduced, in believing that we haue lost 16000. men by sicknes.

Answere to the second. To them that haue made question of the gouernment of the warres (little knowing what appertaineth thereunto in that there were so many drunkards amongst vs) I answere that in their gouernment of shires and parishes, yea in their very housholdes, themselues can hardly bridle their vassals from that vice. For we see it is a thing almost impossible, at any your Faires or publique assemblies to finde any quarter thereof sober, or in your Townes any Alepoles vnfrequented: And we obserue that though any man hauing any disordered persons in their houses, do locke vp their drinke and set Butlers vpon it, that they will yet either by indirect meanes steale themselues drunke from their Masters tables, or runne abroad to seeke it. If then at home in the eyes of your Iustices, Maiors, Preachers, and Masters, and where they pay for euery pot they take, they cannot be kept from their liquor: doe they thinke that those base disordered persons whom themselues sent vnto vs, as liuing at home without rule, who hearing of wine doe long for it as a daintie that their purses could neuer reach to in England, and hauing it there without mony euē in their houses where they lie & hold their guard, can be kept from being drunk; and once drunke, held in any order or tune, except we had for euery drunkard an officer to attend him? But who be they that haue runne into these disorders? Euen our newest men, our youngest men, and our idelest men, and for the most part our slouenly prest men, whom the Iustices, (who haue alwayes thought vnworthily of any warre) haue sent out as the scumme and dregs of their countrey. And those were they, who distempering themselues with these hote wines, haue brought in that sicknesse, which hath infected honester men then themselues. But I hope, as in other places the recouerie of their diseases doeth acquaint their bodies with the aire of the countries where they be, so the remainder of these which haue either recouered, or past without sicknesse will prooue most fit for Martiall seruices.

Answere to the third. If we haue wanted Surgeons, may not this rather be laid vpon the captaines (who are to prouide for their seuerall Companies) then vpon the Generals, whose care hath bene more generall. And how may it be thought that euery captaine, vpon whom most of the charges of raising their Companies was laid as an aduenture, could prouide themselues of all things expedient for a war, which was alwaies wont to be maintained by the purse of the prince. But admit euery Captaine had his Surgeon: yet were the want of curing neuer the lesse: for our English Surgeons (for the most part) be vnexperienced in hurts that come by shot; because England hath not knowen wars but of late, from whose ignorāce proceeded this discomfort, which I hope wil warne those ỳ hereafter go to the wars to make preparation of such as may better preserue mens liues by their skill.

Answere to the fourth. From whence the want of cariages did proceed, you may coniecture in ỳ we marched through a countrey

a countrey neither plentifull of such prouisions, nor willing to part from any thing: yet this I can assure you, that no mā of worth was left either hurt or sicke in any place vnprouided for. And that the General commanded all the mules & asses that were laden with any baggage to be vnburdened and taken to that vse: and the earle of Essex and he for money hired men to cary mē vpon pikes. And the earle (whose true vertue and nobilitie, as it doeth in all other his actions appeare, so did it very much in this) threw down his own stuffe, I meane apparel & necessaries which he had there, from his owne cariages, and let them be left by the way, to put hurt and sicke men vpon them. Of whose honourable deseruings I shall not need here to make any particular discourse, for that many of his actions do hereafter giue me occasion to obserue the same.

And the great complaint that these men make for the want of victuals may well proceed from their not knowing the wants of the war; for if to feed vpon good bieues, muttons & goats, be to want, they haue endured great scarcitie at land, wherunto they neuer wanted two daies together, wine to mixe with their water, nor bread to eat with their meat (in some quantitie) except it were such as had vowed rather to starue then to stir out of their places for food: of whom we had too many, who if their time had serued for it, might haue seen in many campes in the most plentifull countries of the world for victuals, men daily die with want of bread and drinke in not hauing money to buy, nor the countrey yeelding any good or healthful water in any place; whereas both Spaine and Portugall do in euery place afford the best water that may be, and much more healthful then any wine for our drinking. Answere to the 66.

And although some haue most iniuriously exclaimed against the smal prouisions of victuals for the sea, rather grounding the same vpon an euill that might haue fallen, then any that did light vpō vs: yet know you this, that there is no man so forgetfull, that will say they wanted before they came to the Groine, that whosoeuer made not very large prouisions for himselfe & his company at the Groine, was very improuident, where was plentiful store of wine, biefe and fish, & no man of place prohibited to lay in the same into their ships, wherewith some did so furnish themselues, as they did not onely in the iourney supplie the wants of such as were lesse prouident then they, but in their returne home made a round commoditie of the remainder thereof. And that at Cascais there came in such store of prouisions into the Fleet out of England, as no man that would haue vsed his diligence could haue wanted his due proportiō thereof, as might appeare by the remainder that was returned to Plimmouth, and the plentifull sale thereof made out of the marchants ships after their comming into the Thames.

But least I should seeme vnto you too studious in confuting idle opinions, or answering friuolous questions, I wil adresse me to the true report of those actiōs that haue passed therein: wherin I protest, I will neither hide any thing that hath hapned against vs, nor attribute more to any man or matter, then the iust occasions thereof lead me vnto: wherein it shall appeare that there hath bene nothing left vndone by the Generals which was before our going out vndertaken by them, but that there hath bene much more done then was at the first required by Don Antonio, who should haue reaped the fruit of our aduenture.

After 6 daies sailing from the coast of England, & the 5 after we had the wind good being the 20 of April in the euening, we landed in a baie more then an English mile from the Groine, in our long boats and pinnasses without any impeachment: from whence we presently marched toward the towne, within one halfe mile we were encountred by the enemie who being charged by ours, retired into their gates. For that night our armie lay in the villages, houses & mils next adioining, and very neere round about the towne, into the which the Galeon named S. Iohn (which was the second of the last yeeres Fleet against England) one hulke, two smaller ships and two Gallies which were found in the road, did beate vpon vs and vpon our Companies as they passed too and fro that night and the next morning. Generall Norris hauing that morning before day viewed the Towne, found the same defended on the land side (for it standeth vpon the necke of an Iland) with a wall vpon a dry ditch: whereupon he resolued to trie in two places what might bee done against it by escalade, and in the meane time aduised for the landing of some artillery to beat vpon the ships and gallies, that Our men land within a mile of the Groine the 20 of April.

they might not annoy vs: which being put in execution, vpon the planting of the first piece, the gallies abandoned the road, and betooke them to Feroil, not farre from thence: and the Armada being beaten with the artillery and musketers that were placed vpon the next shore, left her playing vpon vs. The rest of the day was spent in preparing the companies, and other prouisions ready for the surprise of the base towne which was effected in this sort.

There were appointed to be landed 1200 men vnder the conduct of Colonell Huntley, and Captaine Fenner the Viceadmirall, on that side next fronting vs by water in long boats and pinnesses, wherein were placed many pieces of artillery to beat vpon the towne in their aproch: at the corner of the wall which defended the other water side, were appointed Captaine Richard Wingfield Lieutenant Colonell to Generall Norris, and Captaine Sampson Lieutenant Colonell to Generall Drake to enter at low water with 500 men if they found it passable, but if not, to betake them to the escalade, for they had also ladders with them: at the other corner of the wall which ioyned to that side that was attempted by water, were appointed Colonell Vmpton, and Colonell Bret with 300 men to enter by escalade. All the companies which should enter by boat being imbarked before the low water, and hauing giuen the alarme, Captaine Wingfield and Captaine Sampson betooke them to the escalade, for they had in commandement to charge all at one instant. The boats landed without any great difficulty: yet had they some men hurt in the landing. Colonell Bret and Colonell Vmpton entred their quarter without encounter, not finding any defence made against them: for Captaine Hinder being one of them that entred by water, at his first entry, with some of his owne cõpany whom he trusted well, betooke himselfe to that part of the wall, which he cleared before that they offered to enter, and so still scoured the wall till hee came on the backe of them who mainteined the fight against Captaine Wingfield and Captaine Sampson; who were twise beaten from their ladders, and found very good resistance, till the enemies perceiuing ours entred in two places at their backs, were driuen to abandon the same. The reason why that place was longer defended then the other, is (as Don Iuan de Luna who commanded the same affirmeth) that the enemy that day had resolued in councell how to make their defences, if they were approched: and therein concluded, that, if we attempted it by water, it was not able to be held, and therefore vpon the discouery of our boats, they of the high towne should make a signall by fire from thence, that all the low towne might make their retreat thither: but they, (whether troubled with the sudden terror we brought vpon them, or forgetting their decree) omitted the fire, which made them guard that place til we were entred on euery side.

Then the towne being entred in three seueral places with an huge cry, the inhabitants betooke them to the high towne: which they might with lesse perill doe, for that ours being strangers there, knew not the way to cut them off. The rest that were not put to the sword in fury, fled to the rocks in the Hand, and others hid themselues in chambers and sellers, which were euery day found out in great numbers.

Amongst those Don Iuan de Luna, a man of very good commandement, hauing hidden himselfe in a house, did the next morning yeeld himselfe.

There was also taken that night a commissary of victuals called Iuan de Vera, who confessed that there were in the Groine at our entry 500 souldiours being in seuen cõpanies which returned very weake (as appeareth by the small numbers of them) from the iourney of England, namely:

Vnder Don Iuan de Luna.
- Don Diego Barran, a bastard sonne of the Marques of Santa Cruz; his company was that night in the Galeon.
- Don Antonio de Herera then at Madrid.
- Don Pedro de Manriques brother to the Earle of Paxides.
- Don Ieronimo de Mourray of the Order of S. Iuan, with some of the towne were in the fort.
- Don Gomez de Caramasal then at Madrid.
- Captaine Manço Caucaso de Socas.

Also

Also there came in that day of our landing from Retanzas the companies of Don Iuan de Mosalle, and Don Pedro Poure de Leon.

Also he saith that there was order giuen for baking of 300000 of biscuit, some in Batanas, some in Ribadeo, and the rest there.

There were then in the towne 2000 pipes of wine, and 150 in the ships.

That there were lately come vnto the Marques of Seralba 300000 ducats.

That there were 1000 iarres of oile.

A great quantity of beanes, peaze, wheat, and fish.

That there were 3000 quintals of beefe.

And that not twenty dayes before, there came in three barks laden with match & harquebuses.

Some others also found fauour to be taken prisoners, but the rest falling into the hands of the common soubliers, had their throats cut, to the number of 500. as I coniecture, first and last, after we had entred the towne; and in the entry thereof there was found euery celler full of wine, whereon our men, by inordinate drinking, both grew themselues for the present senseleese of the danger of the shot of the towne, which hurt many of them being drunke, & tooke the first ground of their sickneese; for of such was our first and chiefest mortality. There was also abundant store of victuals, salt, and all kinde of prouision for shipping and the warre: which was confessed by the sayd Commissary of victuals taken there, to be the beginning of a magasin of all sorts of prouision for a new voyage into England: whereby you may coniecture what the spoile thereof hath aduantaged vs, and preiudiced the king of Spaine.

The next morning about eight of the clocke the enemies abandoned their ships. And hauing ouercharged the artillery of ♆ gallion, left her on fire, which burnt in terrible sort two dayes together, the fire and ouercharging of the pieces being so great, as of fifty that were in her, there were not aboue sixteene taken out whole; the rest with ouercharge of the powder being broken, and molten with heat of the fire, were taken out in broken pieces into diuers shippes. The same day was the cloister on the South side of the towne entred by vs, which ioyned very neere to the wall of the towne, out of the chambers and other places whereof we beat into the same with our musquetiers.

The next day in the afternoone there came downe some 2000 men, gathered together out of the countrey, euen to the gates of the towne, as resolutely (ledde by what spirit I know not) as though they would haue entred the same: but at the first defence made by ours that had the guard there, wherein were slaine about eighteene of theirs, they tooke them to their heeles in the same disorder they made their approch, and with greater speed then ours were able to follow: notwithstanding we followed after them more then a mile. The second day Colonell Huntley was sent into the countrey with three or foure hundred men, who brought home very great store of kine and sheepe for our reliefe.

The third day in the night the Generall had in purpose to take a long munition-house builded vpon their wall, opening towards vs, which would haue giuen vs great aduantage against them; but they knowing the commodity thereof for vs, burnt it in the beginning of the euening; which put him to a new councell: for he had likewise brought some artillery to that side of the towne. During this time there happened a very great fire in the lower end of the towne; which, had it not bene by the care of the Generals heedily seene vnto, and the fury thereof preuented by pulling downe many houses which were most in danger, as next vnto them, had burnt all the prouisions we found there, to our wonderfull hinderance.

The fourth day were planted vnder the gard of the cloister two demy-cartons, and two colourings against the towne, defended or gabbioned with a crosse wall, thorow the which our battery lay; the first and second tire whereof shooke all the wall downe, so as all the ordinance lay open to the enemy, by reason whereof some of the Canoniers were shot and some slaine. The Lieutenant also of the ordinance, M. Spencer, was slaine fast by Sir Edward Norris, Master thereof: whose valour being accompanied with an honourable care of

defending

defending that trust committed vnto him, neuer left that place, till he receiued direction from the Generall his brother to cease the battery, which he presently did, leauing a guard vpon the same for that day; and in the night following made so good defence for the place of the battery, as after there were very few or none annoyed therein. That day Captaine Goodwin had in commandement from the Generall, that when the assault should be giuen to the towne, he should make a proffer of an escalade on the other side, where he held his guard: but he (mistaking the signall that should haue bene giuen) attempted the same long before the assault, and was shot in the mouth. The same day the Generall hauing planted his ordinance ready to batter, caused the towne to be summoned; in which summons they of the towne shot at our Drum: immediatly after that there was one hanged ouer the wall, and a parle desired; wherein they gaue vs to vnderstand, that the man hanged was he that shot at the Drum before: wherein also they intreated to haue faire warres, with promise of the same on their parts. The rest of the parle was spent in talking of Don Iuan de Luna, and some other prisoners, and somewhat of the rendring of the towne, but not much, for they listened not greatly thereunto.

Generall Norris hauing by his skilfull view of the towne (which is almost all seated vpon a rocke) found one place thereof mineable, did presently set workemen in hand withall; who after three dayes labour (and the seuenth after we were entred the base towne) had bedded their powder, but indeede not farre enough into the wall. Against which time the breach made by the canon being thought assaultable, and companies appointed as well to enter the same, as that which was expected should be blowen vp by the mine: namely, to that of the canon, Captaine Richard Wingfield, and Captaine Philpot, who lead the Generals foot-companie, with whom also Captaine Yorke went, whose principall commandment was ouer the horsemen. And to that of the Myne, Captaine Iohn Sampson, and Captaine Anthonie Wingfield Lieutenant Colonell to the Master of the Ordinance, with certaine selected out of diuers Regiments. All these companies being in armes, and the assault intended to be giuen in al places at an instant, fire was put to the traine of the mine; but by reason the powder brake out backewards in a place where the caue was made too high, there could be nothing done in either place for that day. During this time Captaine Hinder was sent with some chosen out of euery company into the countrey for prouisions, whereof he brought in good store, and returned without losse.

The next day Captaine Anthony Sampson was sent out with some 500 to fetch in prouisions for the army, who was encountred by them of the countrey, but he put them to flight, and returned with good spoile. The same night the miners were set to worke againe, who by the second day after had wrought very well into the foundation of the wall. Against which time the companies aforesayd being in readinesse for both places (Generall Drake on the other side, with two or three hundred men in pinnesses, making proffer to attempt a strong fort vpon an Iland before the towne, where he left more then thirty men) fire was giuen to the traine of the mine, which blew vp halfe the tower vnder which the powder was planted. The assailants hauing in charge vpon the effecting of the mine presently to giue the assault, performed it accordingly; but too soone: for hauing entred the top of the breach, the other halfe of the tower, which with the first force of the powder was onely shaken and made loose, fell vpon our men: vnder which were buried about twenty or thirty, then being vnder that part of the tower. This so amazed our men that stood in the breach, not knowing from whence that terror came, as they forsooke their Commanders, and left them among the ruines of the mine. The two Ensignes of Generall Drake and Captaine Anthony Wingfield were shot in the breach, but their colours were rescued: the Generals by Captaine Sampsons Lieutenant, and Captaine Wingfields by himselfe. Amongst them that the wall fell vpon, was Captaine Sydenham pitifully lost; who hauing three or foure great stones vpon his lower parts, was held so fast, as neither himselfe could stirre, nor any reasonable company recouer him. Notwithstanding the next day being found to be aliue, there was ten or twelue lost in attempting to relieue him.

The breach made by the canon was woonderfully well assaulted by them that had the charge thereof,

thereof, who brought their men to the push of the pike at the top of the breach. And being ready to enter, the loose earth (which was indeed but the rubbish of the outside of the wall) with the weight of them that were thereon slipped outwards from vnder their feet. Whereby did appeare halfe the wall vnbattered. For let no man thinke that culuerin or demy-cannon can sufficiently batter a defensible rampire: and of those pieces which we had; the better of the demy-canons at the second shot brake in her carriages, so as the battery was of lesse force, being but of three pieces.

In our retreat (which was from both breaches thorow a narrow lane) were many of our men hurt: and Captaine Dolphin, who serued very well that day, was hurt in the very breach. The failing of this attempt, in the opinion of all the beholders, and of such as were of best iudgement, was the fall of the mine; which had doubtlesse succeeded, the rather, because the approach was vnlooked for by the enemy in that place, and therefore not so much defence made there as in the others which made the Generall grow to a new resolution: for finding that two dayes battery had so little beaten their wall, and that he had no better preparation to batter withall: he knew in his experience, there was no good to be done that way; which I thinke he first put in proofe, to trie if by that terror he could get the vpper towne, hauing no other way to put it in hazzard so speedily, and which in my conscience had obtained the towne, had not the defendants bene in as great perill of their liues by the displeasure of their king in giuing it vp, as by the bullet or sword in defending the same. For that day before the assault, in the view of our army, they burnt a cloister within the towne, and many other houses adioyning to the castle, to make it more defensible: whereby it appeared how little opinion themselues had of holding it against vs, had not God (who would not haue vs suddenly made proud) layed that misfortune vpon vs.

Hereby it may appeare, that the foure canons, and other pieces of battery promised to the iourney, and not performed, might haue made her Maiesty mistresse of the Groine: for though the mine were infortunate, yet if the other breach had bene such as the earth would haue held our men thereon, I doe not thinke but they had entred it thorowly at the first assault giuen: which had bene more then I haue heard of in our age. And being as it was, is no more then the Prince of Parma hath in winning of all his townes endured, who neuer entred any place at the first assault, nor aboue three by assault.

The next day the Generall hearing by a prisoner that was brought in, that the Conde de Andrada had assembled an armie of eight thousand at Puente de Burgos, sixe miles from thence in the way to Petance, which was but the beginning of an armie: in that there was a greater leauie readie to come thither vnder the Conde de Altemira, either in purpose to relieue the Groine, or to encampe themselues neere the place of our embarking, there to hinder the same; for to that purpose had the marquesse of Seralba written to them both the first night of our landing, as the Commissarie taken then confessed, or at the least to stop our further entrance into the countrey, (for during this time, there were many incursions made of three or foure hundred at a time, who burnt, spoyled, and brought in victuals plentifully) the General, I say, hearing of this armie, had in purpose the next day following to visite them, against whom hee caried but nine Regiments: in the vantgard were the Regiment of Sir Roger Williams, Sir Edward Norris, and Colonell Sidney: in the Battaile, that of the Generall, of Colonell Lane, and Colonel Medkerk: and in the Rereward, Sir Henrie Norris, Colonell Huntley, and Colonell Brets Regiments; leauing the other fiue Regiments with Generall Drake, for the guard of the Cloister and Artillerie. About ten of the clocke the next day, being the sixt of May, halfe a mile from the campe, we discouering the enemy, Sir Edward Norris, who commanded the vantgard in chiefe, appointed his Lieutenant Colonell Captaine Anthonie Wingfield to command the shot of the same, who diuided them into three troupes; the one he appointed to Captaine Middleton to be conducted in a way on the left hand: another to Captaine Errington to take the way on the right hand, and the body of them (which were Musquetiers) Captaine Wingfield tooke himselfe, keeping the direct way of the march. But the way taken by Captaine Middleton met a little before with the way held by Captaine Wingfield, so as he giuing the first charge vpon the enemy, was in the instant seconded

conded by Captaine Wingfield, who beat them from place to place (they hauing very good places of defence, and crosse walles which they might haue held long) till they betooke them to their bridge, which is ouer a creeke comming out of the Sea, builded of stone vpon arches. On the foot of the further side whereof, lay the Campe of the enemy very strongly entrenched, who with our shot beaten to the further end of the bridge, Sir Edward Norris marching in the point of the pikes, without stay passed to the bridge, accompanied with Colonell Sidney, Captaine Hinder, Captaine Fulford, and diuers others, who found the way cleare ouer the same, but through an incredible volley of shot; for that the shot of their army flanked vpon both sides of the bridge, the further end whereof was barricaded with barrels: but they who should haue guarded the same, seeing the proud approch we made, forsooke the defence of the barricade, where Sir Edward entred, and charging the first defendant with his pike, with very earnestnesse in ouerthrusting, fell, and was grieuously hurt at the sword in the head, but was most honourably rescued by the Generall his brother, accompanied with Colonell Sidney, and some other gentlemen: Captaine Hinder also hauing his Caske shot off, had fiue wounds in the head and face at the sword: and Captaine Fulford was shot into the left arme at the same encounter: yet were they so thorowly seconded by the Generall, who thrust himselfe so neere to giue encouragement to the attempt (which was of woonderfull difficulty) as their brauest men that defended that place being ouerthrowen, their whole army fell presently into rout, of whom our men had the chase three miles in foure sundry wayes, which they betooke themselues vnto. There was taken the Standerd with the Kings armes, and borne before the Generall. How many two thousand men (for of so many consisted our vantgard) might kill in pursuit of foure sundry parties, so many you may imagine fell before vs that day. And to make the number more great, our men hauing giuen ouer the execution, and returning to their standes, found many hidden in the Vineyards and hedges, which they dispatched. Also Colonell Medkerk was sent with his regiment three miles further to a Cloister, which he burnt and spoiled, wherein he found two hundred more, & put them to the sword. There were slaine in this fight on our side onely Captaine Cooper, and one priuate souldier; Captaine Barton was also hurt vpon the bridge in the eye. But had you seene the strong barricades they had made on either side of the bridge, and how strongly they lay encamped thereabouts, you would haue thought it a rare resolution of ours to giue so braue a charge vpon an army so strongly lodged. After the furie of the execution, the Generall sent the vantgard one way, and the battell another, to burne and spoile; so as you might haue seene the countrey more then three miles compasse on fire. There was found very good store of munition and victuals in the Campe, some plate and rich apparell, which the better sort left behinde, they were so hotly pursued. Our sailers also landed in an Hand next adioyning to our ships, where they burnt and spoiled all they found. Thus we returned to the Groine, bringing small comfort to the enemy within the same, who shot many times at vs as we marched out; but not once in our comming backe againe.

The notable ouerthrow giue to the Spaniards at Puente de Burgos.

The next day was spent in shipping our artillery landed for the battery, and of the rest taken at the Groine, which had it bene such as might haue giuen vs any assurance of a better battery, or had there bene no other purpose of our iourney but that, I thinke the Generall would haue spent some more time in the siege of the place.

The two last nights, there were that vndertooke to fire the higher towne in one place, where the houses were builded vpon the wall by the water side; but they within suspecting as much, made so good defence against vs, as they preuented the same. In our departure there was fire put into euery house of the low towne, insomuch as I may iustly say, there was not one house left standing in the base towne, or the cloister.

The next day being the eight of May, we embarked our army without losse of a man, which (had we not beaten the enemy at Puente de Burgos) had bene impossible to haue done; for that without doubt they would haue attempted something against vs in our imbarking: as appeared by the report of the Commissary aforesayd, who confessed, that the first night of our landing the Marques of Seralba writ to the Conde de Altemira, the Conde de Andrada, and to Terneis de Santisso, to bring all the forces against vs that they could possible

possible raise, thinking no way so good to assure that place, as to bring an army thither, where withall they might either besiege vs in their base towne, if we should get it, or to lie betweene vs and our place of imbarking, to fight with vs vpon the aduantage; for they had aboue 15000 souldiers vnder their commandements.

After we had put from thence, we had the winde so contrary, as we could not vnder nine dayes recouer the Burlings: in which passage on the thirteenth day the Earle of Essex, and with him M. Walter Deuereux his brother (a Gentleman of wonderfull great hope) Sir Roger Williams Colonell generall of the footmen, Sir Philip Butler, who hath alwayes bene most inward with him, and Sir Edward Wingfield, came into the fleet. The Earle hauing put himselfe into the iourney against the opinion of the world, and as it seemed to the hazard of his great fortune, though to the great aduancement of his reputation, (for as the honourable carriage of himselfe towards all men doth make him highly esteemed at home; so did his exceeding forwardnesse in all seruices make him to be wondered at amongst vs) who, I say, put off in the same winde from Falmouth, that we left Plimmouth in, where he lay, because he would auoid the importunity of messengers that were dayly sent for his returne, and some other causes more secret to himselfe, not knowing (as it seemed) what place the Generals purposed to land in, had bene as farre as Cadiz in Andaluzia, and lay vp and downe about the South Cape, where he tooke some ships laden with corne, and brought them vnto the fleet. Also in his returne from thence to meet with our fleet, he fell with the Ilands of Bayon; and on that side of the riuer which Cannas standeth vpon, he, with Sir Roger Williams, and those Gentlemen that were with him went on shore, with some men out of the ship he was in, whom the enemy, that held guard vpon that coast, would not abide, but fled vp into the countrey.

The 16 day we landed at Peniche in Portugall, vnder the shot of the castle, and aboue the waste in water, more then a mile from the towne, wherein many were in perill of drowning, by reason the winde was great, and the sea went high, which ouerthrew one boat, wherein fiue and twenty of Captaine Dolphins men perished. The enemy being fiue companies of Spaniards vnder the commandement of the Conde de Fuentes, sallied out of the towne against vs, and in our landing made their approch close by the water side. But the Earle of Essex with Sir Roger Williams, and his brother, hauing landed sufficient number to make two troups, left one to holde the way by the water side, and led the other ouer the Sandhils; which the enemy seeing, drew theirs likewise further into the land; not, as we coniectured, to encounter vs, but indeed to make their speedy passage away: notwithstanding, they did it in such sort, as being charged by ours which were sent out by the Colonell generall vnder Captaine Iackson, they stood the same euen to the push of the pike: in which charge and at the push, Captaine Robert Piew was slaine. The enemy being fled further then we had reason to follow them, all our companies were drawen to the towne; which being vnfortified in any place, we found vndefended by any man against vs. And therefore the Generall caused the castle to be summoned that night; which being abandoned by him that commanded it, a Portugall named Antonio de Aurid, being possessed thereof, desired but to be assured that Don Antonio was landed, whereupon he would deliuer the same; which he honestly performed. There was taken out of the castle some hundred shot and pikes, which Don Emanuel furnished his Portugals withall, and twenty barrels of powder: so as possessing both the towne and the castle, we rested there one day: wherein some Friers and other poore men came vnto their new king, promising in the name of their countrey next adioyning, that within two dayes he should haue a good supply of horse and foote for his assistance. That day we remained there, the Generals company of horses were vnshipped. Peniche taken.

The Generals there fully resolued, that the Armie should march ouer land to Lisbone vnder the conduct of Generall Norris; and that Generall Drake should meete him in the riuer therof with the Fleete; that there should be one Company of foote left in garde of the Castle, and sixe in the ships: also that the sicke & hurt should remaine there with prouision

sions for their cures. The Generall, to trie the euent of the matter by expedition, the next day beganne to march in this sort: his owne Regiment, and the Regiment of Sir Roger Williams, Sir Henrie Norris, Colonell Lane, and Colonell Medkerk, in the vantgard: Generall Drake, Colonell Deuereux, Sir Edward Norris, and Colonell Sidneis in the battel: Sir Iames Hales, Sir Edward Wingfield, Colonell Vmptons, Colonell Huntlies, and Colonell Brets in the arrereward. By that time our army was thus marshalled, Generall Drake, although hee were to passe by Sea, yet to make knowen the honourable desire he had of taking equall part of all fortunes with vs, stood vpon the ascent of an hill, by the which our battalions must of necessity march, and with a pleasing kindnesse tooke his leaue seuerally of the Commanders of euery regiment, wishing vs all most happy successe in our iourney ouer the land, with a constant promise that he would, if the iniury of the weather did not hinder him, meet vs in the riuer of Lisbon with our fleet. The want of cariages the first day was such, as they were enforced to cary their munition vpon mens backs, which was the next day remedied.

In this march Captaine Crispe the Prouost Marshall caused one who (contrary to the Proclamation published at our arriuall in Portugall) had broken vp an house for pillage, to be hanged, with the cause of his death vpon his breast, in the place where the act was committed: which good example prouidently giuen in the beginning of our march, caused the commandement to be more respectiuely regarded all the iourney after, by them whom feare of punishment doeth onely holde within compasse. The campe lodged that night at Lorinha: the next day we had intelligence all the way, that the enemy had made head of horse and foot against vs at Torres Vedras, which we thought they would haue held: but comming thither the second day of our march, not two houres before our vantgard came in, they left the towne and the castle to the possession of Don Antonio.

There began the greatest want we had of victuals, especially of bread, vpon a commandement giuen from the Generall, that no man should spoile the countrey, or take any thing from any Portugall: which was more respectiuely obserued, then I thinke would haue bene in our owne countrey, amongst our owne friends and kindred: but the countrey (contrary to promise) wholly neglected the prouision of victuals for vs, whereby we were driuen for that time into a great scarsity. Which mooued the Colonell generall to call all the Colonels together, and with them to aduise for some better course for our people: who thought it best, first to aduertise the king what necessity we were in, before we should of our selues alter the first institution of abstinence. The Colonell generall hauing acquainted the Generall herewith, with his very good allowance thereof, went to the king: who after some expostulations vsed, tooke the more carefull order for our men, and after that our army was more plentifully relieued.

The third day we lodged our army in three sundry villages, the one battalion lying in Exarama de los Caualleros, another in Exarama do Obispo, and the third in San Sebastian.

Captaine Yorke who commanded the Generals horse company, in this march made triall of the valour of the horsemen of the enemy; who by one of his Corporals charged with eight horses thorow 40 of them, & himselfe thorow more then 200 with some forty horses: who would abide him no longer then they could make way from him.

The next day we marched to Lores, and had diuers intelligences that the enemy would tary vs there: for the Cardinall had made publique promise to them of Lisbon, that he would fight with vs in that place, which he might haue done aduantageously; for we had a bridge to passe ouer in the same place: but before our comming he dislodged, notwithstanding it appeared vnto vs that he had in purpose to encampe there; for we found the ground staked out where their trenches should haue bene made: and their horsemen with some few shot shewed themselues vpon an hill at our comming into that village; whom Sir Henry Norris (whose regiment had the point of the vantgard) thought to draw vnto some fight, and therefore marched without sound of drumme, and somewhat faster then ordinary,

thereby

thereby to get neere them before he were discouered, for he was shadowed from them by an hill that was betweene him and them: but before he could draw his companies any thing neere, they retired.

General Drakes regiment that night, for the commodity of good lodging, drew themselues into a village, more then one English mile from thence, and neere the enemy: who not daring to do any thing against vs in foure dayes before, tooke that occasion, and in the next morning fell downe vpon that regiment, crying, Viua el Rey Don Antonio, which was a generall salutation thorow all the Countrey as they came: whom our yoong Souldiers (though it were vpon their guard, and before the watch were discharged) began to entertaine kindly, but hauing got within their guard, they fell to cut their throats: but the alarme being taken inwards, the officers of the two next Companies, whose Captaines (Captaine Sydnam and Captaine Young) were lately dead at the Groine, brought downe their colours and pikes vpon them in so resolute maner, as they presently draue them to retire with losse: they killed of ours at their first entrance fourteene, and hurt sixe or seuen.

The next day we lodged at Aluelana within three miles of Lisbon, where many of our souldiers drinking in two places of standing waters by the way were poisoned, and thereon presently died. Some do thinke it came rather by eating of hony, which they found in the houses plentifully. But whether it were by water or by hony, the poore men were poisoned.

That night the Earle of Essex, and Sir Roger Williams went out about eleuen of the clocke with 1000 men to lie in ambuscade neere the towne, and hauing layed the same very neere, sent some to giue the alarme vnto the enemy: which was well performed by them that had the charge thereof, but the enemy refused to issue after them, so as the Earle returned assone as it was light without doing any thing, though he had in purpose, and was ready to haue giuen an honourable charge on them.

The 25 of May in the euening we came to the suburbs of Lisbon: at the very entrance whereof Sir Roger Williams calling Captaine Anthony Wingfield with him, tooke thirty shot or thereabouts, and first scowred all the streets till they came very neere the towne; where they found none but olde folks and beggers, crying, Viua el Rey Don Antonio, and the houses shut vp: for they had caried much of their wealth into the towne, and had fired some houses by the water side, full of corne and other prouisions of victuals, least we should be benefited thereby, but yet left behinde them great riches in many houses.

The foure regiments that had the vantgard that day, which were Colonell Deuereux, Sir Edward Norris, Colonell Sidneys, and Generall Drakes (whom I name as they marched) the Colonell generall caused to holde guard in the neerest streets of the Suburbs: the battell and the arreward stood in armes all the night in the field neere to Alcantara. Before morning Captaine Wingfield, by direction from the Colonell generall Sir Roger Williams, held guard with Sir Edward Norris his regiment in three places very neere the towne wall, and so held the same till the other regiments came in the morning. About midnight they within the towne burnt all their houses that stood vpon their wall either within or without, least we possessing them, might thereby greatly haue annoyed the towne.

The next morning Sir Roger Williams attempted (but not without peril) to take a Church called S. Antonio, which ioyned to the wall of the towne, and would haue bene a very euill neighbor to the towne: but the enemy hauing more easie entry into it then we gained it before vs. The rest of that morning was spent in quartering the battell and arrereward in the Suburbs called Bona Vista, and in placing Musquetiers in houses, to front their shot vpon the wall, who from the same scowred the great streets very dangerously.

By this time our men being thorowly weary with our sixe dayes march, and the last nights watch, were desirous of rest; whereof the enemy being aduertised, about one or two of the clocke sallied out of the towne, and made their approch in three seuerall streets vpon vs, but chiefly in Colonell Brets quarter: who (as most of the army was) being at rest, with as much speed as he could, drew his men into armes, and made head against them so thorowly, as

himselfe was slaine in the place, Captaine Carsey shot thorow the thigh, of which hurt he died within foure dayes after, Captaine Carre slaine presently, and Captaine Caue hurt (but not mortally) who were all of his regiment.

This resistance made aswell here, as in other quarters where Colonell Lane and Colonell Medkerk commanded, put them to a sudden foule retreat; insomuch, as the Earle of Essex had the chase of them euen to the gates of the high towne, wherein they left behinde them many of their best Commanders: their troupe of horsemen also came out, but being charged by Captaine Yorke, withdrew themselues againe. Many of them also left the streets, and betooke them to houses which they found open: for the Sergeant maior Captaine Wilson slew in one house with his owne hands three or foure, and caused them that were with him to kill many others. Their losse I can assure you did triple ours, as well in quality as in quantity.

During our march to this place, Generall Drake with the whole fleet was come into Cascais, and possessed the towne without any resistance: many of the inhabitants at their discouery of our nauy, fledde with their baggage into the mountaines, and left the towne for any man that would possesse it, till Generall Drake sent vnto them by a Portugall Pilot which he had on boord, to offer them all peaceable kindnesse, so farre foorth as they would accept of their King, and minister necessaries to the army he had brought; which offer they ioyfully imbraced, and presently sent two chiefe men of their towne, to signifie their loyalty to Don Antonio, and their honest affections to our people. Whereupon the Generall landed his companies not farre from the Cloister called San Domingo, but not without perill of the shot of the castle, which being guarded with 65 Spaniards, held still against him.

As our fleet were casting acre when they came first into that road, there was a small ship of Brasil that came from thence, which bare with them, and seemed by striking her sailes, as though she would also haue ancred: but taking her fittest occasion hoised againe, and would haue passed vp the riuer, but the Generall presently discerning her purpose, sent out a pinnesse or two after her, which forced her in such sort, as she ran herselfe vpon the Rocks: all the men escaped out of her, and the lading (being many chests of sugar) was made nothing woorth, by the salt water. In his going thither also, he tooke ships of the port of Portugall, which were sent from thence, with fifteene other from Pedro Vermendes Xantes Sergeant maior of the same place, laden with men and victuals to Lisbon: the rest that escaped put into Setuuel.

The next day it pleased Generall Norris to call all the Colonels together, and to aduise with them, whether it were more expedient to tary there to attend the forces of the Portugall-horse and foot, whereof the King had made promise, and to march some conuenient number to Cascais to fetch our artillery and munition, which was all at our ships, sauing that which for the necessity of the seruice was brought along with vs: whereunto, some caried away with the vaine hope of Don Antonio, that most part of the towne stood for vs, held it best to make off abode there, and to send some 3000 for our artillery: promising to themselues, that the enemy being wel beaten the day before, would make no more sallies: some others (whose vnbeliefe was very strong of any hope from the Portugall) perswaded rather to march wholly away, then to be any longer carried away with the opinion of things, whereof there was so little appearance. The Generall not willing to leaue any occasion of blotte to be layed vpon him for his speedy going from thence, nor to lose any more time by attending the hopes of Don Antonio; tolde them, that though the expedition of Portugall were not the onely purpose of their iourney, but an aduenture therein (which if it succeeded prosperously, might make them sufficiently rich, and woonderfull honourable) and that they had done so much already in triall thereof, as what end soeuer happened, could nothing impaire their credits: yet in regard of the Kings last promise, that he should haue that night 3000 men armed of his owne Countrey, he would not for that night dislodge. And if they came thereby to make him so strong, that he might send the like number for his munition, he would resolue to trie his fortune for the towne. But if they came not, he found

found it not conuenient to diuide his forces, by sending any to Cascais, and keeping a remainder behinde, sithence he saw them the day before so boldly sally vpon his whole army, and knew that they were stronger of Souldiours armed within the towne, then he was without: and that before our returne could be from Cascais, they expected more supplies from all places, of Souldiours: for the Duke of Bragança, and Don Francisco de Toledo were looked for with great reliefe. Whereupon his conclusion was, that if the 3000 promised came not that night, to march wholly away the next morning.

It may be here demanded, why a matter of so great moment should be so slenderly regarded, as that the Generall should march with such an army against such an enemy, before he knew either the fulnesse of his owne strength, or certaine meanes how he should abide the place when he should come to it. Wherein I pray you remember the Decrees made in the Councell at Peniche, and confirmed by publique protestation the first day of our march, that our nauy should meet vs in the riuer of Lisbon, in the which was the store of all our prouisions, and so the meane of our tariance in that place, which came not, though we continued till we had no munition left to entertaine a very small fight. We are also to consider, that the King of Portugall (whether carried away with imagination by the aduertisements he receiued from the Portugals, or willing by any promise to bring such an army into his Countrey, thereby to put his fortune once more in triall) assured the Generall, that vpon his first landing, there would be a reuolt of his subiects: whereof there was some hope giuen at our first entry to Peniche, by the maner of the yeelding of that towne and fort, which made the Generall thinke it most conuenient speedily to march to the principall place, thereby to giue courage to the rest of the Countrey. The Friers also and the poore people that came vnto him, promised, that within two dayes the gentlemen and others of the Countrey would come plentifully in: within which two dayes came many more Priests, and some very few gentlemen on horsebacke; but not til we came to Torres Vedras: where they that noted the course of things how they passed, might somewhat discouer the weaknesse of that people. There they tooke two dayes more: and at the end thereof referred him till our comming to Lisbon, with assurance, that so soone as our army should be seene there, all the inhabitants would be for the King and fall vpon the Spaniards.

After two nights tariance at Lisbon, the King, as you haue heard, promised a supply of 3000 foot, and some horse: but all his appointments being expired, euen to the last of a night, all his horse could not make a cornet of 40, nor his foot furnish two ensignes fully, although they caried three or foure colours: and these were altogether such as thought to inrich themselues by the ruine of their neighbours: for they committed more disorders in euery place where we came by spoile, then any of our owne.

The Generall, as you see, hauing done more then before his comming out of England was required by the King, and giuen credit to his many promises, euen to the breach of the law, he desisted not to perswade him to stay yet nine dayes longer: in which time he might haue engaged himselfe further, then with any honour he could come out of againe, by attempting a towne fortified, wherein were more men armed against vs, then we had to oppugne them withall, our artillery and munition being fifteene miles from vs, and our men then declining; for there was the first shew of any great sickenesse amongst them. Whereby it seemeth, that either his prelacy did much abuse him in perswading him to hopes, whereof after two or three dayes he saw no semblance: or he like a silly louer, who promiseth himselfe fauor by importuning a coy mistresse, thought by our long being before his towne, that in the end taking pity on him, they would let him in.

What end the Friers had by following him with such deuotion, I know not, but sure I am, the Laity did respite their homage till they might see which way the victory would sway; fearing to shew themselues apparantly vnto him, least the Spaniard should after our departure (if we preuailed not) call them to account: yet sent they vnder hand messages to him of obedience, thereby to saue their owne, if he became King; but indeed very well contented to see the Spaniards and vs try by blowes, who should carry away the crowne. For they be of so base a mould, as they can very wel subiect themselues to any gouernment, where they

may

may liue free from blowes, and haue liberty to become rich, being loth to endure hazzard either of life or goods. For durst they haue put on any minds thorowly to reuolt, they had three woonderfull good occasions offered them during our being there.

Themselues did in generall confesse, that there were not aboue 5000 Spaniards in that part of the Countrey, of which number the halfe were out of the towne till the last day of our march: during which time, how easily they might haue prouailed against the rest, any man may conceiue. But vpon our approch they tooke them all in, and combined themselues in generall to the Cardinall.

The next day after our comming thither, when the sally was made vpon vs by their most resolute Spaniards, how easily might they haue kept them out, or haue giuen vs the gate which was held for their retreat, if they had had any thought thereof?

And two dayes after our comming to Cascais, when 6000 Spaniards and Portugals came against vs as farre as S. Iulians by land, as you shal presently heare (all which time I thinke there were not many Spaniards left in the towne) they had a more fit occasion to shew their deuotion to the King, then any could be offered by our tarying there. And they could not doubt, that if they had shut them out, but that we would haue fought with them vpon that aduantage, hauing sought them in Galitia vpon disaduantage to beat them: and hauing taken so much paines to seeke them at their owne houses, whereof we gaue sufficient testimony in the same accident. But I thinke the feare of the Spaniard had taken so deepe impression within them, as they durst not attempt any thing against them vpon any hazzard.

For, what ciuill countrey hath euer suffered themselues to be conquered by so few men as they were; to be depriued of their naturall King, and to be tyrannized ouer thus long, but they? And what countrey, liuing in slauery vnder a stranger whom they naturally hate, hauing an army in the field to fight for them and their liberty, would lie still with the yoke vpon their necks, attending if any strangers would vnburthen them, without so much as rousing themselues vnder it, but they? They will promise much in speeches, for they be great talkers, whom the Generall had no reason to distrust without triall, and therefore marched on into their countrey: but they performed little in action, whereof we could haue had no proofe without this thorow triall. Wherein he hath discouered their weaknesse, and honorably performed more then could be in reason expected of him: which had he not done, would not these maligners, who seeke occasions of slander, haue reported him to be suspicious of a people, of whose infidelity he had no testimony: and to be fearefull without cause, if he had refused to giue credit to their promises without any aduenture? Let no friuolous questionist therefore further enquire why he marched so many dayes to Lisbon, and taried there so small a while.

The next morning, seeing no performance of promise kept, he gaue order for our marching away; himselfe, the Earle of Essex, and Sir Roger Williams remaining with the stand that was made in the high street, till the whole army was drawen into the field, and so marched out of the towne, appointing Captaine Richard Wingfield, and Captaine Anthony Wingfield in the arrereward of them with the shot; thinking that the enemy (as it was most likely) would haue issued out vpon our rising; but they were otherwise aduised. When we were come into the field, euery battalion fell into that order which by course appertained vnto them, and so marched that night vnto Cascais. Had we marched thorow his Countrey as enemies, our Souldiours had beene well supplied in all their wants: but had we made enemies of the Suburbs of Lisbon, we had beene the richest army that euer went out of England: for besides the particular wealth of euery house, there were many Warehouses by the water side full of all sorts of rich marchandizes.

In our march that day the gallies which had somewhat, but not much, annoyed vs at Lisbon, (for that our way lay along the riuer) attended vs till we were past S. Iulians, bestowing many shot amongst vs, but did no harme at all, sauing that they strooke off a gentlemans leg, & killed the Sergeant maiors moile vnder him. The horsemen also followed vs afarre off, and cut off as many sicke men as were not able to holde in march, nor we had cariage for.

After

After we had bene two dayes at Cascais, we had intelligence by a Frier, that the enemy was marching strongly towards vs, and then came as farre as S. Iulian: which newes was so welcome to the Earle of Essex and the Generals, as they offered euery one of them to giue the messenger an hundred crownes if they found them in the place; for the Generall desiring nothing more then to fight with them in field roome, dispatched that night a messenger with a trumpet, by whom he writ a cartell to the Generall of their army, wherein he gaue them the lie, in that it was by them reported that we dislodged from Lisbon in disorder and feare of them (which indeed was most false) for that it was fiue of the clocke in the morning before we fell into armes, and then went in such sort, as they had no courage to follow out vpon vs. Also he challenged him therein, to meet him the next morning with his whole army, if he durst attend his comming, and there to try out the iustnesse of their quarrel by battell: by whom also the Earle of Essex (who preferring the honor of the cause, which was his countreys, before his owne safety) sent a particular cartel, offering himselfe against any of theirs, if they had any of his quality; or if they would not admit of that; sixe, eight, or tenne, or as many as they would appoint, should meet so many of theirs in the head of our battell to trie their fortunes with them; and that they should haue assurance of their returne and honourable intreaty.

The Generall accordingly made all his army ready by three of the clocke in the morning and marched euen to the place where they had encamped, but they were dislodged in the night in great disorder, being taken with a sudden feare that we had bene come vpon them, as the Generall was the next day certainely informed: so as the Trumpet followed them to Lisbon, but could not get other answere to either of his letters, but threatening to be hanged, for daring to bring such a message. Howbeit the Generall had caused to be written vpon the backside of their passport, that if they did offer any violence vnto the messengers, he would hang the best prisoner he had of theirs: which made them to aduise better of the matter, and to returne them home; but without answere.

After our army came to Cascais, and the castle summoned, the Castellan thereof granted, that vpon fiue or sixe shot of the canon he would deliuer the same, but not without sight thereof. The Generall thinking that his distresse within had bene such for want of men or victuals as he could not holde it many dayes, because he saw it otherwise defensible enough, determined rather to make him yeeld to that necessity then to bring the cannon, and therefore onely set a guard vpon the same, least any supply of those things which he wanted should be brought vnto them. But he still standing vpon those conditions, the Generall about two dayes before he determined to goe to Sea, brought three or foure pieces of battery against it: vpon the first tire whereof he surrendered, and compounded to go away with his baggage and armies; he had one canon, two culuerings, one basiliske, and three or foure other field pieces, threescore and fiue Souldiours, very good store of munition and victualles enough in the Castle: insomuch as he might haue held the same longer then the Generall had in purpose to tarry there. One company of footmen was put into the guard thereof, till the artillery was taken out, and our army embarked; which without hauing that fort, we could not without great perill haue done. When we were ready to set saile (one halfe of the fort being by order from the Generall blowen vp by mine) the company was drawne away.

During the time we lay in the road, our fleet began the second of Iune, and so continued sixe weekes after to fetch in some hulks to the number of threescore, of Dansik, Stetin, Rostock, Lubeck & Hamburgh, laden with Spanish goods, and as it seemed for the kings prouision, and going for Lisbon: their principall lading was Corne, Masts, Cables, Copper, and Wake: amongst which were some of great burthen woonderful well builded for sailing, which had no great lading in them, and therefore it was thought that they were brought for the kings prouision, to reinforce his decayed nauy: whereof there was the greater likelyhood, in that the owner of the greatest of them which caried two mines, was knowen to be very inward with the Cardinall, who rather then he would be taken with his ships, committed himself vnto his small boat, wherein he recouered S. Sebastians: into the which our men, that before were in flieboats, were shipped, and the flieboats sent home with an offer of corne, to the value of their hire. But the winde being good for them for Rochel, they chose

chose rather to lose their corne then the winde, and so departed. The Generall also sent his horses with them, and from thence shipped them into England.

The third of Iune, Colonell Deuereux and Colonell Sidney, being both very sicke, departed for England, who in the whole iourney had shewed themselues very forward to all services, and in their departure very vnwilling to leaue vs: that day we imbarked all our army, but lay in the road vntill the eight thereof.

The sixt day the Earle of Essex, vpon receit of letters from her Maiesty, by them that brought in the victuals, presently departed towards England, with whom Sir Roger Williams was very desirous to go, but found the Generals very vnwilling he should do so, in that he bare the next place vnto them, and if they should miscarry, was to command the army. And the same day there came vnto vs two small barks that brought tidings of some other shippes come out of England with victuals, which were passed vpwards to the Cape: for meeting with whom, the second day after we set saile for that place, in purpose after our meeting with them to go with the Iles of Açores, the second day, which was the ninth, we met with them comming backe againe towards vs, whose prouision little answered our expectation. Notwithstanding we resolued to continue our course for the Ilands.

About this time was the Marchant Royall, with three or foure other ships, sent to Peniche, to fetch away the companies that were left there; but Captaine Barton hauing receiued letters from the Generals that were sent onerland, was departed before, not being able by reason of the enemies speedy marching thither, either to bring away the artillery, or all his men, according to the direction those letters gaue him; for he was no sooner gone, then the enemy possessed the town and castle, and shot at our ships as they came into the road.

At this time also was the Ambassador from the Emperor of Marocco, called Reys Hamet Bencasamp, returned, and with him M. Ciprian, a Gentleman of good place and desert, was sent from Don Antonio, and Captaine Ousley from the Generals to the Emperor.

The next morning the nine gallies which were sent not fiue dayes before out of Andaluzia for the strengthening of the riuer of Lisbon (which being ioyned with the other twelue that were there before, though we lay hard by them at S. Iulians, durst neuer make any attempt against vs) vpon our departure from thence were returning home, and in the morning being a very dead calme, in the dawning thereof, fell in the winde of our fleet, in the vttermost part whereof they assailed one straggling barke of Plimmouth, of the which Captaine Cauerly being Captaine of the land company, with his Lieutenant, the Master and some of the Mariners abandoned the ship, and betooke them to the ship-boats, whereof one, in which the Master and the Captaine were, was ouerrunne with the gallies, and they drowned. There were also two hulks straggled farre from the strength of the other ships, which were so calmed, as neither they could get to vs, nor we to them, though all the great shippes towed with their boats to haue relieued them, but could not be recouered; in one of which was Captaine Minshaw with his company, who fought with them to the last, yea after his ship was on fire, which whether it was fired by himselfe or by them we could not wel discerne, but might easily iudge by his long and good fight, that the enemy could not but sustaine much losse: who setting also vpon one other hulke wherein was but a Lieutenant, and he very sicke, were by the valour of the Lieutenant put off, although they had first beaten her with their artillery, and attempted to boord her. And seeing also one other hulke a league off, a sterne off vs, they made towards her; but finding that she made ready to fight with them, they durst not further attempt her: whereby it seemed, their losse being great in the other fights, they were loth to proceed any further.

From that day till the 19 of Iune, our direction from the Generall was, that if the wind were Northerly, we should plie for the Açores; but if Southerly, for the Iles of Bayon. We lay with contrary windes about that place and the Rocke, till the Southerly winde prouailing carried vs to Bayon: part of our ships to the number of 25, in a great winde which was two dayes before, hauing lost the Admirals and fleet, according to their direction, fell in the morning of that day with Bayon, among whom was Sir Henry Norris in the Ayde; who had in purpose (if the Admirals had not come in) with some 500 men out of them all to haue landed,

and

and attempted the taking of Vigo. The rest of the fleet held with Generall Drake, who though he were two dayes before put vpon those Ilands, cast off againe to sea for the Açores: but remembring how vnprouided he was for that iourney and seeing that he had lost company of his great ships, returned for Bayon, and came in there that night in the euening where he passed vp the riuer more then a mile aboue Vigo.

The next morning we landed as many as were able to fight, which were not in the whole aboue 2000 men (for in the 17 dayes we continued on boord we had cast many of our men ouerboord) with which number the Colonell generall marched to the towne of Vigo, neere the which when he approched, he sent Captaine Anthony Wingfield with a troupe of shot to enter one side of the same, who found vpon euery streets end a strong barricade, but altogether abandoned; for hauing entered the towne, he found but one man therein, but might see them making way before him to Bayon. On the other side of the towne entred Generall Drake with Captaine Richard Wingfield, whose approch on that side (I thinke) made them leaue the places they had so artificially made for defence: there were also certaine shippes sent with the Vice-admirall to lie close before the towne to beat vpon the same with their artillery. Vigo taken.

In the afternoone were sent 300 vnder the conduct of Captaine Petuin and Captaine Henry Poure, to burne another village betwixt that and Bayon, called Borsis, and as much of the country as the day would giue them leaue to do; which was a very pleasant rich valley: but they burnt it all, houses and corne, as did others on the other side of the towne, both that and the next day, so as the countrey was spoiled seuen or eight miles in length. There was found great store of wine in the towne, but not any thing else: for the other dayes warning of the shippes that came first in, gaue them a respit to cary all away.

The next morning by breake of the day the Colonell generall (who in the absence of the Generalls that were on boord their ships, commanded that night on shore) caused *all* our companies to be drawen out of the towne, and sent in two troups to put fire in euery house of the same: which done, we imbarked againe. Vigo burned.

This day there were certaine Mariners which (without any direction) put themselues on shore, on the contrary side of the riuer from vs for pillage; who were beaten by the enemy from their boats, and punished by the Generals for their offer, in going without allowance.

The reasons why we attempted nothing against Bayon were before shewed to be want of artillery, and may now be alledged to be the small number of our men: who should haue gone against so strong a place, manned with very good souldiers, as was shewed by Iuan de Vera taken at the Groine, who confessed that there were sixe hundred olde Souldiers in garrison there of Flanders, and the Tercios of Naples, lately also returned out of the iourney of England,

Vnder the leading of
- Capitan Puebla,
- Christofero Vasques de Viralta a souldier of Flanders.
- Don Pedro Camascho, del tercio de Napoles.
- Don Francisco de Cespedes.
- Cap. Iuan de Solo, del tercio de Naples.
- Don Diego de Cassana.
- Cap. Sauban.

Also he sayth there be 18 pieces of brasse, and foure of yron, lately layed vpon the walles of the towne, besides them that were there before.

The same day the Generals seeing what weake estate our army was drawn into by sicknesse, determined to man and victuall twenty of the best ships for the Ilands of Açores with Generall Drake, to see if he could meet with the Indian fleet, and Generall Norris to returne home with the rest: And for the shifting of men and victualles accordingly, purposed the next morning to fall downe to the Ilands of Bayon againe, and to remaine there that day. But Generall Drake, according to their apointment, being vnder saile neuer strooke at the Ilands, but put straight to sea; whom all the fleet followed sauing three and thirty, which being in the riuer further then he, and at the entrance out of the same, finding the winde and

tide too hard against them, were inforced to cast ancre there for that night; amongst whom, by good fortune, was the Foresight, and in her sir Edward Norris. And the night folowing, Generall Norris being driuen from the rest of the Fleet by a great storme, (for all that day was the greatest storme we had all the time we were out) came againe into the Ilands, but not without great perill, he being forced to trust to a Spanish Fisher-man (who was taken two dayes before at sea) to bring him in.

The next morning he called a council of as many as he found there, holding the purpose he had concluded with sir Francis Drake the day before, and directed all their courses for England, tarrying there all that day to water and helpe such with victuall, as were left in wonderfull distresse by hauing the victuals that came last, caried away the day before to sea.

Their returne to Plimmouth. The next day he set saile, and the 10 day after, which was the 2 of July came into Plimmouth, where he found sir Francis Drake and all the Queens ships, with many of the others but not all: for the Fleet was dispersed into other harbors, some led by a desire of returning frō whence they came, and some being possessed of the hulks, sought other Ports from their Generals eie, where they might make their priuate commoditie of them, as they haue done, to their great aduantage.

Presently vpon their arriual there, the Generals dissolued all the armie sauing 8 companies which are yet held together, giuing euery souldier fiue shillings in money, and the armies hee bare to make money of, which was more then could by any means be due vnto them: for they were not in seruice three moneths, in which time they had their victuals, which no man would value at lesse then halfe their pay, for such is the allowance in her maiesties ships to her mariners, so as there remained but 10 shillings a moneth more to be paid, for which there was not any priuate man but had apparel and furniture to his owne vse, so as euery common souldier discharged, receiued more in money, victuals, apparel and furniture, then his pay did amount vnto.

Notwithstanding, there be euen in the same place where those things haue passed, that either do not or will not conceiue the souldiers estate, by comparing their pouertie and the shortnesse of the time together, but lay some iniuries vpō the Generals and the action. Where, and by the way, but especially here in London, I find there haue bene some false prophets gone before vs, telling strange tales. For as our countrey doeth bring foorth many gallant men, who desirous of honour doe put themselues into the actions thereof, so doeth it many more dull spirited, who though their thoughts reach not so high as others, yet doe they listen how other mens acts doe passe, and either beleeuing what any man will report vnto them, are willingly caried away into errors, or tied to some greater mans faith, become secretaries against a noted trueth. The one sort of these doe take their opinions from the high way side, or at the furthest goe no further thē Pauls to enquire what hath bene done in this voiage: where, if they meet with any, whose capacitie before their going out could not make them liue, nor their valour maintaine their reputation, and who went onely for spoile, complaining on the hardnesse and misery thereof, they thinke they are bound to giue credite to these honest men who were parties therein, and in very charitie become of their opinions. The others to make good the faction they are entred into, if they see any of those malecontents (as euery iourney yeeldeth some) doe runne vnto them like tempting spirits to confirme them in their humour, with assurance that they foresaw before our going out what would become thereof.

Be ye not therefore too credulous in beleeuing euery report: for you see there haue bene many more beholders of these things that haue passed, then actors in the same; who by their experience, not hauing the knowledge of the ordinary wants of the warre, haue thought, that to lie hard, not to haue their meat well dressed, to drinke sometimes water, to watch much, or to see men die and be slaine, was a miserable thing; and not hauing so giuen their mindes to the seruice, as they are any thing instructed thereby, doe for want of better matter discourse ordinarily of these things: whereas the iourney (if they had with that iudgement seene into it, which their places required) hath giuen them far more honorable purpose and argument of discourse.

These merit discontentments and mislikings before our comming home haue made mee labour thus much to instruct you in the certaintie of euery thing, because I would not wilfingly haue you miscaried in the iudgements of them, wherein you shall giue me leaue somewhat to dilate vpon a question, which I onely touched in the beginning of my letter, namely, whether it bee more expedient for our estate to maintain an offensiue war against the king of Spaine in the Low countries, or as in this iourney, to offend him in his neerer territories, seeing the grounds of arguing thereof are taken from the experience which the actions of this iourney haue giuen vs. A worthy question debated.

There is no good subiect that will make questiõ, whether it be behoofeful for vs to hold friendship with these neighbours of ours or no, as well in respect of the infinite proportion of their shipping, which must stand either with vs or against vs; as of the commoditie of their harbors, especially that of Vlishing, by the fauour whereof our Nauie may continually keepe the Narrow seas, and which would harbour a greater Fleete agaynst vs, then the Spaniard shall need to annoy vs withall, who being now distressed by our common enemie, I thinke it most expedient for our safetie to defend them, and if it may be, to giue them a reentrie into that they haue of late yeeres lost vnto him. The one without doubt her maiestie may do without difficultie, and in so honorable sort as he shal neuer be able to dispossesse her or them of any the townes they now hold. But if any man thinke that the Spaniard may be expelled from thence more speedily or conueniently by keeping an armie there, then by sending one against him into his owne countrey: let him foresee of how many men and continuall supplies that armie must consist, and what intollerable expenses it requireth. And let him thinke by the example of the duke of Alua, when the prince of Orenge had his great armie agaynst him; and of Don Iuan, when the States had their mightie assembly against him; how this wise enemie, with whom we are to deale, may but by prolonging to fight with vs, leaue vs occasions enough for our armie within few moneths to mutine and breake; or by keeping him in his townes leaue vs a spoyled field: where though our prouision may bee such of our owne as we starue not, yet is our weaknesse in any strange country such, as with sickes and miserie we shall be dissolued. And let him not forget what a continual burthen we hereby lay vpon vs, in that to repossesse those countreys which haue been lately lost, wil be a warre of longer continuance then we shall be able to endure.

In the very action whereof, what should hinder the king of Spaine to bring his forces home vnto vs? For it is certaine he hath long since set downe in councell, that there is no way for him wholy to recouer those Low countries, but by bringing the warre vpon England it selfe, which hath alwayes assisted them against him: and that being determined, and whereunto he hath bene vehemently urged by the last yeeres losse he sustained vpon our coasts, and the great dishonor this iourney hath laid vpon him; no doubt if we shall giue him respite to doe it, but he will mightily aduance his purpose, for he is richly able thereunto, and wonderfull desirous of reuenge.

To encounter wherewith, I wish euen in true and honest zeale to my Countrey, that we were all perswaded that there is no such assured meanes for the safetie of our estate, as to busy him with a well furnished armie in Spaine, which hath so many goodly Bayes open, as we may land without impeachment as many men as shall be needfull for such an inuasion. And hauing an armie of 20000 roially furnished there, we shall not need to take much care for their payment: for shal not Lisbon be thought able to make so few men rich, when the Suburbs thereof were found so abounding in riches, as had we made enemie of them, they had largely enriched vs all? Which with what small losse it may be won, is not here to shew; but why it was not won by vs, I haue herein shewed you. Or is not the spoyle of Siuil sufficient to pay more then shall bee needful to bee sent against it, whose defence (as that of Lisbone) is onely force of men, of whom how many may for the present be raised, is not to be esteemed, because wee haue discouered what kind of men they be, euen such as will neuer abide ours in field, nor dare withstand any resolute attempt of ours agaynst them: for during the time we were in many places of their country, they cannot say that euer they made 20 of

our men turne their faces from them. And be there not many other places of lesse difficultie to spoyle, able to satisfie our forces?

But admit, that if vpon this alarme that we haue giuen him, he tendering his naturall and neerest soile before his further remooued off gouernments, do draw his forces of old souldiers out of the Low countreys for his owne defence, is not the victory then won by drawing and holding them from thence, for the which we should haue kept an armie there at a charge by many partes greater then this, and not stirred them?

Admit further our armie be impeached from landing there, yet by keeping the Sea and possessing his principall roades, are we not in possibilitie to meet with his Indian marchants, and very like to preuent him of his prouisions comming out of the East countreys; without the which, neither the subiect of Lisbon is long able to liue, nor the king able to maintaine his Nauie? For though the countrey of Portugall doe some yeeres find themselues corne, yet are they neuer able to victuall the least part of that Citie. And albeit the king of Spaine be the richest prince in Christendome, yet can he neither draw cables, hewe mastes, nor make pouder out of his mettals, but is to be supplied of them all from thence. Of whom (some will hold opinion) it is no reason to make prize, because they bee not our enemies: and that our disagreeance with them will impeach the trade of our marchants, and so impouerish our countrey, of whose mind I can hardly be drawen to be: For if my enemie fighting with me doe breake his sword, so as I thereby haue the aduantage against him; what shall I thinke of him that putteth a new sword into his hand to kill me withall? And may it not bee thought more fitting for vs in these times to loose our trades of Cloth, then by suffering these mischiefes, to put in hazard whether we shall haue a countrey left to make cloth in or no? And yet though neither Hamburgh, Embden, nor Stode doe receiue our cloth, the necessary vse thereof in all places is such, as they will find means to take it from vs with our sufficient commoditie.

And admit (which were impossible) that we damnifie him neither at sea nor land; (for vnlesse it be with a much more mightie armie then ours, he shall neuer be able to withstand vs) yet shall we by holding him at his home, free our selues from the warre at our owne walls: the benefit whereof let them consider that best can iudge, and haue obserued the difference of inuading, and being inuaded; the one giuing courage to the souldier, in that it doeth set before him commoditie and reputation; the other a fearefull terror to the countrey-man, who if by chance he play the man yet is he neuer the richer: and who knowing many holes to hide himselfe in, will trie them all before he put his life in perill by fighting: whereas the Inuader casteth vp his account before hee goeth out, and being abroad must fight to make himselfe way, as not knowing what place or strength to trust vnto. I will not say what I obserued in our countrey-men when the enemy offred to assaile vs here: but I wish that all England knew what terror we gaue to the same people that frighted vs, by visiting them at their owne houses.

Were not Alexanders fortunes great against the mightie Darius, onely in that his Macedonians thirsted after the wealth of Persia, and were bound to fight it out to the last man, because the last man knew no safer way to saue himselfe then by fighting? Whereas the Persians either trusting to continue stil masters of their wealth by yeelding to the Inuader, began to practise against their owne king: or hauing more inward hopes, did hide themselues euen to the last, to see what course the Conquerour would take in his Conquest. And did not the aduise of Scipio, though mightily impugned at the first, prooue very sound and honourable to his countrey? Who seeing the Romans wonderfully amazed at the neerenesse of their enemies Forces, and the losses they daily sustained by them, gaue counsell rather by way of diuersion to carry an army into Afrike, and there to assaile, then by a defensiue warre at home to remaine subiect to the common spoiles of an assailing enemie. Which being put in execution drew the enemie from the gates of Rome, and Scipio returned home with triumph: albeit his beginnings at the first were not so fortunate against them, as ours haue bene in this smal time against the Spaniard. The good successe whereof may encourage vs to take armes resolutely against him. And I beseech God it may stirre vp all men that are particularly interested

terested therein, to bethinke themselues how small a matter will serue them of their seuerie, by holding the Spaniard at a Baie, so farre off: whereas, if we giue him leaue quietly to hatch and bring foorth his preparations, it will be with danger to vs all.

He taketh not armes against vs by any pretense of title to the crowne of this realme, nor led altogether with an ambicious desire to command our countrey, but with hatred towards our whole Nation and religion. Her maiesties Scepter is already giuen by Bull to another, the honours of our Nobilitie are bestowed for rewards vpon his attendants, our Clergie, our Gentlemen, our Lawyers, yea all men of what condition soeuer are offered for spoyle vnto the common souldier. Let euery man therefore, in defence of the libertie and pleutie he hath of long enioyed, offer a voluntarie contribution of the smallest part of their store for the assurance of the rest. It were not much for euery Iustice of peace, who by his blew coat protecteth the properest and most seruiceable men at euery muster from the warres, to contribute the charge that one of these idle men doe put him to for one yeere: nor for the Lawyer, who riseth by the dissensions of his neighbours, to take but one yeeres gifts (which they call Fees) out of his goffers. What would it hinder euery officer of the Exchequer, and other of her Maiesties courts, who without checke doe suddenly grow to great wealth, honestly to bring foorth the mysticall commoditie of one yeeres profits? Or the Clergie, who looke precisely for the Tenths of euery mans increase, simply to bring forth the Tenth of one yeeres gathering, and in thankfulnesse to her Maiestie (who hath continued for all our safeties a most chargeable warre both at land & sea) bestow the same for her honor & their owne assurance, vpon an army which may make this bloody enemy so to know himselfe and her Maiesties power, as he shall bethinke him what it is to mooue a stirring people? Who, though they haue receiued some small checke by the sicknesse of this last iourney, yet doubt I not, but if it were made knowen, that the like voyage were to bee supported by a generalitie, (that might and would beare the charge of a more ample prouision) but there would of all sortes most willingly put themselues into the same: some caried with an honourable desire to be in action, and some in loue of such would affectionately folow their fortunes; some in thirsting to reuenge the death and hurts of their brethren, kinred, and friends: and some in hope of the plentifull spoyles to be found in those countreys, hauing bene there already and returned poore, would desire to goe againe, with an expectation to make amends for the last: and all, in hatred of that cowardly proud Nation, and in contemplation of the true honour of our owne, would with courage take armes to hazard their liues against them, whom euery good Englishman is in nature bound to hate as an implacable enemie to England, thirsting after our blood, and labouring to ruine our land, with hope to bring vs vnder the yoke of perpetuall slauerie.

Against them is true honour to be gotten, for that we shall no sooner set foot in their land, but that euery step we tread will yeeld vs new occasion of action, which I wish the gallantrie of our Countrey rather to regard then to folow those soft vnprofitable pleasures wherein they now consume their time and patrimonie. And in two or three townes of Spaine is the wealth of all Europe gathered together, which are the Magasins of the fruits and profits of the East and West Indies, whereunto I wish our yong able men, who (against the libertie they are borne vnto) terme themselues seruing men, rather to bend their desires and affections, then to attend their double liuerie and 40 shillings by the yeere wages, and the reuersion of the old Copy-hold, for carying a dish to their masters table. But let me here reprehend my selfe and craue pardō for entring into a matter of such state and consequence, the care whereof is already laid vpon a most graue and honorable counsell, who wil in their wisdoms foresee the dangers that may be threatned againt vs. And why do I labour to disquiet the securitie of these happy gentlemen, & the trade of those honest seruing men, by perswading them to the warres when I see the profession thereof so slenderly esteemed? For though all our hope of peace be frustrate, and our quarels determinable by the sword: though our enemy hath by his owne forces, and his pensionaries industry, cōfined the vnited Prouinces into a narow roume, & almost disunited the same: if he be now in a good way to harbor himselfe in the principall hauens of France, from whence he may front vs at pleasure: yea though we are to hope for nothing but a bloodie warre, nor can trust to any helpe but

Armes;

Armes; yet how far the common sort are from reuerencing or regarding any persons of conduction, was too apparant in the returne of this our iourney, wherein the base and common souldier hath bene tollerated to speake against the Captaine, and the souldier and Captaine against the Generals, and wherein mechanicall and men of base condicion doe dare to censure the doings of them, of whose acts they be not woorthy to talke.

The ancient graue degree of the Prelacie is vpheld, though Martin raile neuer so much, & the Lawyer is after the old maner worshipped, whosoeuer inueigh against him. But the ancient English honour is taken from our men of war, & their profession in disgrace, though neuer so necessary. Either we commit idolatry to Neptune, and will put him alone stil to fight for vs as he did the last yeere, or we be inchanted with some diuelish opinions, that trauell nothing more then to diminish the reputation of them, vpon whose shoulders the burden of our defence against the enemie must lie when occasion shall be offred. For when soeuer he shall set foote vpon our land, it is neither the preaching of the Clergie that can turne him out againe, nor the pleading of any Lawyers that can remeue him out of possession: no, then they will honour them whom now they thinke not on, and then must those men stand betweene them and their perils, who are now thought vnworthy of any estimation.

May the burning of one towne (which cost the king then being six times as much as this) hath done her maiestie, wherein were lost seuen times as many men as in any one seruice of this iourney, and taried not the tenth part of our time in the enemies Countrey) be by our elders so highly reputed and sounded out by the historie of the Realme: and can our voyage be so meanly esteemed, wherein we burned both townes and Countreys without the losse of fortie men in any such attempt?

Did our kings in former times reward some with the greatest titles of honour for ouerthrowing a number of poore Scots, who, after one battell lost, were neuer able to reenforce themselues against him; and shall they in this time who haue ouerthrowen our mightie enemie in battell, and taken his roiall Standerd in the field, besieged the marquesse of Saralba 16 dayes together, that should haue bene the Generall of the Armie against vs, brought away so much of his artillarie (as I haue before declared) be vnworthily esteemed of?

Is it possible that some in some times should receiue their reward for looking vpon an enemie, and ours in this time not receiue so much as thanks for hauing beaten an enemie at handie strokes?

But it is true that no man shall bee a prophet in his Countrey: and for my owne part I will lay aside my Armes till that profession shal haue more reputation, and liue with my friends in the countrey, attending either some more fortunate time to vse them, or some other good occasion to make me forget them.

But what? shall the blind opinion of this monster, a beast of many heads, (for so hath the generalitie of old bene termed) cause me to neglect the profession from whence I chalenge some reputation, or diminish my loue to my countrey, which hitherto hath nourished me? No, it was for her sake I first tooke armes, and for her sake I will handle them so long as I shall be able to vse them: not regarding how some men in priuate conuenticles do measure mens estimations by their owne humors; nor how euery popular person doeth giue sentence on euery mans actions by the worst accidents. But attending the gracious aspect of our dread Soueraigne, who neuer yet left vertue vnrewarded: and depending vpon the iustice of her most rare and graue aduisors, who by their heedie looking into euery mans worth, do giue encouragement to the vertuous to exceed others in vertue: and assuring you that there shall neuer any thing happen more pleasing vnto me, then that I may once againe bee a partie in some honorable iourney against the Spaniard in his owne countrey, I will cease my complaint: and with them that deserue beyond me, patiently endure the vnaduised censure of our malicious reprooners.

If I haue seemed in the beginning hereof troublesome vnto you, in the discouering of those impediments, and answering the slanders which by the vulgar malicious and mutinous sort are laid as blemishes vpon the iourney, and reproches vpon the Generals (hauing indeed proceeded from other heads:) let the necessitie of conseruing the reputation of the action

in

in generall, & the honore of our Generals in particular, bee my sufficient excuse: the one hauing by the vertue of the other made our countrey more dreaded & renowmed, then any act that euer England vndertooke before. Or if you haue thought my perswasible discourse long in the latter end; let the affectionate desire of my countreya good be therein answerable for me. And such as it is I pray you accept it, as only recommended to your selfe, and not to be deliuered to the publique view of the world, least any man take offence thereat: which some particular men may seeme iustly to do, in that hauing deserued very well, I should not herein giue them their due commendations; whereas my purpose in this priuate discourse hath bene onely to gratifie you with a touch of those principall matters that haue passed, wherein I haue onely taken notes of those men who either commaunded euery seruice, or were of chiefest marke: if therefore you shall impart the same to one, and he to another, and so it passe through my hands, I know not what constructions would be made thereof to my preiudice; for that the Hares eares may happily be taken for hornes. Howbeit I hold it very necessary (I must confesse) that there should be some true manifestation made of these things: but be it far from me to be the author thereof, as very vnfit to deliuer my censure of any matter in publique, & most vnwilling to haue my weaknesse discouered in priuate. And so I doe leaue you to the happy successe of your accustomed good exercises, earnestly wishing that there may be some better acceptance made of the fruits of your studies, then there hath bene of our hazards in the wars. From London the 30 of August 1589.

The voiage of the right honorable George Erle of Cumberland to the Azores, &c. Written by the excellent Mathematician and Enginier master Edward Wright.

THe right honorable the Erle of Cumberland hauing at his owne charges prepared his small Fleet of foure Sailes onely, viz. The Victorie one of the Queenes ships royall; the Meg and Margaret small ships, (one of which also he was forced soone after to send home againe, finding her not able to endure the Sea) and a small Caruell, and hauing assembled together about 400 men (or fewer) of gentlemen, souldiers, and saylers, embarked himself and them, and set saile from the Sound of Plimmouth in Deuonshire, the 18 day of June 1589. being accompanied with these captaines and gentlemen which hereafter folow.

Captaine Christopher Lister a man of great resolution, captaine Edward Careleese, *alias* Wright, who in sir Francis Drakes West Indian voyage to S. Domingo and Carthagena, was captaine of the Hope. Captaine Boswell, M. Meruin, M. Henry Long, M. Partridge, M. Norton, M. William Mounson captaine of the Meg, and his viceadmirall, now sir William Mounson, M. Pigeon captaine of the Caruell.

About 3 dayes after our departure from Plimmouth we met with 3 French ships, whereof one was of Newhauen, another of S. Malos, and so finding them to be Leaguers & lawful Prises, we tooke them and sent two of them for England with all their loding, which was fish for the most part from New-found-land, sauing that there was part thereof distributed amongst our small Fleet, as we could find Stowage for the same: and in the third, all their men were sent home into France. The same day & the day folowing we met with some other ships, whom (when after some conference had with them, we perceiued plainly to bee of Roterodam and Emden, bound for Rochell) we dismissed.

The 28 and 29 dayes we met diuers of our English ships, returning from the Portugall voiage which my lord relieued with victuals. The 13 day of July being Sonday in the morning, we espied 11 ships without sight of ỹ coast of Spaine, in the height of 39 degrees, whom wee presently prepared for, & prouided to meet them, hauing first set forth captaine Mounson in the Meg, before vs, to descry whence they were. The Meg approching neere, there passed some shot betwixt them, whereby, as also by their Admiral and Viceadmirall putting foorth their flags, we perceiued that some fight was likely to follow. Hauing therefore fitted our selues for them, we made what hast we could towards them with regard alwayes to get the wind of them, and about 10 or 11 of the clocke, we came vp to them with the Victory. But after some few shot & some litle fight passed betwixt vs, they yeelded

yeelded themselues, & the masters of them all came aboord vs, shewing their seuerall Passports from the cities of Hamburg and Lubeck, from Breme, Pomerania and Calice.

They had in them certaine bags of Pepper & Synamon, which they confessed to be the goods of a Iew in Lisbon, which should haue bene caried by them into their countrey to his Factor there, and so finding if by their owne confession to be lawful Prise, the same was soone after taken and deuided amongst our whole company, the value wherof was esteemed to be about 4500 pounds, at two shillings the pound.

The 17 day the foresaid ships were dismissed, but 7 of their men that were willing to go along with vs for sailers, we tooke to helpe vs, and so held on our course for the Azores.

The 1 of August being Friday in the morning, we had sight of the Iland of S. Michael, being one of the Eastermost of the Azores toward which we sailed all that day, and at night hauing put foorth a Spanish flag in our main-top, that so they might the lesse suspect vs, we approched neere to the chiefe towne and road of that Iland, where we espied 3 ships riding at anker and some other vessels: all which we determined to take in the darke of the night, and accordingly attempted about 10 or 11 of the clocke, sending our boats well manned to cut their cables and hausers, and let them driue into the sea. Our men comming to them, found 3 one of those greatest ships was the Falcon of London being there vnder a Scottish Pilot who bare the name of her as his own. But 3 other smal ships that lay neere vnder the castle there, our men let loose and towed them away vnto vs, most of the Spaniards that were in them leaping ouer-boord and swimming to shore with lowd and lamentable outcries, which they of the towne hearing were in an vprore, and answered with the like crying. The castle discharged some great shot at our boats, but shooting without marke by reason of the darknesse they did vs no hurt. The Scots likewise discharged 3 great pieces into the aire to make the Spaniards thinke they were their friends and our enemies, and shortly after the Scottish master, & some other with him, came aboord to my lord doing their dutie, and offring their seruice, &c. These 3 ships were fraught with wine and Sallet-oile from Siuil.

3 ships forcibly towed out of harbour.

The same day our Caruel chased a Spanish Caruel to shore at S. Michael, which caried letters thither, by which we learned that the Caraks were departed from Tercera 8 dayes before.

The 7 of August we had sight of a litle ship which wee chased towards Tercera with our pinnasse (the weather being calme) and towards euening we ouertooke her, there were in her 30 tunnes of good Madera wine, certaine woollen cloth, silke, taffata, &c. The 14 of August we came to the Iland of Flores, where we determined to take in some fresh water and fresh victuals, such as the Iland did affoord. So we manned our boats with some 120 men and rowed towards the shore; whereto when we approched the inhabitants that were assembled at the landing place, put foorth a flag of truce, whereupon we also did the like.

When we came to them, my Lord gaue them to vnderstand by his Portugall interpreter, that he was a friend to their king Don Antonio, and came not any way to iniury thē, but that he ment onely to haue some fresh water and fresh victuals of them, by way of exchange for some prouision that he had, as oile, wine, or pepper, to which they presently agreed willingly, & sent some of their company for beeues and sheepe, and we in the meane season marched Southward about a mile to Villa de Santa Cruz, from whence all the inhabitants yong and old were departed, and not any thing of value left. We demanding of them what was the cause hereof, they answered, Feare; as their vsuall maner was when any ships came neere their coast.

We found that part of the Iland to be full of great rockie barren hils and mountains, litle inhabited by reason that it is molested with ships of war which might partly appeare by this towne of Santa Cruz (being one of their chiefe townes) which was all ruinous, and (as it were) but the reliques of the ancient towne which had bene burnt about two yeeres before by certaine English ships of war, as the inhabitants there reported.

At euening as we were in rowing towards the Victory, an huge fish pursued vs for the space well nigh of two miles together, distant for the most part frō the boats sterne not a

speares

speares length, and sometimes so neere that the boat stroke vpon him, the tips of whose finnes about the ghils (appearing oft times aboue the water) were by estimation 4 or 5 yards asunder, and his iawes gaping a yard and an halfe wide, which put vs in feare of ouerturning the pinnasse, but God bee thanked (rowing as hard as we could) we escaped.

When we were about Flores a litle ship called the Drake, brought vs word that the Caraks were at Tercera, of which newes we were very glad, & sped vs thitherward with all the speed we could: and by the way we came to Fayal road the seuen and twentieth day of August, after sunne set, where we espied certaine shippes ryding at anker; to whom we sent in our Skiffe with Captaine Lister and Captaine Monson in her to discouer the roaders: and least any daunger should happen to our boate, we sent in likewise the Sawsie Iacke and the small Caruell; but the wind being off the shoare, the shippes were not able to fet it so nigh as the Spaniards ride, which neuerthelesse the boate did, and clapped a shippe aboord of two hundred and fiftie tunnes, which caried in her fourteene cast peeces, and continued fight alone with her for the space of one houre vntill the comming vp of other boates to the reskue of her, which were sent from the shippes, and then a fresh boording her againe one boate in the quarter, another in the hause, wee entred her on the one side, and all the Spaniards lept ouerboord on the other, saue Iuan de Palma the Captaine of her and two or three more, and thus we became possessors of her. This shippe was mored to the Castle which shot at vs all this while: she onely hurt which we receiued of all this shot was this, that the master of our Caruell had the calfe of his legge shot away. This shippe was laden with Sugar, Ginger, and hides lately come from S. Iuan de Puerto Rico; after we had towed her cleare off the castle, we rowed in againe with our boats, and fetched out fiue small ships more, one laden with hides, another with Elephants teeth, graines, coco-nuts, and goates skins come from Guinie, another with woad, and two with dogge-fish, which two last we let driue in the sea making none account of them. The other foure we sent for England the 30 of August

At the taking of these Prizes were consorted with vs some other small men of warre, as Maister Iohn Dauis, with his shippe, Pinnesse, and Boate, Captaine Markesburie with his ship, whose owner was Sir Walter Raiegh, the Barke of Lime, which was also consorted with vs before.

The last of August in the morning we came in sight of Tercera, being about some nine or ten leagues from shoare, where we espied comming towards vs, a small boat vnder saile, which seemed somewhat strange vnto vs, being so farre from land, and no shippe in sight, to which they might belong: but comming neere, they put vs out of doubt, shewing they were English men (eight in number) that had lately beene prisoners in Tercera, and finding opportunitie to escape at that time, with that small boat committed themselues to the sea, vnder Gods prouidence, hauing no other yard for their maine saile, but two pipe staues tyed together by the endes, and no more prouision of victuals, then they could bring in their pockets and bosomes. Hauing taken them all into the Victorie, they gaue vs certaine intelligence, that the Carackes were departed from thence about a weeke before. An escape of 8. Englishmen from Tercera.

Thus beeing without any further hope of those Caraks, we resolued to returne for Fayall, with intent to surprize the towne, but vntill the ninth of September, we had either the winde so contrary, or the weather so calme, that in all that time, we made scarce nine or ten leagues way, lingring vp and downe not farre from Pico.

The tenth of September, being Wednesday in the afternoone, wee came againe to Fayal roade. Whereupon immediatly my Lord sent Captaine Lister, with one of Graciosa (whom Captaine Munson had before taken) and some others, towards Fayal, whom certaine of the Inhabitants met in a boat, and came with Captaine Lister to my Lord, to whom hee gaue this choice: either to suffer him quietly to enter into the platforme there without resistance, where he and his companie would remaine a space without offering any iniurie to them, that they (the Inhabitants) might come vnto him and compound for the ransome of the Towne; or else to stand to the hazard of warre.

With these words they returned to the towne: but the keepers of the platforme answered, that it was against their oath and allegeance to king Philip to giue ouer without fight. Where-

upon my Lord commanded the boates of euery ship, to be presently manned, and soone after landed his men on the sandie shoare, vnder the side of an hill, about halfe a league to the Northwards from the platforme: vpon the toppe of which hill certaine horsemen and footmen shewed themselues, and other two companies also appeared, with ensignes displayed, the one before the towne vpon the shore by the sea side, which marched towards our landing place, as though they would encounter vs; the other in a valley to the Southwards of the platforme, as if they would haue come to helpe the Townesmen: during which time, they in the platforme also played vpon vs with great Ordinance. Notwithstanding my L. (hauing set his men in order) marched along the sea shore, vpon the sands, betwixt the sea & the towne towards the platforme for the space of a mile or more, & then the shore growing rockie, & permitting no further progresse without much difficultie, he entred into the towne & passed through the street without resistance, vnto the platforme; for those companies before mentioned at my Lo. approching, were soone dispersed, and suddenly vanished.

The taking of the towne and platforme of Fayal.

Likewise they of the platforme, being all fled at my Lordes comming thither, left him and his company to scale the walles, to enter and take possession without resistance.

In the meane time our shippes ceased not to batter the foresaid Towne and Platforme with great shotte, till such time as we saw the Red-Crosse of England flourishing vpon the Forefront thereof.

A description of the towne of Faial.

This Fayal is the principall towne in all that is land, & is situate directly ouer against the high and mighty mountaine Pico, lying towards the West Northwest from that mountaine, being deuided therefrom by a narrow Sea, which at that place is by estimation about some two or three leagues in bredth betweene the Iles of Fayal and Pico.

The towne conteyned some three hundred housholds, their houses were faire and strongly builded of lime and stone, and double couered with hollow tyles much like our roofe-tyles, but that they are lesse at the one end then at the other.

Euery house almost had a cisterne or well in a garden on the backe side: in which gardens grew vines (with ripe clusters of grapes) making pleasant shadowes, and Tabacco nowe commonly knowen and vsed in England, wherewith their women there dye their faces reddish, to make them seeme fresh and young: Pepper Indian and common; figge-trees bearing both white and red figges: Peach trees not growing very tall: Orenges, Limons, Quinces, Potato-roots, &c. Sweete wood (Cedar I thinke) is there very common, euen for building and firing.

My Lord hauing possessed himselfe of the towne and platforme, and being carefull of the preseruation of the towne, gaue commandement, that no mariner or souldier should enter into any house, to make any spoyle thereof. But especially he was carefull that the Churches and houses of religion there should be kept inuiolate, which was accordingly performed, through his appointment of guarders and keepers for those places: but the rest of the towne eyther for want of the former inhibition, or for desire of spoyle & prey, was rifled, & ransacked by the souldiers & mariners, who scarcely left any house vnsearched, out of which they tooke such things as liked them, as chestes of sweete wood, chaires, cloth, couerlets, hangings, bedding, apparell: and further ranged into the countrey, where some of them also were hurt by the inhabitants. The Friery there conteyning and maintayning thirtie Franciscan Friers (among whom we could not finde any one able to speake true Latine) was builded by a Fryer of Angra in Tercera of the same order, about the yeare of our Lord one thousand fiue hundred and sixe. The tables in the hall had seates for the one side onely, and were alwayes couered, as readie at all times for dinner or supper.

From Wednesday in the afternoone, at which time we entred the towne, til Saturday night, we continued there, vntill the Inhabitants had agreed and payed for the ransome of the towne, two thousand duckats, most part whereof was Church-plate.

We found in the platforme eight and fiftie yron peeces of Ordinance, whereof three and twentie (as I remember) or more were readie mounted vpon their carriages, betweene Barriosdoes, vpon a platforme towardes the sea-side, all which Ordinance wee tooke, and set the platforme on fire, and so departed: My Lord hauing inuited to dinner in the Victorie, on the

Sunday

Sunday following: so many of the Inhabitants as would willingly come (saue onely Diego Gomes the Gouerrour, who came but once onely to parle about the ransome) onely more came and were well entertained, and solemnely dismissed with sound of drumme and trumpets, and a peale of Ordinance: to whom my Lord deliuered his letter subscribed with his owne hand, importing a request to all other Englishmen to abstaine from any further molesting them, saue onely for fresh water, and victuals necessary for their intended voyage During our abode here (viz. the 11 of September) two men came out of Pico which had beene prisoners there: Also at Fayal we set at libertie a prisoner translated from S Iago who was cousin to a seruant of Don Anthonio king of Portugall in England: These prisoners we deteyned with vs.

On Munday we sent our boates a shore for fresh water, which (by reason of the raine that fell the former night) came plentifully running downe the hilles, and would otherwise haue beene hard to be gotten there. On Tuesday likewise hauing not yet sufficiently serued our turnes, we sent againe for fresh water, which was then not so easie to be gotten as the day before, by reason of a great winde: which in the afternoone increased also in such sort, that we thought it not safe to ride so neere the land; whereupon we weyed anker and so departed Northwest and by west, alongst the coast of Fayal Island. Some of the Inhabitants comming aboord to vs this day, tolde vs that alwayes about that time of the yeere such windes West Southwest blew on that coast.

This day, as we sayled neere Saint Georges Island, a huge fish lying still a litle vnder water, or rather euen therewith, appeared hard by a head of vs, the sea breaking vpon his backe, which was blacke coloured, in such sort as deeming at the first it had beene a rocke, and the ship stemming directly with him, we were put in a sudden feare for the time: till soone after we saw him moue out of the way.

The 16 of September in the night it lightened much, whereupon there followed great winds and raine which continued the 17 18 19 20 and 21 of the same. The 23 of September we came againe into Faial road to weigh an anker which (for haste and feare of foule weather) wee had left there before, where we went on shore to see the towne, the people (as we thought) hauing now setled themselues there againe, but notwithstanding many of them through too much distrustfulnesse, departed and prepared to depart with their packets at the first sight of vs: vntill such time as they were assured by my Lord, that our comming was not any way to iniury them, but especially to haue fresh water, and some other things needeful for vs, contenting them for the same.

So then we viewed the Towne quietly, and bought such things as we desired for our money as if we had bene in England. And they helped to fill vs in fresh water, receiuing for their paines such satisfaction as contented them.

The 25 day we were forced againe to depart from thence, before we had sufficiently watered, by reason of a great tempest that suddenly arose in the night, in so much, that my Lord himselfe soone after midnight raysed our men out of their Cabines to wey anker, himselfe also together with them haling at the Capsten, and after cheering them vp with wine.

The next day we sent our Caruael and the Sawsie-lacke to the road of Saint Michael to see what they could espie: we following after them vpon the 27 day, plying to and fro came within sight of S. Michael, but by contrary windes the 28 29 and 30 dayes wee were driuen to leewarde, and could not get neere the Island.

The first of October wee sayled alongst Tercera, and euen against Brasill (a promontorie neere to Angra the strongest Towne in that Island) wee espied some boates comming to the Towne, and made out towardes them: but being neere to the lande they ranne to shoare and escaped vs.

In the afternoone we came neere to Graciosa, whereupon my Lord forthwith sent Captain Lister to the Ilanders, to let them vnderstand that his desire was onely to haue water and wine of them, and some fresh victuals, and not any further to trouble them. They answered they could giue no resolute answere to this demaund, vntill the Gouernors of the Iland had consulted therevpon, and therefore desired him to send againe to them the next day.

Vpon the second day of October early in the morning, we sent forth our long boat and Pinnesse, with emptie Caske, and about some fiftie or sixty men together with the Margaret, and Captaine Dauis his shippe: for we now wanted all the rest of our consortes. But when our men would haue landed, the Ilanders shot at them, and would not suffer them. And troupes of men appeared vpon land, with ensignes displayed to resist vs: So our boates rowed alongst the shoare, to finde some place where they might land, not with too much disaduantage: our shippes and they still shooting at the Ilanders: but no place could be founde where they might land without great perill of loosing many of their liues, and so were constrayned to retire without receiuing any answere, as was promised the day before. We had three men hurt in this conflict, whilest our boates were together in consulting what was best to be done: two of them were stroken with a great shot (which the Ilanders drew from place to place with Oxen) wherewith the one lost his hand, and the other his life within two or three dayes after: the third was shot into his necke with a small shot without any great hurt.

With these newes our company returned backe againe at night, whereupon preparation was made to goe to them againe the next day: but the day was farre spent before we could come neere them with our ship: neither could we finde any good ground to anker in, where we might lye to hatter the Towne, and further we could finde no landing place, without great danger to loose many men: which might turne not only to the ouerthrow of our viiage, but also put the Queenes ship in great perill for want of men to bring her home. Therefore my Lord thought it best to write to them to this effect: That he could not a litle maruell at their inhumanitie and crueltie which they had shewed towards his men, seeing they were sent by him vnto them in peaceable manner to receiue their answere which they had promised to giue the day before: and that were it not for Don Antonio their lawfull king his sake, he could not put vp so great iniury at their hands, without iust reuengement vpon them: notwithstanding for Don Antonio his sake, whose friend he was, he was yet content to send to them once againe for their answere: At night Captaine Lister returned with this answere from them. That their Gunner shot off one of their pieces, which was charged with pouder onely, and was stopped; which our men thinking it had bin shot at them, shot againe, and so beganne the fight: and that the next morning they would send my Lord a resolute answere to his demaunde, for as yet they could not knowe their Gouernours minde herein. The next morning there came vnto vs a boate from the shoare with a flagge of truce, wherein were three of the chiefe men of the Island, who agreed with my Lorde that hee should haue of them sixtie buttes of wine, and fresh victuals to refresh himselfe and his companie withall: but as for fresh water, they could not satisfie our neede therein, hauing themselues little or none, sauing such as they saued in vessels or cisternes when it rayned, and that they had rather giue vs two tunnes of wine then one of water: but they requested that our souldiers might not come on shoare, for they themselues would bring all they had promised to the water-side, which request was graunted, we keeping one of them aboord with vs vntill their promise was performed, and the other we sent to shoare with our emptie Caske, and some of our men to helpe to fill, and bring them away with such other prouision as was promised: so the Margaret, Captaine Dauis his shippe, and another of Weymouth stayed ryding at anker before the Towne, to take in our prouision. This shippe of Weymouth came to vs the day before, and had taken a rich Prize (as it was reported) worth sixteene thousand pound, which brought vs newes that the West-Indian Fleete was not yet come, but would come very shortly. But we with the Victorie put off to sea, and vpon Saturday the fourth of October, we tooke a French shippe of Saint Malo (a citie of the vnholy league) laden with fish from Newfoundland: which had beene in so great a tempest, that she was constrayned to cut her mayne mast ouerboord for her safetie, and was now comming to Graciosa, to repaire her selfe. But so hardly it befell her, that she did not onely not repaire her former losses, but lost all that remayned vnto vs. The chiefe of our men we tooke into our ship, and sent some of our men, mariners, and souldiers into her to bring her into England.

Vpon the Sunday following at night, all our promised prouision was brought vnto vs from Gratiosa: and we friendly dismissed the Ilanders with a peale of Ordinance.

Vpon

Vpon Munday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, we plyed to and fro about those Islandes, being very rough weather. And vpon Thursday at night, being driuen some three or foure leagues from Tercera, we saw fifteene saile of the West-Indian Fleete comming into the Hauen at Angra in Tercera. But the winde was such, that for the space of foure dayes after, though wee lay as close by the winde as was possible, yet we could not come neere them. In this time we lost our late French Prize, not being able to lie so neere the winde as we, and heard no more of her till we came to England where shee safely arriued. Vpon Munday we came very neere the Hauens mouth, being minded to haue runne in amongst them, and to haue fetched out some of them if it had beene possible: But in the end this enterprise was deemed too daungerous, considering the strength of the place where they rode, being haled and towed in neerer the towne, at the first sight of our approching, and lying vnder the protection of the Castle of Brasil, on the one side (hauing in it fiue and twentie peeces of Ordinance) and a fort on the other side wherein were 13 or 14 great brasse pieces. Besides, when we came neere land the winde prooued too scant for vs to attempt any such enterprise.

Vpon Tuesday the fourteenth of October we sent our boate to the roade to sound the depth, to see if there were any ankoring place for vs, where we might lie without shot of the Castle and Fort, and within shot of some of those shippes, that we might either make them come out to vs, or sinke them where they lay. Our boate returned hauing found out such a place as we desired, but the winde would not suffer vs to come neere it, and against if we could haue ankored there, it was thought likely that they would rather runne themselues a ground to saue their liues and liberties, and some of their goods, then come foorth to loose their liberties and goods to vs their enemies. So we shot at them to see if we could reach them, but it fell farre short. And thus we departed, thinking it not probable that they would come foorth so long as we watched for them before the hauens mouth, or within sight of them. For the space of fiue dayes after we put off to sea, and lay without sight of them, and sent a pinnesse to lie out of sight close by the shore, to bring vs word if they should come foorth. After a while the Pinnesse returned and tolde vs that those shippes in the Hauen had taken downe their sayles, and let downe their toppe masts: so that wee supposed they would neuer come foorth, till they perceiued vs to bee quite gone.

Wherefore vpon the 20 of October, hearing that there were certaine Scottish ships at Saint Michael, we sayled thither, and found there one Scottish roader, and two or three more at Villa Franca, the next road a league or two from the towne of S. Michael, to the Eastwards of whom we had for our reliefe some small quantitie of wine (viz. some fiue or sixe buttes of them all) and some fresh water, but nothing sufficient to serue our turne.

Vpon Tuesday the one and twentieth of October, we sent our long boate to shore for fresh water at a brooke a little to the Westwards from Villa Franca.

But the Inhabitants espying vs came downe with two Ensignes displayed, and about some hundred and fiftie men armed, to withstand our landing. So our men hauing spent all their pouder vpon them in attempting to land, and not being able to preuaile at so great oddes, returned frustrate.

From hence we departed towards Saint Maries Island, minding to water there, and then to goe for the coast of Spaine. For we had intelligence that it was a place of no great force, and that we might water there very well: therefore vpon Friday following, my Lord sent Captaine Lister, and Captaine Amias Preston now Sir Amias Preston (who not long before came to vs out of his owne shippe, and she loosing vs in the night, hee was forced to tarry still with vs) with our long boate and Pinnesse, and some sixtie or seuentie shotte in them, with a friendly letter to the Ilanders, that they would grant vs leaue to water, and we would no further trouble them.

So we departed from the Victorie for the Iland, about nine of the clocke in the forenoone, and rowed freshly vntill about 3 a clocke afternoone. At which time our men being something weary with rowing, and being within a league or two of the shore, and 4 or 5 leagues from the Victorie, they espied (to their refreshing) two shippes ryding at anker hard vnder

the towne, whereupon hauing shifted some 6 or 7 of our men into Captaine Dauis his boate, being too much pestered in our owne, and retayning with vs some 20 shot in the pinnesse, we made way towardes them with all the speede we could.

By the way as we rowed we saw boates passing betwixt the roaders and the shore, and men in their shirtes swimming and wading to shoare, who as we perceiued afterwardes, were labouring to set those shippes fast on ground, and the Inhabitants as busily preparing themselues for the defence of those roaders, their Hand, and themselues. When we came neere them, Captaine Lister commaunded the Trumpets to be sounded, but prohibited any shot to be discharged at them, vntill they had direction from him: But some of the companie, either not well perceiuing or regarding what he sayd, immediatly vpon the sound of the Trumpets discharged their pieces at the Islanders, which for the most part lay in trenches and fortefied places vnseene, to their owne best aduantage: who immediatly shot likewise at vs, both with small and great shot, without danger to themselues: Notwithstanding Captaine Lister earnestly hastened forward the Saylers that rowed, who beganne to shrinke at that shot, flying so fast about their eares, and himselfe first entring one of the shippes that lay a litle further from shoare then the other, we spedily followed after him into her, still plying them with our shot. And hauing cut in sunder her Cables and Hausers, towed her away with our Pinnesse. In the meane time Captaine Dauis his boate ouertooke vs and entred into the other shippe, which also (as the former) was forsaken by all her men: but they were constrayned to leaue her & to come againe into their boate (whilest shot and stones from shoare flew fast amongst them) finding her to sticke so fast a grounde, that they could not stire her: which the Townesmen also perceiuing, and seeing that they were but fewe in number, and vs (busied about the other ship) not comming to ayde them, were preparing to haue come and taken them. But they returned vnto vs, and so together we came away towards the Victory, towing after vs the Prize that we had now taken, which was lately come from Brasil, loden with Sugar.

In this fight we had two men slaine and 16 wounded: and as for them, it is like they had litle hurt, lying for the most part behind stone walles, which were builded one aboue another hard by the sea side, vpon the end of the hill whereupon the Towne stoode betwixt two vallies. Vpon the toppe of the hill lay their great Ordinance (such as they had) wherewith they shot leaden bullets, whereof one pierced through our Prizes side, and lay still in the shippe without doing any more harme.

The next day we went againe for water to the same Hand, but not knowing before the inconuenience and disuaduantage of the place where we attempted to land, we returned frustrate.

The same night the 25 of October we departed for S. Georges Hand for fresh water, whither we came on Munday following October 27, and hauing espied where a spout of water came running downe: the pinnesse and long boate were presently manned and sent vnder the conduct of Captaine Preston, and Captaine Munson, by whom my Lord sent a letter to the Ilanders as before, to grant vs leaue to water onely, and we would no further trouble them: notwithstanding our men comming on shoare found some of the poore Ilanders, which for feare of vs hid themselues amongst the rockes.

And on Wednesday following our boats returned with fresh water, whereof they brought only sixe tunnes for the Victorie, alleaging they could get no more, thinking (as it was supposed) that my Lord hauing no more prouision of water and wine, but onely 12 tunnes, would not goe for the coast of Spaine, but straight for the coast of England, as many of our men greatly desired: notwithstanding my Lord was vnwilling so to doe, and was minded the next day to haue taken in more water: but through roughnesse of the seas and winde, and vnwillingnesse of his men it was not done. Yet his Hon. purposed not to returne with so much prouision vnspent, and his voyage (as he thought) not yet performed in such sort as mought giue some reasonable contentment or satisfaction to himselfe and others.

Therefore because no more water could now conueniently be gotten, and being vncertaine when it could be gotten, and the time of our staying aboord also vncertaine, the matter being referred to the choyse of the whole companie, whither they would tarrie longer, till wee might

be more sufficiently prouided of fresh water, or goe by the coast of Spaine for England, with halfe so much allowance of drinke as before, they willingly agreed that euery meane should bee allowed at one meale but halfe so much drinke as they were accustomed except them that were sicke or wounded) and so to goe for England, taking the coast of Spaine in our way, to see if we could that way make vp our voyage.

Vpon Saturday Octob. 31 we sent the Margaret (because she leaked much) directly for England, together with the Prize of Brasile which we tooke at S. Marie, and in them some of our hurt and wounded men or otherwise sicke were sent home as they desired, for England: but Captaine Monson was taken out of the Megge into the Victorie.

So we held on our course for the coast of Spaine with a faire winde and a large which before we seldome had. And vpon Twesday following being the 4 of Nouemb. we espied a saile right before vs, which we chased till about three a clocke in the afternoone, at which time we ouertaking her, she stroke sayle, and being demaunded who was her owner and from whence she was, they answered, a Portugall, and from Pernanbucke in Brasile. She was a ship of some 110 tuns burden, fraighted with 410 chestes of Sugar, and 50 Kintals of Brasill-wood, euery Kintall contayning one hundred pound weight: we tooke her in latitude nine and twentie degrees, about two hundred leagues from Lisbone westwards: Captaine Preston was presently sent vnto her, who brought the principall of her men aboord the Victorie, and certaine of our men, mariners and souldiers were sent aboord her. The Portugals of this Prize told vs that they saw another ship before them that day about noone. Hauing therefore dispatched all things about the Prize aforesaid and left our long boat with Captaine Dauis, taking his lesser boat with vs, we made way after this other ship with all the sayles we could beare, holding on our course due East, and giuing order to Captaine Dauis his ship and the Prize that they should follow vs due East, and that if they had sight of vs the morning following they should follow vs still: if not they should goe for England.

The next morning we espied not the sayle which we chased, and Captaine Dauis his ship and the Prize were behinde vs out of sight: but the next Thursday the sixt of Nouember (being in latitude 38 degrees 30 minutes, and about sixtie leagues from Lisbone westwards) early in the morning Captaine Preston descried a sayle some two or three leagues a head of vs, after which we presently hastened our chase, and ouertooke her about eight or nine of the clocke before noone. She came lately from Saint Michaels roade, hauing beene before at Brasill laden with Sugar and Brasile. Hauing sent our boat to them to bring some of the chiefe of their men aboord the Victorie, in the meane time whilest they were in comming to vs one out of the maine toppe espied another saile a head some three or foure leagues from vs. So immediately vpon the returne of our boate, hauing sent her backe againe with some of our men aboord the prize, we pursued speedily this new chase, with all the sayles we could packe on, and about two a clocke in the afternoone ouertooke her: she had made prouision to fight with vs, hauing hanged the sides of the shippe so thicke with hides (wherewith especially she was laden) that musket shot could not haue pearced them: but yet we had discharged two great peeces of our Ordinance at her, she stroke sayle, and approching neerer, we asking of whence they were, they answered from the West-Indies, from Mexico, and Saint Iohn de Lowe (truely called Vlhua.) This ship was of some three or foure hundred tunnes, and had in her seuen hundred hides worth tenne shillings a peece: sixe chests of Cochinell, euery chest houlding one hundred pound weight, and euery pound worth sixe and twentie shillings and eight pence, and certaine chests of Sugar and China dishes, with some plate and siluer.

The Captaine of her was an Italian, and by his behauiour seemed to be a graue, wise, and ciuill man: he had put an aduenture in this shippe fiue and twentie thousand Duckats. Wee tooke him with certaine other of her chiefest men (which were Spaniards) into the Victorie: and Captaine Lister with so manie other of the chiefest of our Mariners, souldiers, and saylers as were thought sufficient, to the number of 20. or thereabouts, were sent into her. In the meane time (we staying) our other prizes which followed after, came vp to vs. And nowe wee had our hands full and with ioy shaped our course for England, for so it was thought meetest,

meetest, hauing now so many Portugals, Spaniards and Frenchmen amongst vs, that if we should haue taken any more prizes afterwards, wee had not bene well able to haue manned them without endangering our selues. So about six of the clocke in the afternoone (when our other prize had ouertaken vs) wee set saile for England. But our prizes not being able to beare vs company without sparing them many of our sailes, which caused our ship to roule and wallow, in such sort that it was not onely very troublesome to vs, but, as it was thought, would also haue put the maine Maste in danger of falling ouerboord: hauing acquainted them with these inconueniences, we gaue them direction to keepe their courses together, folowing vs, and so to come to Portsmouth. We tooke this last prize in the latitude of 39. degrees, and about 46. leagues to the Westwards from the Rocke.

She was one of those 16. ships which we saw going into the hauen at Angra in Tercera, October 8. Some of the men that we tooke out of her, tolde vs, that whilest wee were plying vp and downe before that hauen, as before was shewed, expecting the comming foorth of those shippes, three of the greatest and best of them, at the appointment of the Gouernour of Tercera were vnloden of their treasure and marchandize. And in euery of them were put three hundred Souldiers, which were appointed to haue come to lay the Victory aboord in the night, and take her: but when this should haue bene done the Victory was gone out of their sight.

Now we went meerily before the winde with all the sailes we could beare, insomuch that in the space of 24. houres, we sailed neere 47. leagues, that is seuenscore English miles, betwixt Friday at nooue and Saturday at noone (notwithstanding the shippe was very foule, and much growne with long being at Sea) which caused some of our company to make accompt they would see what running at Tilt there should bee at Whitehall vpon the Queenes day. Others were imagining what a Christmas they would keepe in England with their shares of the prizes we had taken. But so it befell, that we kept a colde Christmas with the Bishop and his clearks (rockes that lye to the Westwards from Sylly, and the Westerne parts of England:). For soone after the wind scanting came about to the Eastwards (the worst part of the heauens for vs, from which the winde could blow) in such sort, that we could not fetch any part of England. And hereupon also our allowance of drinke, which was scant ynough before, was yet more scanted, because of the scarcitie thereof in the shippe. So that now a man was allowed but halfe a pinte at a meale, and that many times colde water, and scarce sweete. Notwithstanding this was an happie estate in comparison of that which followed: For from halfe a pinte we came to a quarter, and that lasted not long neither, so that by reason of this great scarsitie of drinke, and contrarietie of winde, we thought to put into Ireland, there to relieue our wants. But when wee came neere thither, lying at hull all night (tarrying for the daylight of the next morning, whereby we might the safelyer bring our ship into some conuenient harbour there) we were driuen so farre to lee-ward, that we could fetch no part of Ireland, so as with heauie hearts and sad cheare, wee were constreined to returne backe againe, and expect till it should please God to send vs a faire winde either for England or Ireland. In the meane time we were allowed euery man three or foure spoones full of vineger to drinke at a meale: for other drinke we had none, sauing onely at two or three meales, when we had in stead hereof as much wine, which was wringed out of Wine-lees that remained. With this hard fare (for by reason of our great want of drinke, wee durst eate but very litle) wee continued for the space of a fortnight or thereabouts: Sauing that now and then wee feasted for it in the meane time: And that was when there fell any haile or raine: the haile-stones wee gathered vp and did eate them more pleasantly then if they had bene the sweetest Comfits in the world; The raine drops were so carefully saued, that so neere as wee coulde, not one was lost in all our shippe. Some hanged vp sheetes tied with cordes by the foure corners, and a weight in the midst that the water might runne downe thither, and so be receiued into some vessel set or hanged vnderneth: Some that wanted sheetes, hanged vp napkins, and cloutes, and watched them till they were thorow wet, then wringing and sucking out the water. And that water which fell downe and washed away the filth and soyling of the shippe, trod vnder foote, as bad as running downe the kennell many times when it

raineth,

raineth; was not lost I warrant you, but watched and attended carefully (yea sometimes with strife and contention) at euery scupper hole, and other place where it ranne downe, with dishes, pots, cannes, and larres, whereof some drunke hearty draughts euen as it was, mud and all, without tarrying to clense or settle it: Others cleansed it first but not often, for it was so thicke and went so slowly thorow, that they might ill endure to tary so long, and were lothe to loose too much of such precious stuffe: some licked with their tongues (like dogges) the boards vnder feete, the sides, railes, and Masts of the shippe: others that were more ingenious, fastened girdles or ropes about the Mastes, dawbing tallow betwixt them and the Maste (that the raine might not runne downe betweene) in such sort, that those ropes or girdles hanging lower on the one side then on the other, a spout of leather was fastened to the lowest part of them, that all the raine drops that came running downe the Maste, might meete together at that place, and there be receiued.

Hee that got a canne of water by these meanes was spoken of, sued to, and enuied as a rich man. Quàm pulchrum digito monstrari & dicier hic est? Some of the poore Spaniards that we had taken (who notwithstanding had the same allowance that our owne men had) would come and craue of vs, for the loue of God, but so much water as they could holde in the hollow of their hand: and they had it, notwithstanding our great extremitie, to teache them some humanitie instead of their accustomed barbaritie, both to vs and other nations hereto-fore. They put also bullets of lead into their mouthes to slake their thirst.

Now in euery corner of the shippe were heard the lamentable cries of sicke and wounded men sounding wofully in our eares, crying out and pitifully complaining for want of drinke, being ready to die, yea many dying for lacke thereof, so as by reason of this great extremitie we lost many more men, then wee had done all the voyage before: hauing before this time bene so well and sufficiently prouided for, that we liued in maner as well and healthfully, and died as few as if wee had bene in England, whereas now lightly euery day some were cast ouerboord.

But the second day of December 1589. was a festiuall day with vs, for then it rained a good pace, and wee saued some pretie store of raine water (though we were well wet for it, and that at midnight) and filled our skins full besides: notwithstanding it were muddie and bitter with washing the shippe, but (with some sugar which we had to sweeten it withall) it went merrily downe, yet remembred we and wished for with all our hearts, many a Conduit, pumpe, spring, & streame of cleare sweete running water in England: And how miserable wee had accompted some poore soules whom we had seene driuen for thirst to drinke thereof, and how happy we would now haue thought our selues if we might haue had our fills of the same: yet should wee haue fared the better with this our poore feasting, if we might haue had our meate and drinke (such and so much as it was) stand quietly before vs: but beside all the former extremities, wee were so tossed and turmoiled with such horrible stormie and tempestuous weather, that euery man had best holde fast his Canne, cup, and dish in his hands, yea and himselfe too, many times, by the ropes, railes, or sides of the ship or else he should soone finde all vnder feete.

Herewith our maine saile was torne from the yarde and blowne ouerboord quite away into the sea without recouery, and our other sailes so rent and torne (from side to side some of them) that hardly any of them escaped hole. The raging waues and foming surges of the sea came rowling like mountaines one after another, and ouerraked the waste of the shippe like a mightie riuer running ouer it, whereas in faire weather it was neere 20. foote aboue the water, that nowe wee might cry out with the princely Prophet Psalme 107. vers. 26. They mount vp to heauen, and descend to the deepe, so that their soule melteth away for trouble: they reele too and fro, and stagger like a drunken man, and all their cunning is gone. With this extremitie of foule weather the ship was so tossed and shaken, that by the craking noise it made, and by the leaking which was now much more than ordinary, wee were in great feare it would haue shaken in sunder, so that now also we had iust cause to pray a litle otherwise than the Poet, though marring the verse, yet mending the meaning.

Deus maris & Cœli, quid enim nisi vota supersunt,
Soluere quassatæ parcito membra ratis.

Notwithstanding it pleased God of his great goodnesse to deliuer vs out of this danger. Then forthwith a new maine saile was made and fastened to the yard, and the rest repaired as time and place would suffer: which we had no sooner done, but yet againe wee were troubled with as great extremitie as before, so that againe we were like to haue lost our new maine saile, had not Master William Antony the Master of the ship himselfe (when none else would or durst) ventured with danger of drowning by creeping along vpon the maine yarde (which was let downe close to the railes) to gather it vp out of the sea, and to fasten it thereto, being in the meane while oft-times ducked ouer head and eares into the sea.

These stormes were so terrible, that there were some in our company, which confessed they had gone to seas for the space of 20. yeeres, and had neuer seene the like, and vowed that if euer they returned safe home, they would neuer come to Sea againe.

The last of Nouember at night we met with an English ship, out of which (because it was too late that night) it was agreed that we should haue had the next morning two or three Tunnes of wine, which, as they said, was al the prouision of drink they had, saue onely a But or two, which they must needs reserue for their owne vse: but after that, we heard of them no more, till they were set on ground vpon the coast of Ireland, where it appeared that they might haue spared vs much more then they pretended they could, so as they might wel haue relieued our great necessities, and haue had sufficient for themselues besides, to bring them into England.

The first of December at night we spake with another English ship, and had some beere out of her, but not sufficient to cary vs into England, so that wee were constrained to put into Ireland, the winde so seruing.

The next day we came to an anker, not far from the S. Kelmes vnder the land & winde, where we were somewhat more quiet, but (that being no safe harbour to ride in) the next morning wee went about to weigh anker, but hauing some of our men hurt at the Capsten, wee were faine to giue ouer and leaue it behinde, holding on our course to Ventrie hauen, where wee safely arriued the same day, that place being a very safe and conuenient harbor for vs, that now wee might sing as we had iust cause, They that goe downe to the sea, &c.

So soone as we had ankered here my Lord went foorthwith to shoare, and brought presently fresh water and fresh victuals, as Muttons, pigges, hennes, &c. to refresh his company withall. Notwithstanding himselfe had lately bene very weake, and tasted of the same extremitie that his Company did: For in the time of our former want, hauing a little fresh water left him remaining in a pot, in the night it was broken, and the water drunke and dried vp. Soone after the sicke and wounded men were carried to the next principall Towne, called Dingenacush, being about three miles distant from the foresaide hauen, where our shippe roade, to the Eastwards, that there they might be the better refreshed, and had the Chirurgians dayly to attend vpon them. Here we wel refreshed our selues whilest the Irish harpe sounded sweetely in our eares, and here we, who for the former extremities were in maner halfe dead, had our liues (as it were) restored vnto vs againe.

This Dingenacush is the chiefe Towne in al that part of Ireland, it cõsisteth but of one maine streete, from whence some smaller doe proceede on either side. It hath had gates (as it seemeth) in times past at either ende to open and shut as a Towne of warre, and a Castle also. The houses are very strongly built with thicke stone walles, and narrow windowes like vnto Castles: for as they confessed, in time of trouble, by reason of the wilde Irish or otherwise, they vsed their houses for their defence as Castles. The castle and all the houses in the Towne, saue foure, were won, bûrnt, and ruinated by the Erle of Desmond.

These foure houses fortified themselues against him, and withstood him and all his power perforce, so as he could not winne them.

There remaineth yet a thicke stone wall that passeth ouerthwart the midst of the streete which was a part of their fortification. Notwithstanding whilest they thus defended themselues, as some of them yet aliue confessed, they were driuen to as great extremities as the Iewes,

Iewes, besieged by Titus the Romane Emperour, insomuch that they were constrained to eat dead mens carcases for hunger. The Towne is nowe againe somewhat repaired, but in effect there remaine but the ruines of the former Towne. Commonly they haue no chimneys in their houses, excepting them of the better sort, so that the smoake was very troublesom to vs, while we continued there. Their fewell is turfes, which they haue very good, and whinnes or furres. There groweth little wood thereabouts, which maketh building chargeable there: as also want of lime (as they reported) which they are faine to fetch from farre, when they haue neede thereof. But of stones there is store ynough, so that with them they commonly make their hedges to part ech mans ground from other; and the ground seemeth to be nothing else within but rockes and stones; Yet it is very fruitfull and plentifull of grasse, and graine, as may appeare by the abundance of kine and cattel there: insomuch that we had good muttons (though somewhat lesse then ours in England) for two shill. a piece or fiue groates a piece, good pigges and hennes for 3 pence a piece.

The greatest want is industrious, painefull, and husbandly inhabitants to till and trimme the ground: for the common sort, if they can prouide sufficient to serue from hand to mouth, take no further care.

Of money (as it seemeth) there is very small store amongst them, which perhaps was the cause that made them double and triple the prizes of many things we bought of them, more then they were before our comming thither.

Good land was here to be had for foure pence the Acre yeerely rent. There are Mines of Alome, Tinne, brasse, and yron. Stones wee sawe there as cleare as Christall, naturally squared like Diamonds. Mines in the margin

That part of the Countrey is all ful of great mountaines and hills, from whence come running downe the pleasant streames of sweete fresh running water. The natural hardnesse of that Nation appeareth in this, that their small children runne vsually in the middest of Winter vp and downe the streetes bare-foote and bare-legged, with no other apparell (many times) saue onely a mantle to couer their nakednesse.

The chiefe Officer of their Towne they call their Soueraigne, who hath the same office and authoritie among them that our Maiors haue with vs in England, and hath his Sergeants to attend vpon him, and beare the Mace before him as our Maiors.

We were first intertained at the Soueraignes house, which was one of those 4. that withstood the Erle of Desmond in his rebellion. They haue the same forme of Comm on prayer word for word in Latin, that we haue here in England. Vpon the Sunday the Soueraigne commeth into the Church with his Sergeant before him, and the Sheriffe and others of the Towne accompany him, and there they kneele downe euery man by himselfe priuately to make his prayers. After this they rise and go out of the Church againe to drinke, which being done, they returne againe into the Church, and then the Minister beginneth prayers.

Their maner of baptizing differeth something from ours: part of the seruice belonging thereto is repeated in Latin, and part in Irish. The Minister taketh the child in his hands, and first dippeth it backwards, and then forwards, ouer head and eares into the cold water in the midst of Winter, whereby also may appeare their naturall hardnesse, (as before was specified.) They had neither Bell, drum, nor trumpet, to call the Parishioners together, but they expect till their Soueraigne come, and then they that haue any deuotion follow him.

They make their bread all in cakes, and, for the tenth part, the bakers bake for all the towne.

We had of them some 10. or 11. Tunnes of beere for the Victory, but it proued like a present purgation to them that tooke it, so that we chose rather to drinke water then it.

The 20. of December we loosed frō hence, hauing well prouided ourselues of fresh water, and other things necessary, being accompanied with sir Edw. Dennie, his Lady, and two yong sonnes.

This day in the morning my Lord going ashoare to dispatch away speedily some fresh water that remained for the Victory, the winde being very faire for vs, brought vs newes that there were 60. Spanish prizes taken and brought to England. For two or three dayes wee had a

faire winde, but afterwards it scanted so, that (as I said before) we were faine to keepe a cold Christmas with The Bishop and his clearkes.

After this we met with an English ship, that brought vs ioyful newes of 91. Spanish prizes that were come to England: and sorrowfull newes withall, that the last and best prize we tooke, had suffered shipwracke at a place vpon the coast of Cornwal which the Cornish men cal Als Efferne, that is, Hel-cliffe, and that Captaine Lister and all the men in the ship were drowned, saue 5. or 6. the one halfe English, the other Spanish that saued themselues with swimming: but notwithstanding much of the goods were saued, and reserued for vs, by sir Francis Godolphin, and the worshipful gentlemen of the Countrey there. My Lord was very sorry for Captaine Listers death, wishing that he had lost his voyage to haue saued his life.

Captaine Lister drowned.

The 29. of December we met with another shippe, that tolde vs the same newes, and that sir Martin Frobisher, & Captaine Reymond had taken the Admirall and Vice-Admirall of the Fleet that we espied going to Terçera hauen. But the Admirall was sunke with much leaking, neere to the Idy Stone, a rocke that lieth ouer against Plimouth sound, and the men were saued.

This ship also certified vs that Captaine Prestons ship had taken a prize loden with siluer. My Lord entred presently into this ship, & went to Falmouth, and we held on our course for Plimouth. At night we came neere to the Ram-head (the next Cape Westwards from Plimouth sound) but we were afraid to double it in the night, misdoubting the scantnesse of the winde. So we stood off to Sea halfe the night, and towards morning had the winde more large, and made too little spare thereof, that partly for this cause, and partly through mistaking of the land, wee were driuen so much to lee-wards, that we could not double that Cape: Therefore we returned backe againe, and came into Falmouth hauen, where wee strucke on ground in 17. foote water: but it was a low ebbe, and ready againe to flowe, and the ground soft, so as no hurt was done. Here with gladnesse wee set foote againe vpon the English ground (long desired) and refreshed ourselues with keeping part of Christmas vpon our native soile.

The valiant fight performed by 10. Merchants ships of London, against 12. Spanish gallies in the Straights of Gibraltar, the 24. of April 1590.

IT is not long since sundry valiant ships appertaining to the Marchants of London, were fraighted & rigged forth, some for Venice, some for Constantinople, & some to sundry other places of trafique, among whom these ensuing met within the Straights of Gibraltar, as they were taking their course homewards, hauing before escaped all other danger. The first whereof was the Salomon appertaining to M. Alderman Barnam of London, and M. Bond, and M. Twyd of Harwich; which went foorth the first day of February last. The second was the Margaret and Iohn belonging to M. Wats of London: The thirde was the Minion: The fourth was the Ascension. The fifth was the Centurion of Master Cordal: The sixt the Violet: the seuenth the Samuel; the eight the Crescent: the ninth the Elizabeth: and the 10. was the Richard belonging to M. Duffield. All these ships being of notable and approued seruice comming neere to the mouth of the Straights hard by the coast of Barbary, descried twelue tall Gallies brauely furnished and strongly prouided with men and munition, ready to seaze vpon these English ships: which being perceiued by the Captaines and Masters thereof, wee made speedy preparation for the defence of our selues, still waiting all the night long for the approaching of the enemie. In the morning early being the Tuesday in Easter weeke, and the 24 of April 1590 according to our vsual customes, we said Seruice and made our prayers vnto Almightie God, beseeching him to saue vs from the hands of such tyrants as the Spaniards, whom we iustly imagined to be, and whom we knew and had found to be our most mortall enemies vpon the Sea. And hauing finished our prayers, and set ourselues in a readinesse, we perceiued them to come towards vs, and that they were indeede the Spanish Gallies that lay vnder the conduct of Andre Doria, who is Vice-roy for the King of Spaine in the Straights of Gibraltar, and a notable knowne enemie to all Englishmen. So when they came somewhat neerer vnto vs, they waued vs a maine for the King of Spaine, and wee waued them a maine

February 1590.

for

for the Queene of England, at which time it pleased Almightie God greatly to encourage vs all in such sort, as that the neerer they came the lesse we feared their great multitudes and huge number of men, which were planted in those Gallies to the number of two or three hundred men in ech Gallie. And it was thus concluded among vs, that the foure first and tallest ships should be placed hindmost, and the weaker & smallest ships formost, and so it was performed, euery man being ready to take part of such successe as it should please God to send.

At the first encounter the Gallies came vpon vs very fiercely, yet God so strengthened vs, that if they had bene ten times more, we had not feared them at all. Whereupon the Salomon being a hot shippe, and hauing sundry cast pieces in her, gaue the first shotte in such a sowre sort, as that it shared away so many men as sate on the one side of a Gallie, and pierced her through in such maner, as that she was ready to sinke, which made them to assault vs the more fiercely. Whereupon the rest of our shippes, especially the foure chiefest, namely, the Margaret and Iohn, the Minion, and the Ascension followed, and gaue a hot charge vpon them, and they at vs, where began a hot and fierce battaile with great valiancie the one against the other, and so continued for the space of sixe houres. About the beginning of this fight there came two Flemings to our Fleet, who seeing the force of the Gallies to be so great, the one of them presently yeelded, strooke his sailes, and was taken by the Gallies whereas if they would haue offered themselues to haue fought in our behalfe and their owne defence, they needed not to haue bene taken so cowardly as they were to their cost. The other Fleming being also ready to performe the like piece of seruice began to vaile his sailes, and intended to haue yeelded immediatly. But the Trumpetter in that shippe plucked fourth his faulchion and stepped to the Pilote at the helme, and vowed that if he did not speedily put off to the English Fleete, and so take part with them, he would presently kill him: which the Pilote for feare of death did, and so by that meanes they were defended from present death, and from the tyrannie of those Spaniards, which doubtlesse they should haue found at their handes.

A fight of sixe houres long.

A faire houre of Fleming.

Thus we continued in fight sixe houres and somewhat more, wherein God gaue vs the vpper hand, and we escaped the hands of so many enemies, who were constrained to flie into harbour and shroude themselues from vs, and with speed to seeke for their owne safetie. This was the handie worke of God, who defended vs all from danger in such sort, as that there was not one man of vs slaine. And in all this fierce assault made vpon vs by the Spanish power, wee sustained no hurt or damage at all more then this, that the shrouds and backestay of the Salomon, who gaue the first and last shot, and galled the enemie shrewdly all the time of the battell, were cleane striken off.

The battel being ceased, we were constrained for want of wind to stay and waft vp and downe, and then went backe againe to Tition in Barbary, which is sixe leagues off from Gibraltar, and when we came thither we found the people wonderous fauourable to vs, who being but Moores and heathen people shewed vs where to haue fresh water and al other necessaries for vs. And there we had such good intertainment, as if we had bene in any place of England.

The gouernour was one that fauoured vs greatly, whom wee in respect of his great friendship presented with giftes and such commodities as we had in our custodie, which he wonderfully wel accepted of: and here we stayed foure dayes.

After the battell was ceased, which was on Easter Tue-day, we stayed for want of winde before Gibraltar, vntill the next morning, where wee were becalmed, and therefore looked euery houre when they would haue sent foorth some fresh supply against vs, but they were farre vnable to doe it, for all their Gallies were so sore battered, that they durst not come foorth of the harbour, by reason of our hot resistance which they so lately before had receiued. Yet were they greatly vrged thereunto by the Gouernour of the said Towne of Gibraltar.

At our being at Tition in Barbary, there we heard report of the hurt that wee had done to the Gallies, for at our comming from them wee could not well discerne any thing at all by

reason of the smoake which the powder had made: there we heard that we had almost spoiled those twelue Gallies by shooting them cleane through, that two of them were ready to sinke, and that wee had slaine of their men such great abundance, as that they were not able to furnish forth any more Gallies at all for that yeere.

Thus after we came from Tition, we assayed to depart the Straight three seuerall times, but could not passe, yet, God be thanked, the fourth time wee came safely away, and so sailed with a pleasant winde vntill wee came vpon the coast of England, which was in the beginning of the moneth of Iuly 1590.

The valiant fight performed in the Straight of Gibraltar, by the Centurion of London, against fiue Spanish Gallies, in the moneth of April 1591.

IN the moneth of Nouember 1590, there were sundry shippes appertaining to seuerall Marchants of London, which were rigged and fraught foorth with marchandize, for sundry places within the Straight of Gibraltar: who, together hauing winde and weather, which oftime fell out very vncertaine, arriued safely in short space, at such places as they desired. Among whom was the Centurion of London, a very tall shippe of burden, yet but weakely manned, as appeareth by this discourse following.

This aforesaid shippe called The Centurion safely arriued at Marseils, where after they had deliuered their goods, they stayed about the space of fiue weekes, and better, and then tooke in lading, intending to returne to England.

Now when the Centurion was ready to come away from Marseils, there were sundry other shippes of smaller burden which entreated the Master thereof, (whose name is Robert Bradshaw, dwelling at Lime-house) to stay a day or two for them, vntill they were in a readinesse to depart with them, thereby perswading them, that it would be farre better for them to stay and goe together in respect of their assistance, then to depart of themselues without company, and so happily for want of aide fall into the hands of their enemies in the Spanish Gallies. Vpon which reasonable perswasion, notwithstanding that this shippe was of such sufficiencie as they might hazard her in the danger of the Sea, yet they stayed for those *litle shippes, according* to their request, who together did put to Sea from Marseils, and vowed in generall not to flie one from another, if they should happen to meete with any Spanish Gallies.

These small shippes, accompanied with the Centurion, sayling along the coast of Spaine, were vpon Easter day in the Straight of Gibraltar suddenly becalmed, where immediatly they saw sundry Gallies make towards them, in very valiant and courragious sort: the chiefe Leaders and souldiers in those Gallies brauely apparelled in silke coates, with their siluer whistles about their neckes, and great plumes of feathers in their hattes, who with their Caliuers shot at the Centurion so fast as they might: so that by 10. of the clocke and somewhat before, they had boorded the Centurion, who before *their comming had* prepared for them, and *intended to giue* them so soure a welcome as they might. And thereupon hauing prepared their close fights, and all things in a readinesse, they called vpon God, on whom onely they trusted: and hauing made their prayers, and cheered vp one another to fight so long as life endured, they beganne to discharge their great Ordinance vpon the Gallies, but the little shippes durst not come forward, but lay aloofe, while fiue *Gallies* had boorded them, yea and with their grapling irons made their *Gallies* fast to the said shippe called the Centurion.

The Gallies were grapled to the Centurion in this maner, two lay on one side and two on another, and the Admirall lay full in the sterne, which galled and battered the Centurion so sore, that her maine Maste was greatly weakened, her sailes filled with many holes, and the Mizzen and sterne made almost vnseruiceable.

During which time there was a sore and deadly fight on both sides, in which the Trumpet of the Centurion sounded foorth the deadly points of warre, and encouraged them to fight manfully against their aduersaries: on the contrary part, there was no warlike Musicke in the Spanish Gallies, but onely their whistles of siluer, which they sounded foorth to their owne contentment: in which fight many a Spaniard was turned into the Sea, and they in multi-

tudes

tudes came crauling and hung vpon the side of the shippe, intending to haue entred into the same, but such was the courage of the Englishmen, that so fast as the Spaniards did come to enter, they gaue them such entertainment, that some of them were glad t turn le aliue into the Sea, being remedilesse for euer to get vp aliue. In the Centurion there were in all, of men and boyes, fourtie and eight, who together fought most valiantly, and so galled the enemie, that many a braue and lustie Spaniard lost his life in that place.

The Centurion was fired fiue seuerall times, with wilde fire and other prouision, which the Spaniards threw in for that purpose: yet, God be thanked, by the great and diligent foresight of the Master it did no harme at all.

In euery of the Gallies there were about 200. souldiers: who together with the shot, spoiled, rent, and battered the Centurion very sore, shot through her maine Maste, and slew 4 of the men in the said shippe, the one of them being the Masters mate.

Ten other persons were hurt, by meanes of splinters which the Spaniards shotte: yea, in the ende when their prouision was almost spent, they were constrained to shoote at them hammers, and the chaines from their slaues, and yet God bee thanked, they receiued no more domage: but by spoyling and ouer-wearying of the Spaniards, the Englishmen constreined them to vngrapple themselues, and get them going: and sure if there had bene any other fresh shippe or succour to haue relieued and assisted the Centurion, they had slaine, sunke or taken all those Gallies and their Souldiers.

The Dolphin lay a loofe off and durst not come neere, while the other two small shippes fledde away, so that one of the Gallies went from the Centurion and set vpon the Dolphin, which shippe immediatly was set on fire with their owne powder, whereby both men and shippe perished: but whether it was with their good wills or no, that was not knowen vnto the Centurion, but sure, if it had come forward, and bene an aide vnto the Centurion, it is to bee supposed that it had not perished.

Fiue houres and a halfe this fight continued, in which time both were glad to depart onely to breath themselues, but when the Spaniards were gone, they neuer durst returne to fight: yet the next day sixe other Gallies came and looked at them, but durst not at any hand meddle with them.

Thus God deliuered them from the handes of their enemies, and gaue them the victory: for which they heartily praised him, and not long after safely arriued in London

☞ There were present at this fight Master Iohn Hawes Marchant, and sundry other of good accompt.

A report of the trueth of the fight about the Iles of Açores, the last of August 1591, betwixt the Reuenge, one of her Maiesties shippes, and an Armada of the king of Spaine; penned by the honourable Sir Walter Ralegh knight.

BEcause the rumours are diuersly spred, as well in England as in the Lowe countries and elsewhere, of this late encounter betweene her Maiesties ships and the Armada of Spaine; and that the Spaniards according to their vsuall maner, fill the world with their vaine-glorious vaunts, making great apparance of victories, when on the contrary, themselues are most commonly and shamefully beaten and dishonoured; thereby hoping to possesse the ignorant multitude by anticipating & forerunning false reports: It is agreeable with all good reason, for manifestation of the truth, to ouercome falshood and vntrueth: that the beginning, continuance and successe of this late honourable encounter of Sir Richard Greenuil, and other her Maiesties Captaines, with the Armada of Spaine; should be truely set downe and published without partialitie or false imaginations. And it is no marueile that the Spaniard should seeke by false and slanderous pamphlets, aduises and Letters, to couer their owne losse, and to derogate from others their due honors, especially in this fight being performed far off: seeing they were not ashamed in the yeere 1588. when they purposed the inuasion of this land, to publish in sundry languages in print, great victories in words, which they pleaded to haue obteined against this Realme; and spred the same in a most false sort ouer all parts of France, Italy, and elsewhere. When shortly after it was happily manifested

in very deed to al Nations, how their Nauy which they termed inuincible, consisting of 140. saile of shippes, not onely of their owne kingdome, but strengthened with the greatest Argosies, Portugal Caracks, Florentines, and huge hulks of other Countreis, were by 30. of her Maiesties owne ships of war, and a few of our owne Marchants, by the wise, valiant, and aduantagious conduct of the L. Charles Howard high Admirall of England, beaten and shuffled together; euen from the Lizard in Cornwall first to Portland, where they shamefully left Don Pedro de Valdes, with his mighty ship; from Portland to Cales, where they lost Hugo de Moncado, with the Gallies of which he was Captaine, and from Cales, driuen with squibs from their anchors, were chased out of the sight of England, round about Scotland and Ireland. Where for the sympathie of their barbarous religion, hoping to finde succour and assistance, a great part of them were crusht against the rocks, and those other that landed, being very many in number, were notwithstanding broken, slaine, and taken, and so sent from village to village coupled in halters, to be shipped into England. Where her Maiestie of her Princely and inuincible disposition, disdaining to put them to death, and scorning either to retaine or entertaine them: they were all sent backe againe to their countreys, to witnes and recount the worthy achieuements of their *inuincible* and *dreadfull* Nauy: Of which the number of Souldiers, the fearefull burthen of their shippes, thé commanders names of euery squadron, with all other their magasines of prouisions, were put in print, as an Army and Nauy vnresistable, and disdaining preuention. With all which so great and terrible an ostentation, they did not in all their sailing round about England, so much as sinke or take one shippe, Barke, Pinnesse, or Cockbote of ours: or euer burnt so much as one sheepecote of this land. When as on the contrarie, Sir Francis Drake, with onely 800. souldiers not long before, landed in their Indies, and forced Sant-Iago, Santo Domingo, Cartagena, and the forts of Florida.

And after that, Sir Iohn Norris marched from Peniche in Portugall, with a handfull of souldiers, to the gates of Lisbone, being aboue 40 English miles. Where the Earle of Essex himselfe and other valiant Gentlemen braued the Citie of Lisbone, encamped at the very gates; from whence, after many dayes abode, finding neither promised partie, nor prouision to batter; they made retrait by land, in despight of all their Garrisons, both of horse & foote. In this sort I haue a little digressed from my first purpose, onely by the necessarie comparison of theirs and our actions: the one couetous of honour without vaunt of ostentation; the other so greedy to purchase the opinion of their owne affaires, and by false rumors to resist the blasts of their owne dishonours, as they will not onely not blush to spread all manner of vntruthes: but euen for the least aduantage, be it but for the taking of one poore aduenturer of the English, will celebrate the victory with bonefires in euery towne, alwayes spending more in faggots, then the purchase was worth they obtained. When as we neuer thought it worth the consumption of two billets, when we haue taken eight or ten of their Indian shippes at one time, and twentie of the Brasill fleete. Such is the difference betweene true valure, and ostentation: and betweene honorable actions, and friuolous vaineglorious vaunts. But now to returne to my purpose.

The L. Thomas Howard with sixe of her Maiesties shippes, sixe victualers of London, the Barke Ralegh, & two or three other Pinnaces riding at anker neere vnto Flores, one of the Westerly Ilands of the Azores, the last of August in the afternoone, had intelligence by one Captaine Middleton of the approch of the Spanish Armada. Which Middleton being in a very good sailer had kept them company three dayes before, of good purpose, both to discouer their forces the more, as also to giue aduise to my L. Thomas of their approch. Hee had no sooner deliuered the newes but the fleete was in sight: many of our shippes companies were on shore in the Ilande; some prouiding balast for their ships; others filling of water and refreshing themselues from the land with such things as they could either for money, or by force recouer. By reason whereof our ships being all pestered and romaging euery thing out of order, very light for want of balast, and that which was most to our disaduantage, the one halfe part of the men of euery shippe sicke, and vtterly vnseruiceable: for in the Reuenge there were ninety diseased: in the Bonauenture, not so many in health as

could

could handle her maine saile. For had not twenty men beene taken out of a Barke of sir George Careys, his being commaunded to be sunke, and those appointed to her, she had hardly euer recouered England. The rest, for the most parte, were in little better state. The names of her Maiesties shippes were these as followeth, the Defiance, which was Admiral, the Reuenge Viceadmirall, the Bonauenture commaunded by Captaine Crosse, the Lion by George Fenner, the Foresight by M. Thomas Vauasour, and the Crane by Duffild. The Foresight & the Crane being but smal ships: only the other were of the middle size; the rest, besides the Barke Ralegh, commanded by Captaine Thin, were victuallers, and of small force or none. The Spanish Fleet hauing sirrounded their approch by reason of the Island; were now so soone at hand, as our shippes had scarce time to way their anchors, but some of them were driuen to let slippe their Cables and set saile. Sir Richard Grinuile was the last that wayed, to recouer the men that were vpon the Island, which otherwise had bene lost. The L. Thomas with the rest very hardly recouered the winde, which Sir Richard Grinuile not being able to doe, was perswaded by the Master and others to cut his maine sayle, and cast about, and to trust to the sayling of the ship; for the squadron of Siuil were on his weather bow. But Sir Richard vtterly refused to turne from the enemie, alleaging that hee would rather choose to die, then to dishonour himselfe, his countrey, and her Maiesties shippe, perswading his companie that hee would passe through the two squadrons, in despight of them, and enforce those of Siuil to giue him way. Which hee performed vpon diuers of the formost, who, as the Mariners terme it, sprang their luffe, and fell vnder the lee of the Reuenge. But the other course had beene the better, and might right well haue bene answered in so great an impossibility of preuailing. Notwithstanding out of the greatnesse of his minde, he could not be perswaded. In the meane while as hee attended those which were nearest him, the great San Philip being in the winde of him, and comming towards him, becalmed his sailes in such sort, as the shippe could neither make way, nor feele the helme: so huge and high carged was the Spanish ship; being of a thousand and fiue hundreth tuns. Who after layd the Reuenge aboord. When he was thus bereft of his sailes, the ships that were vnder his lee luffing vp, also layd him aboord: of which the next was the Admiral of the Biscaines, a very mighty and puissant shippe commanded by Brittandons. The sayd Philip carried three tire of ordinance on a side, and eleuen pieces in euery tire. She shot eight forth right out of her chase, besides those of her sterne ports.

After the Reuenge was entangled with this Philip, foure other boorded her; two on her larboord, and two on her starboord. The fight thus beginning at three of the clock in the afternoone, continued very terrible all that euening. But the great San Philip hauing receiued the lower tire of the Reuenge, discharged with crosse barshot, shifted her selfe with all diligence from her sides, vtterly misliking her first entertainement. Some say that the shippe foundred, but we cannot report it for truth, vnlesse we were assured. The Spanish ships were filled with companies of souldiers, in some two hundred besides the mariners; in some fiue, in others eight hundreth. In ours there were none at all beside the mariners, but the seruants of the commanders and some few voluntary gentlemen onely. After many enterchanged volies of great ordinance and small shot, the Spaniards deliberated to enter the Reuenge, and made diuers attempts, hoping to force her by the multitudes of their armed souldiers and Musketters, but were still repulsed againe and againe, and at all times beaten backe into their owne ships, or into the seas. In the beginning of the fight, the George Noble of Londō having receiued some shot thorow her by the Armadas, fell vnder the lee of the Reuenge, and asked Sir Richard what he would command him, being but one of the victuallers, and of small force: Sir Richard bid him sauc himselfe, and leaue him to his fortune. After the fight had thus, without intermission, continued while the day lasted and some houres of the night, many of our men were slaine and hurte, and one of the great Gallions of the Armada, and the Admirall of the Hulkes both sunke, and in many other of the Spanish shippes great slaughter was made. Some write that Sir Richard was very dangerously hurt almost in the beginning of the fight, and lay speechlesse for a time ere hee recouered. But two of the Reuenges owne company, brought home in a ship of Lime from

the Ilandes, examined by some of the Lordes, and others, affirmed that hee was neuer so wounded as that hee forsooke the vpper decke, till an houre before midnight; and then being shot into the bodie with a Musket as hee was a dressing, was againe shot into the head, and withall his Chirurgion wounded to death. This agreeth also with an examination taken by sir Francis Godolphin, of foure other mariners of the same shippe being returned, which examination, the said sir Francis sent vnto master William Killegrue, of her Maiesties priuy Chamber.

But to returne to the fight, the Spanish ships which attempted to bord the Reuenge, as they were wounded and beaten off, so alwayes others came in their places, she hauing neuer lesse then two mighty Gallions by her sides, and aboard her: So that ere the morning, from three of the clocke the day before, there had fifteene seuerall Armadas assayled her; and all so ill approued their entertainment, as they were by the breake of day, far more willing to harken to a composition, then hastily to make any more assaults or entries. But as the day encreased, so our men decreased: and as the light grew more and more, by so much more grewe our discomforts. For none appeared in sight but enemies, sauing one small ship called the Pilgrim, commaunded by Iacob Whiddon, who houered all night to see the successe: but in the morning bearing with the Reuenge, was hunted like a hare amongst many rauenous houndes, but escaped.

All the powder of the Reuenge to the last barrell was now spent, all her pikes broken, fortie of her best men slaine, and the most part of the rest hurt. In the beginning of the fight shee had but one hundredth free from sicknes, and fourescore & ten sicke, laid in hold vpon the Ballast. A small troup to man such a ship, & a weake garrison to resist so mighty an army. By those hundred al was susteined, the voleis, boordings, and entrings of fifteen ships of warre, besides those which beat her at large. On the contrary, the Spanish were always supplied with souldiers brought from euery squadron: all maner of Armes and powder at will. Vnto ours there remained no comfort at all, no hope, no supply either of ships, men, or weapons; the Mastes all beaten ouer board, all her tackle cut asunder, her vpper worke altogether rased, and in effect euened shee was with the water, but the very foundation or bottome of a ship, nothing being left ouer head either for flight or defence. Sir Richard finding himselfe in this distresse, and vnable any longer to make resistance, hauing endured in this fifteene houres fight, the assault of fifteene seuerall Armadas, all by turnes aboord him, and by estimation eight hundred shotte of great Artillerie, besides many assaults and entries; and that himselfe and the shippe must needes be possessed by the enemy, who were now all cast in a ring round about him (The Reuenge not able to moue one way or the other, but as she was moued with the waues and billow of the sea) commanded the Master gunner, whom hee knew to be a most resolute man, to split and sinke the shippe; that thereby nothing might remaine of glory or victory to the Spaniards: seeing in so many houres fight, and with so great a Nauie they were not able to take her, hauing had fifteene houres time, aboue ten thousand men, & fiftie and three saile of men of warre to performe it withall: and perswaded the company, or as many as hee could induce, to yeelde themselues vnto God, and to the mercie of none else; but as they had, like valiant resolute men, repulsed so many enemies, they should not nowe shorten the honour of their Nation, by prolonging their owne liues for a few houres, or a fewe dayes. The Master gunner readily condescended and diuers others; but the Captaine and the Master were of another opinion, and besought Sir Richard to haue care of them: alleaging that the Spaniard would be as ready to entertaine a composition, as they were willing to offer the same: and that there being diuers sufficient and valiant men yet liuing, and whose wounds were not mortal, they might do their Countrey and prince acceptable seruice hereafter. And whereas Sir Richard had alleaged that the Spaniards should neuer glory to haue taken one shippe of her Maiestie, seeing they had so long and so notably defended themselues; they answered, that the shippe had sixe foote water in holde, three shot vnder water, which were so weakely stopped, as with the first working of the sea, she must needs sinke, and was besides so crusht and brused, as shee could neuer be remoued out of the place.

The Spanish 53 saile.

And

And as the matter was thus in dispute, and Sir Richard refusing to hearken to any of those reasons: the Master of the Reuenge (while the Captaine wonne vnto him the greater part) was conuoyd aboord the Generall Don Alfonso Baçan Who (finding none ouer hastie to enter the Reuenge againe, doubting least Sir Richard would haue blowne them vp and himselfe, and perceiuing by the report of the Master of the Reuenge his dangerous disposition) yeelded that all their liues should be saued, the company sent for England, & the better sort to pay such reasonable ransome as their estate would beare, and in the meane season to be free from Gally or imprisonment. To this he so much the rather condescended as wel, as I haue said, for feare of further losse and mischiefe to themselues, as also for the desire he had to recouer Sir Richard Greenuil; whom for his notable valure he seemed greatly to honour and admire.

When this answere was returned, and that safetie of life was promised, the common sort being now at the ende of their perill, the most drew backe from Sir Richard and the Master gunner, being no hard matter to disswade men from death to life. The Master gunner finding himselfe and Sir Richard thus preuented and mastered by the greater number, would haue slaine himselfe with a sword, had he not bene by force with-held and locked into his Cabben. Then the Generall sent many boates aboord the Reuenge, and diuers of our men fearing Sir Richards disposition, stole away aboord the Generall and other shippes. Sir Richard thus ouermatched, was sent vnto by Alfonso Baçan to remoue out of the Reuenge, the shippe being marueilous vnsauorie, filled with blood and bodies of dead, and wounded men like a slaughter house. Sir Richard answered that hee might doe with his body what he list, for hee esteemed it not, and as he was carried out of the shippe hee swounded, and reuiuing againe desired the company to pray for him. The Generall vsed Sir Richard with all humanitie, and left nothing vnattempted that tended to his recouerie, highly commending his valour and worthinesse, and greatly bewailing the danger wherein he was, being vnto them a rare spectacle, and a resolution sildome approoued, to see one shippe turne toward so many enemies, to endure the charge and boording of so many huge Armadas, and to resist and repell the assaults and entries of so many souldiers. All which and more is confirmed by a Spanish Captaine of the same Armada, and a present actor in the fight, who being seuered from the rest in a storme, was by the Lion of London a small ship taken, and is now prisoner in London.

The generall commander of the Armada, was Don Alphonso Baçan, brother to the Marques of Santa Cruz. The admiral of the Biscaine squadron, was Britandona. Of the squadron of Siuil, the Marques of Arumburch. The Hulkes and Flybotes were cõmanded by Luis Coutinho. There were slaine and drowned in this fight, wel neere one thousand of the enemies, and two speciall commanders Don Luis de sant Iohn, and Don George de Prunaria de Mallaga, as the Spanish captaine confesseth, besides diuers others of speciall account, whereof as yet report is not made.

The Admirall of the Hulkes and the Ascension of Siuil were both sunke by the side of the Reuenge; one other recouered the rode of Saint Michael, and sunke also there; a fourth ranne her selfe with the shore to saue her men. Sir Richard died as it is sayd, the second or third day aboord the Generall, and was by them greatly bewailed. What became of his body, whether it were buried in the sea or on the land we know not: the comfort that remayneth to his friends is, that hee hath ended his life honourably in respect of the reputation wonne to his nation and countrey, and of the same to his posteritie, and that being dead, he hath not outliued his owne honour.

For the rest of her Maiesties ships that entred not so farre into the fight as the Reuenge, the reasons and causes were these. There were of them but sixe in all, whereof two but small ships; the Reuenge ingaged past recouery: The Iland of Flores was on the one side, 53 saile of the Spanish, diuided into squadrons on the other, all as full filled with souldiers as they could containe: Almost the one halfe of our men sicke and not able to serue: the ships grownè foule, vnroomaged, and scarcely able to beare any saile for want of halast, hauing bene sixe moneths at the sea before. If all the rest had entred, all had bene lost: for the

very hugenes of the Spanish fleete, If no other violence had beene offered, would haue crusht them betweene them into shiuers. Of which the dishonour and losse to the Queene had bene farre greater then the spoyle or harme that the enemie could any way haue receiued. Notwithstanding it is very true, that the Lord Thomas would haue entred betweene the squadrons, but the rest would not condescend; and the master of his owne ship offred to leape into the sea, rather then to conduct that her Maiesties ship and the rest to bee a pray to the enemie, where there was no hope nor possibilitie either of defence or victory. Which also in my opinion had ill sorted or answered the discretion and trust of a Generall, to commit himselfe and his charge to an assured destruction, without hope or any likelyhood of preuailing: thereby to diminish the strength of her Maiesties Nauy, and to enrich the pride and glory of the enemie. The Foresight of the Queenes commaunded by M. Thomas Vauisor performed a very great fight, and stayed two houres as neere the Reuenge as the weather would permit him, not forsaking the fight, till he was like to be encompassed by the squadrons, & with great difficultie cleared himselfe. The rest gaue diuers voleis of shot, and entred as farre as the place permitted, and their owne necessities, to keepe the weather gage of the enemie, vntill they were parted by night. A fewe dayes after the fight was ended, and the English prisoners dispersed into the Spanish and Indie ships, there arose so great a storme from the West and Northwest, that all the fleete was dispersed, as well the Indian fleete which were then come vnto them, as the rest of the Armada that attended their arriual, of which 14. saile together with the Reuenge, and in her 200 Spaniards, were cast away vpon the Isle of S. Michael. So it pleased them to honor the buriall of that renowmed ship the Reuenge, not suffering her to perish alone, for the great honour she atchieued in her life time. On the rest of the Ilandes there were cast away in this storme, 15 or 16 more of the ships of warre: and of an hundred and odde saile of the Indie fleete, expected this yeere in Spaine, what in this tempest, and what before in the bay of Mexico, and about the Bermudas, there were 70 and odde consumed and lost, with those taken by our shippes of London, besides one very rich Indian ship, which set herselfe on fire, beeing boorded by the Pilgrim, and fiue other taken by master Wats his ships of London, between the Hauana and Cape S. Antonio. The fourth of this moneth of Nouember we receiued letters from the Tercera, affirming that there are 3000 bodies of men remaining in that Iland, saued out of the perished ships: & that by the Spaniards owne confession, there are 10000 cast away in this storme, besides those that are perished betweene the Ilands and the maine. Thus it hath pleased God to fight for vs, and to defend the iustice of our cause, against the ambicious and bloody pretenses of the Spaniard, who seeking to deuoure all nations, are themselues deuoured. A manifest testimony how iniust and displeasing, their attempts are in the sight of God, who hath pleased to witnes by the successe of their affaires, his mislike of their bloody and iniurious designes, purposed and practised against all Christian princes, ouer whom they seeke vnlawfull and vngodly rule and Empery.

One day or two before this wracke happened to the Spanish fleete, when as some of our prisoners desired to be set on shore vpon the Ilandes, hoping to be from thence transported into England, which libertie was formerly by the Generall promised: One Morice Fitz Iohn, sonne of olde Iohn of Desmond, a notable traytour, cousin german to the late Earle of Desmond, was sent to the English from shippe to shippe, to perswade them to serue the King of Spaine. The arguments hee vsed to induce them were these. The increase of pay which he promised to be trebled: aduancement to the better sort: and the exercise of the true Catholique Religion, and safetie of their soules to all. For the first, euen the beggerly and vnnaturall behauiour of those English and Irish rebels, that serued the King in that present action, was sufficient to answere that first argument of rich pay. For so poore and beggerly they were, as for want of apparell they stripped their poore Countrey men prisoners out of their ragged garments, worne to nothing by sixe months seruice, and spared not to despoyle them euen of their bloody shirtes, from their wounded bodies, and the very shooes from their feete; A notable testimonie of their rich entertainment and great wages. The second reason was hope of aduancement if they serued well, and would continue faithfull to the King. But what

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man can bee so blockishly ignorant euer to expect place or honour from a forraine King, hauing no other argument or perswasion then his owne disloyaltie: to be vnnaturall to his owne Countrey that bred him; to his parents that begat him, and rebellious to his true Prince, to whose obedience he is bound by oath, by nature, and by Religion? No, they are onely assured to be employed in all desperate enterprises, to bee hekle in scorne and disdaine euer among those whom they serue. And that euer traitour was either trusted or aduanced I could neuer yet reade, neither can I at this time remember any example. And no man coulde haue lesse becommed the place of an Orator for such a purpose, then this Morice of Desmond. For the Erle his cosen being one of the greatest subiects in that kingdom of Ireland, hauing almost whole Countreis in his possession; so many goodly Mannors, castles, and lordships; the Count Palatine of Kerry, fiue hundred gentlemen of his owne name and family to follow him, besides others (all which he possessed in peace for three or foure hundred yeeres) was in lesse then three yeeres after his adhering to the Spaniards and rebellion, beaten from all his holdes, not so many as ten gentlemen of his name left liuing, himselfe taken and beheaded by a souldier of his owne nation, and his land giuen by a Parliament to her Maiestie, and possessed by the English: His other cosen Sir Iohn of Desmond taken by Master Iohn Zouch, and his body hanged ouer the gates of his natiue Citie to be deuoured by rauens: the thirde brother Sir Iames hanged, drawne, and quartered in the same place. If hee had withall vaunted of his successe of his owne house, no doubt the argument would haue mooued much, and wrought great effect: which because, hee for that present forgot, I thought it good to remember in his behalfe. For matter of Religion it would require a particuler volume, if I should set downe how irreligiously they couer their greedy and ambicious pretenses, with that veile of pietie. But sure I am, that there is no kingdome or common-wealth in all Europe, but if they be reformed, they then inuade it for religion sake: if it bee, as they terme Catholique, they pretend title; as if the Kings of Castile were the naturall heires of all the world: and so betweene both, no kingdome is vnsought. Where they dare not with their owne forces to inuade, they basely entertaine the traitours and vacabonds of all Nations: seeking by those and by their runnagate Iesuits to winne parts, and haue by that meane ruined many Noble houses and others in this lande, and haue extinguished both their liues and families. What good, honour, or fortune euer man yet by them atchieued, is yet vnheard of, or vnwritten. And if our English Papists doe but looke into Portugall, against which they haue no pretense of Religion, how the Nobilitie are put to death, imprisoned, their rich men made a praye, and all sorts of people captiued; they shall finde that the obedience euen of the Turke is easie and a libertie, in respect of the slauerie and tyrannie of Spaine. What haue they done in Sicill, in Naples, Millaine, and in the Low countreis; who hath there bene spared for Religion at all: And it commeth to my remembrance of a certaine Burger of Antwerpe, whose house being entred by a company of Spanish souldiers, when they first sacked the Citie, hee besought them to spare him and his goods, being a good Catholique, and one of their owne partie and faction. The Spaniards answered, that they knew him to be of a good conscience for himselfe, but his money, plate, iewels, and goods, were all heretical, and therefore good prize. So they abused and tormented the foolish Fleming, who hoped that an Agnus Dei had bene a sufficient target against all force of that holy and charitable nation. Neither haue they at any time as they protest inuaded the kingdomes of the Indies and Peru, and elsewhere, but onely led thereunto, rather to reduce the people to Christianitie, then for either gold or Emperie. When as in one onely Island called Hispaniola, they haue wasted thirtie hundred thousand of the naturall people, besides many millions else in other places of the Indies: a poore and harmelesse people created of God, and might haue bene wonne to his knowledge, as many of them were, and almost as many as euer were perswaded thereunto. The storie whereof is at large written by a Bishop of their owne nation called Bartholomew de las Casas, and translated into English and many other languages, intituled The Spanish cruelties. Who would therefore repose trust in such a nation of rauenous strangers, and especially in those Spaniards which more greedily thirst after English blood, then after the liues of any other people of Europe, for the many ouerthrowes

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and dishonours they haue receiued at our hands, whose weakenesse wee haue discouered to the world, and whose forces at home, abroad, in Europe, in India, by sea and land, wee haue euen with handfulles of men and shippes, ouerthrowen and dishonoured. Let not therefore any English man, of what religion soeur, haue other opinion of the Spaniards, but that those whom hee seeketh to winne of our Nation, he eateemeth base and trayterous, vnworthy persons, or vnconstant fooles: and that he vseth his pretense of religion, for no other purpose but to bewitch vs from the obedience of our naturall Prince, thereby hoping in time to bring vs to slauery and subiection, and then none shall be vnto them so odious, and disdayned as the traitours themselues, who haue solde their Countrey to a stranger, and forsaken their faith and obedience contrarie to nature & religion; and contrarie to that humane and generall honour, not onely of Christians, but of heathen and irreligious nations, who haue alwayes sustayned what labour soeuer, and embraced euen death it selfe, for their countrey, Prince, or common wealth. To conclude, it hath euer to this day pleased God to prosper and defend her Maiestie, to breake the purposes of malicious enemies, of forsworne traytors, and of iniust practises and inuasions. She hath euer beene honoured of the worthiest kings, serued by faithfull subiects, and shall by the fauour of God, resist, repell, and confound all whatsoeuer attempts against her sacred persõn or kingdome. In the meane time let the Spaniard and traytour vaunt of their successe, and wee her true and obedient vassals, guided by the shining light of her virtues, shall alwayes loue her, serue her, and obey her to the end of our liues.

A particular note of the Indian fleet, expected to haue come into Spaine this present yeere of 1591. with the number of shippes that are perished of the same: according to the examination of certaine Spaniards lately taken and brought into England by the ships of London.

THe fleete of Noua Hispania, at their first gathering together and setting foorth, were two and fiftie sailes. The Admirall was of sixe hundred tunnes, and the Vice Admirall of the same burthen. Foure or fiue of the shippes were of nine hundred and 1000 tunnes a piece, some fiue hundred, and some foure hundred and the least of two hundred tuns. Of this fleet 19 were cast away, and in them 2600 men by estimation, which was done along the coast of Noua Hispania, so that of the same fleet there came to the Hauana but 33 sailes.

The fleete of Terra Firma were, at their first departure from Spaine, fiftie sailes, which were bound for Nombre de Dios, where they did discharge their lading, and thence returned to Cartagena, for their healths sake, vntill the time the treasure was readie they should take in, at the said Nombre de Dios. But before this fleete departed, some were gone by one or two at a time, so that onely 23 sayles of this fleete arriued in the Hauana.

At the Hauana there met
- 33 sailes of Noua Hispania.
- 23 sailes of Terra Firma.
- 12 sailes of San Domingo.
- 9 sailes of the Hunduras.

The whole 77 shippes, ioyned and set sailes all together at the Hauana, the 17 of Iuly, according to our account, and kept together vntill they came into the height of thirtie fiue degrees, which was about the tenth of August, where they found the winde at Southwest chaunged suddenly to the North, so that the sea comming out of the Southwest, and the wind very violent at North, they were put all into great extremitie, and then first lost the Generall of their fleete, with 500 men in her; and within three or foure dayes after, an other storme rising, there were fiue or sixe other of the biggest shippes cast away with all their men, together with their Vice-Admirall.

And in the height of 38. degrees, about the end of August, grew another great storme, in which all the fleet sauing 48. sailes were cast away: which 48. sailes kept together, vntill they came in sight of the Islands of Coruo and Flores, about the fift or sixt of September, at which time a great storme separated them: of which number fifteene or sixeteene were after seene by these Spanyards to ride at anchor vnder the Tercera; and twelue or foureteene more

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to beare with the Island of S. Michael; what became of them after that these Spaniards were taken cannot yet be certified; their opinion is, that very few of thee fleet are escaped, but are either drowned or taken. And it is other waies of late certified, that of this whole fleete that should haue come into Spaine this yeere, being one hundred twentie and three sayle, there are arriued as yet but fiue and twentie. This note was taken out of the examination of certaine Spaniardes, that were brought into England by sixe of the ships of London, which tooke seuen of the aboue named Indian Fleete, neere the Islands of Açores.

A report of Master Robert Flicke directed to Master Thomas Bromley, Master Richard Staper, and Master Cordall concerning the successe of a part of the London supplies sent to my Lord Thomas Howard to the Isles of the Azores, 1591.

WOrshipfull, my heartie commendations vnto you premised: By my last of the twelfth of August from this place I aduertised you particularly of the accidents of our Fleete vntill then. It remayneth now to relate our endeuours in accomplishing the order receiued for the ioyning with my Lorde Thomas Howard, together with the successe wee haue had. Our departure from hence was the seuenteenth of August, the winde not seruing before. The next day following I caused a Flagge of Counsell to be put foorth, whereupon the Captaines and Masters of euery shippe came aboord, and I acquainted them with my Commission, firmed by the Right honourable the Lordes of her Maiesties Counsell, and with all the aduertisements of Sir Edward Denny, of my Lordes determination to remaine threescore leagues to the West of Fayal, spreading North and South betwixt thirtie seuen and a halfe or thirty eight and a halfe degrees. And not finding him in this heighth to repaire to the Iles of Flores and Corso, where a Pinnesse of purpose should stay our comming vntill the last of August, with intent after that day to repaire to ỹ coast of Spaine, about the heigth of The Rocke, some twentie or thirtie leagues off the shoare. The which being aduisedly considered of, hauing regard vnto the shortnesse of time, by reason of our long abode in this place, and the vncertainety of the weather to fauour vs, it was generally holden for the best and securest way to meete with my Lorde, to beare with the heigth of The Rocke, without making any stay vpon the coast, and so directly for the Islands which was accordingly fully agreed and performed. The 28 day wee had sight of the Burlings, and the 29 being thwart of Peniche, the winde seruing vs, without any stay we directed our course West for the Islands. The 30 day we met with Captaine Royden in the Red-Rose, sometime called the Golden Dragon, separated from my Lorde of Cumberland in a storme: who certified vs of 50 sayles of the Spanish kings Armadas to be gone for the Ilands, but could not informe vs any newes of my Lord Thomas Howard, otherwise then vpon presumption to remaine about the Islandes, and so wee continued our course the winde standing with vs.

The 4 of September we recouered Tercera, and ranged along all the Islands, both on the South and North sides the space of foure dayes: during which time it was not our hap to meete with any shipping, whereby either to vnderstand of my Lord, or of the Indian Fleete: hereupon we directed our course to the West from Fayal, according to the instructions of Sir Edward Denny. The 11 day in the plying to the Westwards, we descried a sayle out of our maine toppe, and in the afternoone betweene two and three of the clocke hauing raysed her hull, the weather became calme, so that the ship could not fetch her. I sent off my Skiffe throughly manned, furnished with shot and swords, The Cherubin, and the Margaret and Iohn doing the like. Vpon this the sayle stood off againe, and the night approching, our boates lost her and so returned. In this our pursute after the sayle the Centurion being left a sterne, the next morning wee missed her, and spent that day in plying vp and down seeking her. And for as much as euery of the ships had receiued order, that, if by extremity of weather or any other mischance they should be seuered from our Fleete, they should meete and ioyne at Flores, we, according to the instructions of Sir Edward Denny, proceeded to the finding of my Lord Thomas Howard, being in the heigth appointed and not able to holde the same by reason of extreme tempestes which forced vs to the Isles of

Flores

Flores and Coruo, which we made the 14 day in the morning, and there also ioyned againe with the Centurion, whose company before we had lost: who declared vnto vs that the 12 day, being the same day they lost vs, they met with fiue and forty sailes of the Indian Fleete. The same night, vpon these newes we came to an anker betweene Flores and Coruo, and the morow following at the breake of day, a flagge of Counsell being put out, the Captaines & Masters came abord me: where, for the desire to vnderstand some tidings of my Lord, as also the supplying of our want of water, it was thought good to send our boats furnished on shore, vnder the conduct of Captaine Brothus, and then it was also ordered after our departure thence to range along the Southsides of the Islands to the end we might either vnderstand of my Lord, or else light on the Indian fleete; and in the missing of our purpose to direct our course for Cape Sant Vincente.

The boates, according to the foresayd determination, being sent on shoare, it chanced that the Costely ryding vttermost in the roade, did weigh to bring her selfe more neere among vs for the succour of the boates sent off, and in opening the land discouered two sayles, which we in the roade could not perceiue: whereupon shee gaue vs a warning piece, which caused vs to waue off our boates backe, and before they could recouer our shippes, the discryed ships appeared vnto vs, towardes the which we made with all haste, and in a very happie houre, as it pleased God. In that wee had not so soone cleared the lande, and spoken with one of them, which was a Barke of Bristoll, who had also sought my Lorde in the heigths appointed and could not finde him, but a violent storme arose, in such manner, as if we had remained in the roade, we had beene in daunger of perishing: and the same extremely continued during the space of threescore houres. In which storme I was separated from our Fleete, except the Cherubin and the Costely, which kept company with mee. And so sayling among the Ilands, I viewed the roade of Fayal, and finding no Roaders there, went directly for the Isle Tercera.

A violent storme.

The nineteenth day in the morning comming vnto ỹ same with intent to edge into the Road, a tempest arose and scanted the winde, that we could not seaze it: from the which being driuen we fell among certaine of the Indian Fleete, which the sayde storme dispersed, and put them from the road: whereupon my selfe with the other two ships in companie gaue seuerall chases, and thereby lost the company each of other.

A Portugall Prize taken.

In following our chase aboue noone we made her to strike and yeelde, being a Portugall, laden with hides, salsa-perilla and Anile. At this very instant we espied another, and taking our Prise with vs followed her, and somewhat before night obtayned her, named the Conception, Francisco Spinola being Captaine, which was laden with hides, Cochonillio, and certaine raw silke. And for that the seas were so growen, as neither with boate nor shippe they were to bee boorded, we kept them till fit opportunitie. The same night a litle before day there happened another into our company, supposing vs by our two prizes to be of their Fleete, which we vntill the morning dissembled.

A rich West-India Prize taken.

The 20 day in the morning, the sayle being shot somewhat a head of vs, hauing a speciall care for the safe keeping of the two former, we proposed to cause our Prizes to put out more sayle thereby to keepe them neere in giuing chase to the other: vnto the which the Master would not hearken nor be perswaded, but that they would follow vs: by the which his wilfulnesse by such time as we had caused the other to yeelde, and sent men aboord, the Conception, Francisco Spinola Captaine being brought a sterne, and hauing gotten the winde of vs, stood off with all her sayles bearing, so as we were forced to make a new chase of her: and had not the winde enlarged vpon vs we had lost her. In the pursute before we recouered her and brought our selues againe in company of our other Prizes, the whole day was spent, and by this meanes we lost the oportunitie of that day, the weather fitly seruing to boord the Portugall Prize, which was in great distresse, and made request to take them being readie to sinke, and, as we well perceiued, they ceased not to pumpe day and night: the which ship to all our iudgements the same night perished in the sea.

The one and twentie day the Conception, whereof Francisco Spinola was Captaine, being also in a leake, and the same still increasing notwithstanding the continuall pumping, in such

such sort as not to be kept along aboue water, I tooke and discharged out of her two and forty chestes of Cochonillio and silkes, and so left her with 11 foote water in holde, and her furniture and 4700 hides, vnto the seas.

The other Prize which we haue brought into the harborough is named Nostra Semora de los remedios, whereof Francisco Aluares is Captaine, laden with 16 cheats of Cochonillio, certaine fardels of raw silke, and about 4000 hides. Vpon the discharge of the goods your worships shall be particularly aduertised thereof.

In the boording of the Prizes the disorder of the company was such, as that they letted not presently besides the rifling of the Spaniards to breake open the chests and to purloyne such money as was in them: notwithstanding that it was ordered at conuenient leasure to haue gone aboord my selfe, and there in the presence of three or foure witnesses to haue taken a iust account thereof, and the same to haue put in safe keeping, according to the effects of articles receiued in this behalfe.

And whereas there were also certaine summes of money taken from the company which they had thus purloyned and embeseled, and the same with some other parcels brought aboord my ship, amounting vnto 2129 pezoes & a halfe, the company as pillage due vnto them demanded to haue the same shared, which I refused, & openly at the maine maste read the articles firmed by my Lord Treasurer and my lord Admirall, whereby we ought to be directed, and that it was not in mee any way to dispose thereof vntill the same were finally determined at home. Hereupon they mutinied and at last grew into such furie, as that they would haue it or els breake downe the cabbine, which they were also readie to put in practise, whereby I was forced to yeeld, least the Spaniards which we had aboord being many perceiuing the same, might haue had fit opportunitie to rise against vs, which, after their brawles were appeased, they sought to haue put in execution.

By the last aduise from Castile the Generall of the kings Armada which is lately come to sea hath receiued commaundement to ioyne his Fleete with those of the Indies, and for to stay altogether at Tercera vntill the 15 of October: for that 6 pataches with 7 or 8 millions of the kings treasure will come by that time, or els they stay their comming from Hauana vntill Ianuary next, or the kings further pleasure therein to be knowen. These Pataches are said to be of 300 tuns the piece, and to cary 30 pieces of brasse, and also of saile reported to haue the aduantage of any shipping.

There perished of the Indies Fleete sunke in the sea before their comming to Flores 11 sailes, whereof the General was one, and not one man saued. And it is by the Spaniards themselues presupposed that the stormes which we had at Flores & at Tercera haue deuoured many more of them, whereof in part we were eye witnesses. And so what by the seas and our men of warre I presume that of 75 sailes that came from Hauana, halfe of them will neuer arriue in Spaine.

The 11 day of October at night we came to anker in the sound of Plimouth, and the next morning with our Prize came into Cattewater: for which God be thanked: for that a vehement storme arose, and with such fury increased, as that the Prize was forced to cut ouer her maine maste: otherwise with the violence of the storme, her ground tackle being bad, she had driuen on shore: which was the most cause that moued me to put in here; intending now here to discharge the goods without further aduenture, and haue certified thus much vnto my Lord Admirall, and therewith also desired to vnderstande the direction of the Lords of the Counsell together with yours, insomuch as my Lord Thomas Howard is not returned. How the rest of our consorts which were seperated from vs by weather haue sped, or what Prizes they haue taken, whereof there is much hope by reason of the scattering of the West Indian Fleete, as yet we are able to say nothing. And thus expecting your answere, and for all other matters referring me vnto the bearer Captaine Furtho, I end. Plymouth the 24 of October 1591.

Your worships louing friend
Robert Flicke.

A large testimony of Iohn Huighen van Linschoten Hollander, concerning the worthy exploits atchieued by the right honourable the Earle of Cumberland, By Sir Martine Frobisher, Sir Richard Greenuile, and diuers other English Captaines, about the Iles of the Açores, and vpon the coasts of Spaine and Portugall, in the yeeres 1589, 1590, 1591, &c. recorded in his excellent discourse of voiages to the East and West Indies. cap. 96. 97. and 99.

THe 22 of Iuly 1589 about Euening, being by the Islands of Flores & Coruo, we perceiued 3 ships that made towards vs, which came from vnder the land, which put vs in great feare: for they came close by our Admirall, and shot diuers times at him, and at another ship of our companie, whereby we perceiued them to be Englishmen, for they bare an English flagge vpon their maine tops, but none of them shewed to be aboue 60 tunnes in greatnes. About Euening they followed after vs, and all night bore lanternes with candles burning in them at their sternes, although the Moone shined. The same night passing hard by the Island of Fayal, the next day being betweene the Island of S. George that lay on our right hand, and the small Island called Graciosa on our left hand, we espied the 3 English ships still following vs ẏ tooke counsell together, whereof one sailed backwards, thinking that some other ship had come after vs without cõpany, & for a time was out of sight, but it was not long before it came again to ẏ other two, wherwith they tooke counsel & came all 3 together against our ship, because we lay in the lee of al our ships, & had ẏ Island of S. George on the one side in stead of a sconce, thinking to deale so with vs, that in ẏ end we should be constrained to run vpon the shore, whereof we wanted not much, and in that manner with their flagges openly displayed, came lustily towardes vs, sounding their Trumpets, and sayled at the least three times about vs, beating vs with Musket and Caliuer, and some great pieces, and did vs no hurt in the body of our shippe, but spoyled all our sayles and ropes, and to conclude, wee were so plagued by them, that no man durst put foorth his head, and when wee shot off a peece, wee had at the least an houres worke to lade it againe, whereby wee had so great a noise and crie in the shippe, as if we had all bene cast away, whereat the English men themselues beganne to mocke vs, and with a thousand iesting words called vnto vs. In the meane time the other shippes hoised all their sayles, and did the best they could to saile to the Island of Tercera, not looking once behinde them to helpe vs, doubting they should come too late thither, not caring for vs, but thinking themselues to haue done sufficiently so they saued their owne stakes, whereby it may easily be seene what company they keepe one with the other, and what order is among them. In the ende the English men perceiuing small aduantage against vs, (little knowing in what case and feare we were, as also because wee were not farre from Tercera) left vs, which made vs not a litle to reioyce, as thinking our selues to bee risen from death to life, although wee were not well assured, neyther yet voyde of feare till we lay in the road before Tercera, and vnder the safetie of the Portingales fort, and that we might get thither in good time wee made all the sailes we could: on the other side we were in great doubt, because we knew not what they did in the Island, nor whether they were our friends or enemies, and we doubted so much the more, because we found no men of warre nor any Caruels of aduise from Portingal, as wee made our accounts to doe, that might conuoy vs from thence, or giue vs aduise, as in that countrey ordinarily they vse to do: and because the English men had bene so victorious in those parts, it made vs suspect that it went not well with Spaine: they of the Island of Tercera were in no lesse feare then we, for seeing our fleete, they thought vs to bee Englishmen, and that wee came to ouerrun the Island, because the 3. Englishmen had bound vp their flags, and came in company with vs: for the which cause the Iland sent out two Caruels that lay there with aduise from the king, for the Indians ships that should come thither. Those Caruels came to view vs, and perceiuing what we were, made after vs, whereupon the English ships left vs, and made towardes them, because the Caruels thought them to be friends, and shunned them not, as supposing them to bee of our company, but we shot foure or fiue times and made signes vnto them that they should make towards the Island, which

which they presently did. The Englishmen perceiuing that, did put forwards into the sea, & so the Caruels borded vs telling vs that the men of the Island were all in armes, as hauing receiued aduise from Portugall, that Sir Francis Drake was in readinesse, and woulde come vnto those Islands. They likewise brought vs newes of the ouerthrow of the Spanish fleet before England, and that the English men had bene before the gates of Lisbon: whereupon the king gaue vs commandement that we should put into the Island of Tercera, and there lie vnder the safety of the Castle vntill we receiued further aduise what we should do, or whether we should saile: for that they thought it too dangerous for vs to go to Lisbon. Those newes put our fleet in great feare, and made vs looke vpon eche other not knowing what to say, as being dangerous for them to put into the road, because it lieth open to the sea: so that the Indian ships, although they had expresse commandement from the king, yet they durst not anker there, but onely vsed to come thither, and to lie to and fro, sending their boates on land to fetch such necessaries as they wanted, without ankering: but being by necessitie compelled thereunto, as also by the kings commandement, and for that we vnderstood the Erle of Cumberland not to bee farre from those Islands with certaine ships of warre, we made necessitie a vertue, and entring the road, ankered close vnder the Castle, staying for aduise and order from the king, to performe our voyage, it being then the 24. of July, and S. Iames day.

The day before the Erle of Cumberland with 6. or 7. ships of war, sailed by the Island of Tercera, and to their great good fortune passed out of sight, so that they dispatched themselues in all haste, and for the more securitie, tooke with them 4. hundred Spaniards of those that lay in Garrison in the Island, and with them they sayled towards Lisbon, hauing a good wind: so that within 11 daies after they arriued in the riuer of Lisbon with great gladnes & triumph: for if they had stayed but one day longer before they had entred the riuer, they had all beene taken by Captaine Drake, who with 40 ships came before Cascais at the same time that the Indian ships cast anker in the riuer of Lisbon, being garded thither by diuers Gallies.

While I remained in Tercera, the Erle of Cumb. came to S. Marie, to take in fresh water, and some other victuals: but the inhabitants would not suffer him to haue it, but wounded both himselfe & diuers of his men, whereby they were forced to depart without hauing any thing there.

The Erle of Cumberland while I lay in Tercera, came vnto the Isle of Graciosa, where himselfe in person, with seuen or eight in his company went on land, asking certaine beasts, hens, and other victuals, with wine and fresh water, which they willingly gaue him, and therewith he departed from thence, without doing them any hurt: for the which the inhabitants thanked him, and commended him for his courtesie, and keeping of his promise.

The same time that the Erle of Cumberland was in the Island of Graciosa, he came likewise to Fayall, where at the first time that he came, they beganne to resist him, but by reason of some controuersie among them, they let him land, where he razed the Castle to the ground, and sunke all their Ordinance in the sea, taking with him certaine Caruels and ships that lay in the road, with prouision of all things that he wanted: and therewith departed againe to sea. Whereupon the king caused the principall actors therein to be punished, and sent a company of souldiers thither againe, which went out of Tercera, with all kinde of warlike munition, and great shot, making the fortresse vp againe, the better to defend the Island, trusting no more in the Portugales.

The 99 Chapter.

THe ninth of October 1589. there arriued in Tercera fourteene ships that came from the Spanish Indies, laden with Cochinile, Hides, Golde, Siluer, Pearles, and other rich wares. They were fiftie in companie, when they departed out of the Hauen of Hauana, whereof, in their comming out of the Channell, eleuen sunke in the same Channell by foule weather, the rest by a storme were scattered and seperated one from the other. The next day there came another ship of the same companie, that sailed close vnder the Island, so to get into the

Roade: where she met with an English ship that had not aboue three cast peeces, and the Spaniards 12. They fought a long time together, which we being in the Island might stand and behold: wherevpon the Gouernour of Tercera sent two boates of Musketiers to helpe the shippe: but before they could come at her, the English ship had shot her vnder water, and we saw her sinke into the Sea with all her sayles vp, and not any thing seene of her aboue the water. The Englishmen with their boate saued the Captaine and about thirtie others with him, but not one penie-worth of the goods, and yet in the shippe there was at the least to the value of two hundred thousand Duckats in Golde, Siluer and Pearles, the rest of the men were drowned which might be about fiftie persons, among the which were some Fryers and women, which the Englishmen would not saue. Those that they had saued they set on land: and then they sayled away. The seuen and twentieth of the same moneth, the sayd foureteene ships hauing refreshed themselues in the Island departed from Tercera toward Siuill, and comming vpon the coast of Spaine they were taken by the English ships that lay there to watch for them, two onely excepted which escaped away, and the rest were wholly caried into England.

About the same time the Erle of Cumberland with one of the Queenes ships, and fiue or sixe more, kept about those Islands and came oftentimes so close vnder the Island, and to the Road of Angra, that the people on land might easily tell all his men that he had aboord, and knewe such as walked on the Hatches: they of the Island not once shooting at them, although they might easily haue done it, for they were within Musket shot both of the towne and fort. In these places he continued for the space of two moneths, and sayled round about the Islands, and landed in Gracioса and Fayal, as in the description of those Islands I haue alreadie declared. Here he tooke diuers ships and Caraules, which he sent into England: so that those of the Island durst not once put foorth their heads. At the same time about three or foure dayes after the Erle of Cumberland had beene in the Island of Fayal, and was departed from thence, there arriued in the said Island of Fayal sixe Indian shippes, whose General was one Iuan Dorines: and there they discharged in the Iland 4 millions of golde and siluer. And hauing with all speede refreshed their ships, fearing the comming of the Englishmen they set sayle, and arriued safely in S. Lucar, not meeting with the enemie, to the great good lucke of the Spaniards and hard fortune of the Englishmen: for that within lesse then two dayes after the golde and siluer was laden againe into the Spanish ships, the Erle of Cumberland sayled againe by that Island: so that it appeared that God would not let them haue it, for if they had once had sight thereof, without doubt it had bene theirs, as the Spaniards themselues confessed.

In the moneth of Nouember there arriued in Tercera two great shippes, which were the Admirall and Viceadmirall of the Fleete laden with siluer, who with stormie weather were separated from the Fleete, and had beene in great torment and distresse, and readie to sinke: for they were forced to vse all their Pumps: so that they wished a thousand times to haue met with the Englishmen to whom they would willingly haue giuen their siluer and all that euer they brought with them, onely to saue their liues. And although the Erle of Cumberland lay still about those Islands, yet they met not with him, so that after much paine and labour they got into the Road before Angra, where with all speede they vnladed and discharged aboue fiue millions of siluer, all in pieces of 8 or 10 pound great: so that the whole Kay lay couered with plates and chests of siluer, full of Ryales of eight, most wonderfull to behold, (each million being ten hundred thousand duckats,) besides pearles, gold, and other stones, which were not registred. The Admirall and chiefe commaunder of those ships and Fleete called Aluaro Flores de Quiniones was sicke of the Neapolitan disease, and was brought to land, whereof not long after he died in Siuillia. He brought with him the Kings broad seale and full authoritie to be Generall and chiefe commaunder vpon the Seas, and of all Fleetes or ships, and of all places and Islands, or lands wheresoeuer he came: wherevpon the Gouernour of Tercera did him great honour, and betweene them it was concluded, perceiuing the weakenesse of their ships, and the danger of the Englishmen, that they would send the shippes emptie with souldiers to conuey them, either to Siuill or Lisbon, where they could first arriue, with

with aduise vnto his Maiestie of all that had passed, and that he would giue order to conuoy the siluer with good and safe conuoy. Whereupon the said Aluero *Flores* stayed there, vnder colour of keeping the siluer, but specially because of his disease, and for that they were affraide of the Englishmen. This Aluaro Flores had alone for his owne part about 20000 Duckats in pearles which he shewed vnto vs, & sought to sell them or barter them with vs for spices or bils of exchange. The said two ships set saile with 3 or 4 hundred men, as well souldiers as others that came with them out of India, and being at sea had a storme, wherewith the Admirall burst and sunke in the sea, & not one man saued. The Vice-Admirall cut downe her mast, and ranne the ship on ground hard by Setuuel, where it burst in peeces, some of the men sauing themselues by swimming, that brought the newes, but the rest were drowned.

In the same moneth there came two great ships out of the Spanish Indies, and borne within halfe a mile of the Road of Tercera, they met with an English ship, which, after they had fought long together, tooke them both. About 7 or 8 moneths before, there had beene an English shippe in Tercera, that vnder the name of a Frenchman came to traffike in the Island, there to lade woad, and being discouered was both ship and goods confiscated to the kings vse, and all the men kept prisoners: yet went they vp and downe the streetes to get their liuings, by labouring like slaues, being in deede as safe in that Island, as if they had beene in prison. But in the ende vpon a Sunday, all the Saylers went downe behinde the hils called Bresil: where they found a Fisher-boat, whereinto they got and rowed into the sea to the Erle of Cumberlands shippes, which to their great fortune chanced at that time to come by the Island, and ankered with his ships about *halfe a mile* from the Road of Angra, hard by two small Islands, which lie about a bases shot from the Island and are full of Goats, Deere and Sheepe, belonging to the inhabitants of the Island of Tercera. Those Saylers knew it well, and thereupon they rowed vnto them with their boates, and lying at anker that day, they fetched as many Goates and sheepe as they had neede of: which those of the towne and of the Island well saw and beheld, yet durst not once goe foorth: so there remained no more on land but the Master and the Marchant of the said English ship. This Master had a brother in lawe dwelling in England, who hauing newes of his brothers imprisonment in Tercera, got licence of the Queene of England to set forth a ship, therewith to see if he could recouer his losses of the Spaniards by taking some of them, and so to redeeme his brother that lay prisoner in Tercera, and he it was that tooke the two Spanish ships before the Towne, the Master of the ship aforesaid standing on the shore by me, and looking vpon them, for he was my great acquaintance. The ships being taken that were worth 300 thousand duckats, he sent al the men on land sauing onely two of the principall Gentlemen, which he kept aboord thereby to ransome his brother: and sent the Pilot of one of the Indian ships that were taken, with a letter to the Gouernor of Tercera: wherein he wrote that he should deliuer him his brother, & he would send the 2 Gentlemen on land: if not, he would saile with them into England, as indeed he did, because the Gouernour would not doe it, saying that the Gentlemen might make that suite to the king of Spaine himselfe. This Spanish Pilot we bid to supper with vs, and the Englishmen likewise, where he shewed vs all the manner of their fight, much commending the order and maner of the Englishmens fighting, as also their courteous vsing of him: but in the end the English Pilot likewise stole away in a French ship, without paying any ransome as yet.

In the moneth of Ianuarie 1590 there arriued one ship alone in Tercera, that came from the Spanish Indies, and brought newes that there was a Fleete of a hundred shippes which put out from the Firme land of the Spanish Indies, and by a storme were driuen vpon the coast called Florida, where they were all cast away, she hauing onely escaped, wherein there were great riches, & many men lost, as it may well be thought: so that they made their account, that of 220 ships that for certaine were knowen to haue put out of Noua Spagna, S. Domingo, Hauana, Capo verde, Brasilia, Guinea, &c. in the yeere 1589 to saile for Spaine & Portugall, there were not aboue 14 or 15 of them arriued these in safetie, all the rest being either drowned, burst or taken.

In

In the same moneth of Ianuary there arriued in Tercera 15 or 16 ships that came from Siuil, which were most Flieboats of the Low countries, and some Britons that were arrested in Spaine: these came full of souldiers, and well appointed with munition, to lade the siluer that lay in Tercera, and to fetch Aluares de Flores by the kings cõmandement into Spaine. And because that time of the yeere there are alwayes stormes about those Ilands, therefore they durst not enter into the road of Tercera, for that as then it blew so great a storme that some of their ships that had ankred were forced to cut downe their mastes, and were in danger to be lost: and among the rest a ship of Biscaie ran against the land and was striken in pieces, but all the men saued themselues. The other ships were forced to keepe the sea and seperate themselues one from the other, where wind and weather would driue them vntill the 15 of March for that in all that time they could not haue one day of faire weather to anker in, whereby they endured much miserie, cursing both the siluer and the Iland. This storme being past, they chanced to meet with a small English ship of about 40 tunnes in bignesse, which by reason of the great wind could not beare all her sailes: so they set vpon her and tooke her, and with the English flag in their Admirals sterne, they came as proudly into the hauen as if they had conquered all the realme of England: but as the Admirall that bare the English flag vpon her sterne was entring into the road, there came by chance two English ships by the Iland that paied her so well for her paines, that they were forced to cry Misericordia, and without all doubt had taken her, if she had bene but a mile further in the sea: but because she got vnder the Fortresse, which also began to shoot at the Englishmen, they were forced to leaue her, and to put further into the sea, hauing slaine fiue or sixe of the Spaniards. The Englishmen that were taken in the small shippe were put vnder hatches, and coupled in bolts, and after they had bene prisoners 3 or 4 dayes, there was a Spanish Ensigne bearer in the ship that had a brother slaine in the Fleet that came for England, who as then minding to reuenge his death, and withall to shew his manhood on the English captiues that were in the English ship, which they had taken, as is aforesayd, tooke a poiniard in his hand and went downe vnder the hatches, where finding the poore Englishmen sitting in boltes, with the same poiniard he stabbed sixe of them to the heart: which two others of them perceiuing, clasped each other about the middle, because they would not be murthered by him, & threw themselues into the sea and there were drowned. This acte was of all the Spaniards much disliked and very ill taken, so that they caried the Spaniard prisoner vnto Lisbon, where being arriued, the king of Spaine willed he should be sent into England, that the Queene of England might vse him as she thought good: which sentence his friends by intreatie got to be reuersed, notwithstanding he commanded he should without all fauour be beheaded: but vpon a good Friday the Cardinall going to masse, all the captaines and Commanders made so great intreaty for him, that in the end they got his pardon. This I thought good to note, that men might vnderstand the bloody & dishonest minds of the Spaniards when they haue men vnder their subiection.

The same two English ships which folowed the Spanish Admirall till he had got the Fort of Tercera, as I sayd before, put into the sea, where they met with another Spanish ship being of the same Fleet, that had likewise bene scattred by the storme and was onely missing, for the rest lay in the road. This small ship the Englishmen tooke, and sent all the men on shore, not hurting any of them: but if they had knowen what had bene done vnto the foresayd English captiues, I beleeue they would soone haue reuenged themselues, as afterward many an innocent soule paied for it. This ship thus taken by the Englishmen, was the same that was taken and confiscated in the Iland of Tercera by the Englishmen that got out of the Iland in a fisher boat (as I said before) and was sold vnto the Spaniards that as then came from the Indies, wherewith they sayled to S. Lucar, where it was also arrested by the duke, and appointed to go in company to fetch the siluer in Tercera, because it was a ship that sailed well, but among the Spaniards Fleet it was the meanest of the company. By this means it was taken from the Spaniards and caried into England, and the owners had it againe when they least thought of it.

The 19 of March the aforesayd ships being 19 in number, set saile, hauing laden the kings

siluer,

siluer, and receiued in Aluaro Flores de Quiniones, with his company and good prouision of necessaries, munition and souldiers that were fully resolued (as they made shew) to fight valiantly to the last man before they would yeeld or lose their riches: and although they set their course for S. Lucar, the wind draue them vnto Lisbon, which (as it seemed) was willing by his force to helpe them, and to bring them thither in safetie, although Aluaro de Flores, both against the wind and weather would perforce haue sailed to Saint Lucar, but being constrained by the wind and importunitie of the sailers that protested they would require their losses and damages of him, he was content to saile to Lisbon: from whence the siluer was by land caried vnto Siuil. At Cape S. Vincent there lay a Fleet of 20 English ships to watch for the Armada, so that if they had put into S. Lucar, they had falle right into their hands, which if the wind had serued they had done. And therefore they may say that the wind hath lent them a happy voiage: for if the Englishmen had met with them, they had surely bene in great danger, and possibly but few of them had escaped, by reason of the feare wherewith they were possessed, because fortune or rather God was wholy against them: which is a sufficiet cause to make the Spaniards out of heart, & to the contrary to giue the Englishmen more courage, and to make them bolder for that they are victorious, stout and valiant: and seeing all their enterprises do take so good effect, that thereby they are become lords and masters of the sea, and need care for no man, as it wel appeareth by this briefe discourse.

The 7 of August 1590. a naule of English ships was seen before Tercera, being 20 in number, and 5 of them the Queenes ships: their Generall was one Martin Frobisher, as we after had intelligence. They came purposely to watch for the Fleet of the Spanish Indies, and for the Indian ships, and the ships of the countreys in the West: which put the Ilanders in great feare, specially those of Fayal, for that the Englishmen sent a trumpet to the Gouernour to aske certaine wine, flesh, and other victuals for their money and good friendship. They of Fayal did not onely refuse to giue eare vnto them, but with a shot killed their messenger or trumpeter: which the Englishmen tooke in euill part, sending them word that they were best to looke to themselues and stand vpon their guard, for they meant to come and visite them whether they would or no. The Gouernour made them answere, that he was there in the behalfe of his maiestie of Spaine, and that he would doe his best to keepe them out, as he was bound: but nothing was done, although they of Fayal were in no litle feare, sending to Tercera for aide, from whence they had certaine barkes with pouder and munition for warre, with some bisket and other necessary prouision.

The 30 of August we receiued very certaine newes out of Portugal, that there were 80 ships put out of the Groine laden with victuals, munition, money and souldiours, to goe for Britaine to aide the Catholiques and Leaguers of France against the king of Nauarre. At the same time two Netherland hulkes comming out of Portugall to Tercera being halfe the Seas ouer, met with 4 of the Queenes ships, their Generall being sir John Hawkins, that staied them, but let them go againe without doing them any harme. The Netherlanders reported, that each of the Queenes ships had 80 pieces of Ordinance, and that captaine Drake lay with 40 ships in the English chanell watching for the armie of the Groine: and likewise that there lay at the Cape S. Vincent ten other English ships, that if any ships escaped from the Ilands, they might take them. These tidings put the Ilanders in great feare, least if they failed of the Spanish fleete and got nothing by them, that then they would fall vpon the Ilands, because they would not returne emptie home, whereupon they held streit watch, sending aduise vnto the king what newes they heard.

The first of September there came to the Iland of S. Michael a Portugall ship out of the hauen of Phernambuck in Brasile, which brought newes that the Admirall of the Portugall Fleet that came from India, hauing missed the Iland of S. Helena, was of necessitie constrained to put into Phernambuck, although the king had expresly vnder a great penaltie forbidden him so to doe, because of the wormes that there doe spoile the ships. The same shippe wherein Bernardin Ribero was Admirall the yeere before 1589. sailed out of Lisbon into the Indies, with 5 ships in her company, whereof but 4 got into India, the 5 was neuer heard of, so that it was thought to be cast away: the other foure returned safe againe into Portugall,

Portugall, though the Admiral was much spoiled, because he met with two English ships that fought long with him, and slew many of his men, but yet he escaped from them.

The 5 of the same moneth there arriued in Tercera a caruel of the Iland of Coruo, & brought with her 50 men that had bin spoiled by the Englishmen who had set them on shore in the Iland of Coruo, being taken out of a ship that came from the Spanish Indies, they brought tidings that the Englishmen had taken 4 more of the Indian ships, & a caruel with the king of Spaines letters of aduise for the ships comming out of the Portugal Indies, & that with those which they had take, they were at the least 40 English ships together, so ỹ not one bark escaped them, but fel into their hands, & that therefore the Portugall ships comming out of India durst not put into the Ilands, but tooke their course vnder 40 & 42 degrees, and frō thence sailed to Lisbon, shunning likewise the cape S. Vincent, otherwise they could not haue had a prosperous iourney of it, for that as then the sea was ful of English ships. Whereupon the king aduised the fleete lying in Hauana in ỹ Spanish Indies ready to come for Spaine, that they should stay there all that yeere till the next yeere, because of the great danger they might fal into by ỹ Englishmen, which was no smal charge, & hinderance to the fleet, for that the ships that lie there do consume themselues, and in a maner eat vp one another, by reason of the great nūber of people, together with the scarcitie of all things, so that many ships chose rather one by one to aduenture thēselues alone to get home, then to stay there: all which fell into the Englishmens hands, wherof diuers of the men were brought into Tercera, for that a whole day we could see nothing els, but spoiled men set on shore, some out of one ship, some out of another, that pitie it was to see all of them cursing the Englishmen & their owne fortunes, with those that had bene the causes to prouoke the Englishmen to fight, and complaining of the small remedie and order taken therein by the king of Spaines officers.

Great hauock of Spaniards.

The 19 of the same moneth there came to Tercera a Caruel of Lisbon, with one of the kings officers, to cause the goods that were saued out of the ship which came from Malacca (for ỹ which we staied there) to be laden and sent to Lisbon. And at the same time there put out of the Groine one Don Alonso de Bacan, with 40 great ships of warre to come vnto the Ilands, there to watch for the fleet of the Spanish & Portugall Indies, and the goods of the Malacca ship being laden, they were to conuoy thē all together into the riuer of Lisbon: but being certaine daies at sea, alwaies hauing a contrary wind, they could not get vnto the Ilands, onely two of them that were scattred from the fleet, arriued at Tercera, and not finding the fleet, they presently returned to seeke them: in the meane time the king changed his mind, & caused the fleet to stay in India, as I said before: and therefore hee sent worde vnto Don Alonso de Bassan, that hee should returne againe to the Groine, which he presently did (without doing any thing, nor once approching neer the Ilands, sauing onely the two foresayd ships, for he well knew that the Englishmen lay by the Iland of Coruo, but he would not visit them: and so he returned to the hauen the Groine, whereby our goods that came from Malacca were yet to ship, and trussed vp againe, and forced to stay a more fortunate time with patience perforce.

The 23 of October there arriued in Tercera a Caruel with aduise out of Portugall, that of 5 ships which in the yere 1590 were laden in Lisbon for the Indies, 4 of them were turned againe to Portin. After they had bene 4 moneths abroad, & that the Admirall, wherein the Viceroy called Mathias d'Albukerk sailed, had onely gotten to India, as afterward newes thereof was brought ouer-land, hauing bin at the least 11 moneths at sea & neuer saw land, and came in great misery to Malacca. In this ship there died by the way 280 men, according to a note by himselfe made, and sent to the Cardinal at Lisbon, with the names & surnames of euery man, together with a description of his voiage, & the misery they had endured, which was onely done, because he would not lose the gouernment of India: and for that cause he had sworne either to lose his life, or to arriue in India, as in deed he did afterwards, but to the great danger, losse and hinderance of his companie, that were forced to buy it with their liues, & onely for want of prouision, as it may wel be thought: for he knew full well that if he had returned backe againe into Portugal as the other ships did, he should haue

haue bin cassiered from his Indian regiment, because the people began already to murmure at him for his proud & lofty mind. And amõg other things that shewed his pride the more, behind aboue the gallery of his ship he caused Fortune to be painted, & his own picture w a staffe standing by her, as it were threatning Fortune, with this posie, Quero que vencas, that is, I will haue thee to ouercome: which being read by the Cardinal & other gentlemen (that to honor him brought him aboord his ship) it was thought to be a point of exceeding folly: but it is no strange matter among the Portugals: for they aboue all others must of force let the foole peepe out of their sleeues, specially when they are in authoritie, for that I knew the said Mathias d'Albukerk in India, being a souldier and a captaine, where he was esteemed and accounted for one of the best of them, & much honoured, and beloued of all men, as behauing himselfe curteously to euery man, whereby they all desired that he might be Viceroy. But when he once had receiued his patent with full power & authoritie from the king to be Viceroy, he changed so much from his former behauior, that by reason of his pride, they all began to feare and curse him, and that before hee departed out of Lisbon, as it is often seene in many men that are aduanced vnto state and dignitie.

The 20 of Ianuarie 1591. there was newes brought out of Portugall into Tercera, that the Englishmen had take a ship that the king had sent into the Portugal-Indies, w ãduise to the Viceroy for the returning againe of the 4 ships that should haue gone to Indis, & because the ships were come backe againe, that ship was stuffed and laded as full of goods as possible it might be, hauing likewise in ready money 500 thousand duckets in rotals of 8, besides other wares. It departed from Lisbon in the moneth of Nouember 1590. & met with the Englishmen, with whõ for a time it fought, but in the end it was taken and caried into England with men & all, yet when they came there, the men were set at libertie, and returned into Lisbon, where the captaine was committed prisoner; but he excused himselfe and was released, with whom I spake my selfe, & he made this report vnto me. At the same time also they tooke a ship that came from the Mine lade with gold, & 2 ships laden with pepper & spices that were to saile into Italy, the pepper onely that was in them, being worth 170 thousand duckets: all these ships were caried into England, & made good prise.

In the moneth of Iuly 1591. there hapned an earthquake in the Iland of S. Michael, which continued frõ the 26 of Iuly, to the 12 of August, in which time no man durst stay within his house but fled into the fields, fasting & praying with great sorow, for that many of their houses fel down, and a towne called Villa Franca, was almost cleane razed to the ground, all the cloisters & houses shaken to the earth, and therein some people slaine. The land in some places rose vp, and the cliffs remooued from one place to another, and some hils were defaced and made euen with the ground. The earthquake was so strong, that the ships which lay in the road and on the sea, shaked as if the world would haue turned round: there sprang also a fountaine out of the earth, from whence for the space of 4 daies, there flowed a most cleare water, & after that it ceased. At the same time they heard such thunder & noise vnder the earth, as if all the deuils in hell had bin assembled together in that place, wherewith many died for feare. The Iland of Tercera shooke 4 times together, so that it seemed to turne about, but there hapned no misfortune vnto it. Earthquakes are common in those Ilands, for about 20 yeres past there hapned another earthquake, wherein a high hill that lieth by the same towne of Villa Franca, fell halfe downe, & couered all the towne with earth, and killed many men. The 25 of August the kings Armada comming out of Ferol arriued in Tercera being in all 30 ships, Biskaines, Portugals and Spaniards, and 10 Dutch fleboats that were arrested in Lisbon to serue the king, besides other small ships & pataxos, that came to serue as messengers from place to place, and to discouer the seas. This nauie came to stay for, and conuoy the ships that should come from the Spanish Indies, and the fleboats were appointed as their returne home, to take in the goods that were saued in the lost ship that came from Malacca, and to conuoy them to Lisbon.

The 13 of September the said Armada arriued at the Iland of Coruo, where the English men with about 16 ships as then lay, staying for the Spanish fleet, whereof some or the most part were come, and there the English were in good hope to haue taken them. But whe they perceiued

perceiued the kings army to be strong, the Admiral being the lord Thomas Howard, commanded his Fleet not to fal vpon them, nor any of them once to separate their ships from him, vnlesse he gaue commission so to do: notwithstanding the viceadmirall sir Richard Greenuil being in the ship called the Reuenge, went into the Spanish fleet, and shot among them doing them great hurt, & thinking the rest of the company would haue folowed, which they did not, but left him there, & sailed away: the cause why could not be knowē. Which the Spaniards perceiuing, with 7 or 8 ships they boorded her, but she withstood them all, fighting with them at the least 12 houres together and sunke two of them, one being a new double Flieboat of 600 tunnes, and Admiral of the Flieboats, the other a Biscain: but in the end by reason of the number that came vpon her, she was taken, but to their great losse: for they had lost in fighting and by drowning aboue 400 men, and of the English were slaine about 100, Sir Richard Greenuil himselfe being wounded in his braine, whereof afterwards he died. He was caried into the ship called S. Paul, wherein was the Admirall of the fleet Don Alonso de Baçan: there his wounds were drest by the Spanish surgeons, but Don Alonso himselfe would neither see him nor speake with him: all the rest of the captaines and gentlemen went to visite him, and to comfort him in his hard fortune, wondering at his courage and stout heart, for ỹ he shewēd not any signe of faintnes nor changing of colour; but feeling the houre of death to approch, he spake these words in Spanish, and said: Here die I Richard Greenuil with a ioyful & quiet mind, for that I haue ended my life as a true souldier ought to do, that hath fought for his countrey, Queene, religion and honor, whereby my soule most ioyfull departeth out of this body, & shal alwayes leaue behind it an euerlasting fame of a valiant & true souldier that hath done his dutie as he was bound to doe. When he had finished these or such other like words, he gaue vp the Ghost, with great & stout courage, & no man could perceiue any true signe of heauines in him.

This sir Rich. Greenuil was a great and a rich gentleman in England, & had great yeerely reuenues of his owne inheritance, but he was a man very vnquiet in his mind, and greatly affected to war; insomuch as of his owne priuate motion he offred his seruice to the Queene: he had performed many valiant acts, and was greatly feared in these Ilands, and knowen of euery man, but of nature very seuere, so that his owne people hated him for his fiercenesse, & spake very hardly of him: for when they first entred into the fleet or Armada, they had their great saile in a readinesse, and might possibly enough haue sailed away, for it was one of the best ships for saile in England, and the master perceiuing that the other ships had left them, & folowed not after, commanded the great saile to be cut that they might make away: but sir Rich. Greenuil threatned both him & al the rest that were in the ship, ỹ if any mā laid hand vpon it, he would cause him to be hanged, and so by that occasion they were compelled to fight & in the end were taken. He was of so hard a cōplexion, that as he continued among the Spanish captains while they were at dinner or supper with him, he would carouse 3 or 4 glasses of wine, and in a brauerie take the glasses betweene his teeth and crash them in pieces & swalow them downe, so that oftentimes the blood ran out of his mouth without any harme at all vnto him: & this was told me by diuers credible persons that many times stood and beheld him. The Englishmen that were left in the ship, as the captaine of the souldiers, the master and others were dispersed into diuers of the Spanish ships that had taken them, where there had almost a new fight arisen between the Biscains and the Portugals: while each of them would haue the honour to haue first boorded her, so that there grew a great noise and quarel among them, one taking the chiefe ensigne, and the other the flag, and the captaine and euery one held his owne. The ships that had boorded her were altogether out of order, and broken, and many of their men hurt, whereby they were compelled to come into the Island of Tercera, there to repaire theselues: where being arriued, I and my chamber-felow, to heare some newes, went aboord one of the ships being a great Biscain, and one of the 12 Apostles, whose captaine was called Bartandono, that had bin General of the Biscains in the fleet that went for England. He seeing vs called vs vp into the gallery, where with great curtesie he receiued vs, being as then set at dinner with the English captaine that sate by him, and had on a sute of blacke veluet, but he could not tell vs any thing, for that he could speake no other language but English and Latine, which Bartandano

tandano also could a litle speake. The English captaine got licence of the gouernour that he might come on land with his weapon by his side, and was in our lodging with the Englishman that was kept prisoner in the Iland, being of that ship whereof the sailers got away, as I said before. The gouernour of Tercera bade him to dinner, and shewed him great curtesie. The master likewise with licence of Bartandono came on land and was in our lodging, and had at the least 10 or 12 wounds, as well in his head as on his body, whereof after that being at sea between Lisbon & the lands he died. The captaine wrote a letter, wherein he declared all the maner of the fight and left it with the English marchant that lay in our lodging, to send it to the lord Admiral of England. This English captaine comming vnto Lisbon, was there wel receiued and put any hurt done vnto him, but with good conudy sent to Setuual, and from thence sailed to England with all the rest of the Englishmen that were taken prisoners.

The Spanish armie staied at the Iland of Coruo til the last of September, to assemble the rest of the fleet together, which in the ende were to the number of 140 sailes of ships partly comming from India, and partly of the army, and being altogether readie to saile to Tercera in good company, there suddenly rose so hard & cruell a storme, that those of the Ilands did affirme, that in mans memorie there was neuer any such seen or heard off before: for it seemed the sea would haue swaloed vp the Ilands, the water mounting higher then the cliffs, which are so high that it amaseth a man to behold them: but the sea reached aboue them, and liuing fishes were drowe vpon the land. This storme continued not only a day [illegible] with one wind, but 7 8 dayes continually, the wind turning round about in al places of the compasse, at the lesse or thrise during that time, and all alike, with a continuall storme and tempest most terrible to behold, euen to vs that were on shore, much more then to such as were at sea: so that onely on the coasts and cliffes of the Iland of Tercera, there were aboue 12 ships cast away, and not onely vpon the one side, but round about it in euery corner, wherby nothing else was heard but complaining, crying, lamenting & telling, here is a ship broken in pieces against the cliffes, and there another, and all the men drowned: so that for the space of 20 dayes after the storme, they did nothing els but fish for dead men that continually came drowing on the shore. Among the rest was the English ship called the Reuenge, that was cast away vpon a cliffe neere to the Iland of Tercera, where it brake in an hundred pieces & sunke to the ground, hauing in her 70 men Galegos, Biscains, and others, with some of the captiue Englishmen, whereof but one was saued that got vp vpon the cliffes aliue, and had his body and head all wounded, and he being on shore brought vs the newes desiring to be shriuen, & thereupon presently died. The Reuenge had in her diuers faire brasse pieces that were all sunke in ẏ sea, which they of the Iland were in good hope to waigh vp againe the next Sommer after. Among these ships that were cast away about Tercera, was likewise a Flie-boat, one of those that had bin arrested in Portugall to serue the king, called the white Doue, the master of her was one Cornelius Martenson of Schiedam in Holland, and there were in her 100 souldiers, as in euery one of the rest there were. He being euer-ruled by the captaine that he could not be master of his owne, sayling here and there at the mercy of God, as the storme droue him, in the end came within the sight of the Iland of Tercera, which the Spaniards perceiuing thought all their safetie onely to consist in putting into the road, compelling the Master and the Pilot to make towards the Iland, although the master refused to doe it, saying, that they were most sure there to be cast away and vtterly spoyled: but the captaine called him drunkard and Heretique, and striking him with a staffe commaunded him to doe as he would haue him. The Master seeing this and being compelled to doe it, sayd: well then my Masters, seeing that it is the desire of you all to bee cast away, I can but lose one life, and therewith desperately he sayled towards the shore, and was on that side of the Ilands where there was nothing els but hard stones and rocks, as high as mountaines, most terrible to beholde, where some of the inhabitants stood with long ropes and corke bound at the ende thereof, to throw them downe, vnto the men, that they might lay holde vpon them and saue their liues: but few of them got so neere, most of them being cast away, and smitten in pieces before they could get to the wall. The ship sailing in this maner (as I sayd before) towards the Iland, and approching to the shore, the master being an olde man,

The wracke of the Reuenge.

man, and full of yeeres, called his sonne that was in the ship with him, and hauing imbraced one another, and taken their last farewell, the good olde father willed his sonne not to take care for him, but seeke to saue himselfe; for (saith he) sonne thou art yong, & mayest haue some hope to saue thy life, but as for me it is no great matter (I am olde) what become of me, and therewith ech of these shedding many teares, as euery louing father and kinde childe may well consider, the ship fell vpon the sides, and brake in pieces, the father on the one side, the sonne on the other side falling into the sea, ech laying holde vpon that which came next to hand, but to no purpose; for the sea was so high and furious, that they were all drowned, and onely foureteene or fifteene saued themselues by swimming, with their legs and armes halfe broken and out of ioynt, among which was the Masters sonne, and foure other Dutch boyes: the rest of the Spaniards and Sailers, with the Captaine and Master, were drowned. Whose heart would not melt with teares to beholde so grieuous a sight, specially considering with himselfe that the greatest part thereof was the beastliness and insolency of the Spaniards, as in this onely example may well be seene? Whereby may be considered how the other shippes sped, as we ourselues did in part beholde, and by the men that were saued did heare more at large, as also some others of our countreymen that as then were in the like danger can well witnesse.

On the other Ilands the losse was no lesse then in Terra: for on the Iland of Saint George there were two ships cast away: on the Iland of Pico two ships: on the Iland of Graticsa three ships: and besides those there came euery where vnto about diuers peces of broken ships, and other things fleeting towards the Ilands, wherew the sea was all couered most pitifull to beholde. On the Iland of S. Michael there were three ships cast away, and betweene Tercera and S. Michael three more were sunke, which were seene and heard to cry out: whereof not one man was saued. The rest put into the Ilands without masts, all torne and rent: so that of the whole fleet and armada, being 140 ships in all, there were but 32 or 33 arriued in Spaine and Portugall, yea, and those few with so great misery, paine and labour, that not two of them arriued there together, but this day one, and to morrow another, next day the third, and so one after the other to the number afore. All the rest were cast away vpon the Ilands, and ouerwhelmed in the Sea, whereby may be considered what great losse and hindrance they receiued at that time: for by many mens iudgements it was esteemed to be much more then was lost by their army that came for England: and it may well be thought, and presumed, that it was no other but a iust plague purposely sent by God vpon the Spaniards, and that it might truely be sayd, the taking of the Reuenge was iustly reuenged vpon them, and not by the might or force of man, but by the power of God, as some of them openly sayd in the Ile of Tercera, that they beleeue certainly God would consume them, and that he tooke part with the Lutherans and heretiks: adding further that so soone as they had throwen the dead body of the Vicealmirall Sir Richard Greenfield ouerboord, they verily thought that as he had a diuelish faith and religion, and therefore the diuels loued him, so he presently sunke into the bottome of the sea, and downe into hell, where he raised vp all the diuels to the reuenge of his death: and that they brought so great stormes and tormentes vpon the Spaniards, because they onely maintained the Catholique & Romish religion. Such and the like blasphemies against God, they ceased not openly to vtter, without being reprooued of any man therein, nor for their false opinions: but the most part of them rather sayd and affirmed, that of trueth it most needs be so.

About 500 Spanish and Portugall ships drowned.

As one of those Indian fleets put out of Nona Spagna, there were 35 of them by storme and tempest cast away and drowned in the Sea, being 50 in all: so that but 15 escaped. Of the fleet that came from Santo Domingo there were 14 cast away, comming out of the chanell of Bahama, whereof the Admirall and Vicealmirall were two of them: and from Terra Firma in India there came two ships laden with golde and siluer, that were taken by the Englishmen: and before the Spanish army came to Coruo, the Englishmen had taken at the least 20 ships, that came from S. Domingo, India, Brasilia, &c. and were all sent into England.

THE END OF VOL. II.

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